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IPSWICH IN THE MASSACHUSETTS BAY COLONY

PART I. HISTORICAL

A HISTORY OF THE TOWN FROM 1633 TO 1700, CONTAINING THE LETTERS
OF MAJOR SAMUEL APPLETON, LISTS OF SOLDIERS IN THE INDIAN WARS,
RECORDS AND DEPOSITIONS OF THE USURPATION PERIOD, AND
FACSIMILES OF ANCIENT DOCUMENTS, BEARING MANY
AUTOGRAPHS OF THE EARLY SETTLERS

PART II. HOUSES AND LANDS

AN ACCOUNT OF THE ORIGINAL GRANTS OF HOUSE LOTS AND THE
SUCCESSIVE OWNERS OF LANDS AND HOUSES, TO THE PRESENT
TIME, ILLUSTRATED WITH DIAGRAMS, ANCIENT MAPS,
AND PHOTOGRAPHS OF MANY ANCIENT HOUSES

WITH
SEVEN APPENDICES

BY THOMAS FRANKLIN WATERS

President of the Ipswich Historical Society

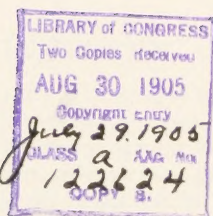
THE IPSWICH HISTORICAL SOCIETY

IPSWICH, MASS.

1905

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BY

THOMAS FRANKLIN WATERS.

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PREFACE.

IN the preface of his History of England, Macaulay observed: "I shall cheerfully bear the reproach of having descended below the dignity of history, if I can succeed in placing before the English of the nineteenth century a true picture of the life of their ancestors." My own aim and method in the writing of this book could not be described more fitly.

I have tried to tell, accurately but in readable fashion, the story of the builders of our Town: their homes and home life, their employments, their Sabbath keeping, their love of learning, their administration of Town affairs, their stern delusions, and their heroism, in War and in resistance to Tyranny. The seventeenth century was a brilliant and thrilling period in Ipswich history, and it seemed best to me to consider it somewhat at length, and to close my historical study with the end of that century rather than to attempt a briefer summary of the complete history of the Town. If this work finds favor, I shall begin at once to gather material for another volume, in which the historical and topographical studies will be carried on to completion.

No attempt has been made to construct a genealogical appendix. The magnitude of the undertaking, properly carried out, seemed too great, and the forthcoming publication of the Vital Statistics of the Town, by the Essex Institute, renders it unnecessary. In Part Two, however, a topographical study has been made, from the beginning to the present generation. Nearly two thousand citations from the County Records have been carefully verified, and the likelihood of error has been reduced to the lowest possible degree.

I wish to acknowledge my great indebtedness to the late Daniel Fuller Appleton Esq. for the original incentive to this work, and for his constant and substantial encouragement. I am indebted as well to Mr. Francis R. Appleton, Mr. John B. Brown, Mr. Charles A. Campbell, Mr. Moritz B. Philipp, Mr. Charles H. Tweed, and Capt. Augustus P. Gardner for valuable assistance. Mr. Robert Dudley Winthrop of New York generously contributed a new photograph from the original portrait of John Winthrop Jr., now in his possession, and the Essex Institute of Salem kindly allowed the use of ancient maps. Mr. John W. Nourse has contributed greatly to the interest and value of the topographical studies by his skilful diagrams.

Ipswich, June, 1905.

T. F. W.

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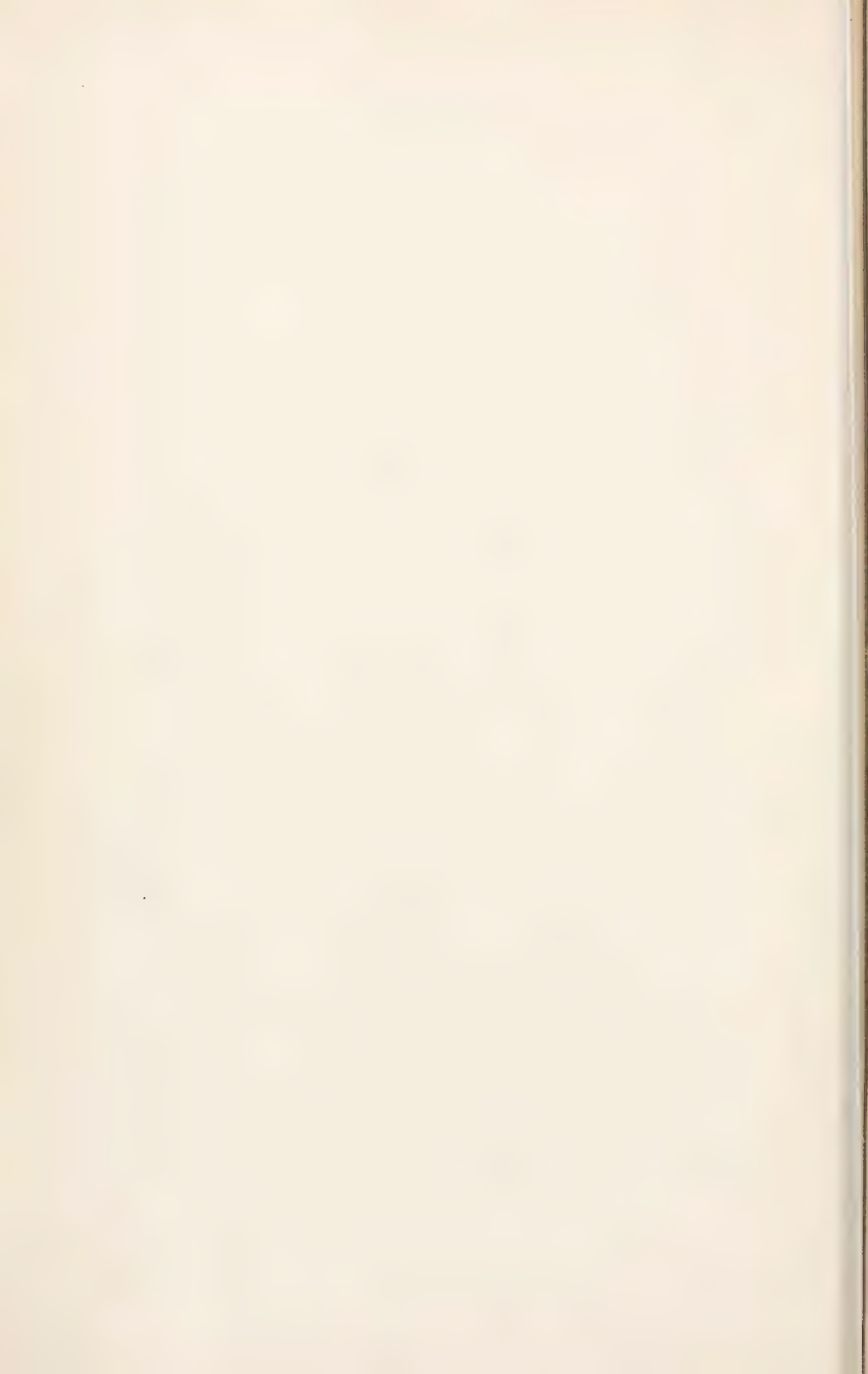
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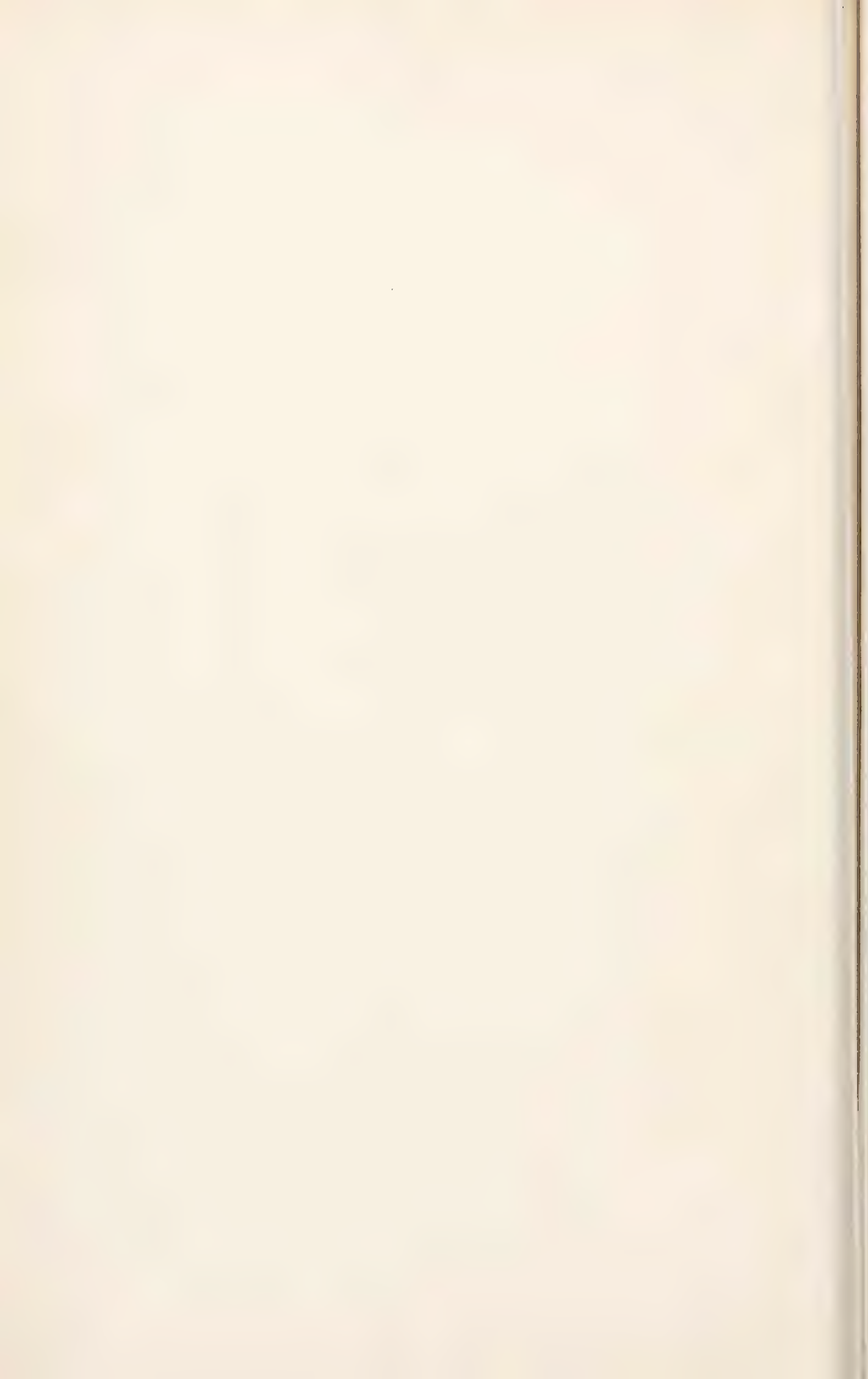
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PART I



HISTORICAL



CHAPTER I.

PRIMEVAL AGAWAM.

THE long, simple, uneventful ages of the wilderness period that ended when the white man came, must ever remain too dim, shadowy and ghost-like to be subjected to the historian's rigid method. But a fine sense of justice to the unnumbered generations of Indian men and women, that preceded our own ancestors in ownership, as truly men and women as ourselves, however rude or cruel, compels us not to ignore their unrecorded history, but to construct it as best we can.

In many localities they have left enduring memorials of their presence and the manner of their life. On the sandy tract sheltered by forest, bordering the way to Pine Swamp, where arrow heads innumerable have been found, and the ground is still strewn with chips struck off by their cunning hands, we can believe they made their winter home, and spent many an hour in fashioning their implements for the chase and for agriculture, their arrows and spears, axes and hoes. That level field by the Lower Falls, now included in the County House grounds, must have been occupied for generations and centuries as a compact village of bark-covered wigwams. Here and there upon Eagle Hill and Jeffrey's Neck, and all the fields skirting the river on either bank and near the beaches, the abundant shell heaps, rich in débris of early ages, attest their presence. How vivid the ancient village life becomes as we burrow into these simple cairns!

Here are the very stones, blackened and chipped, and the charcoal of the camp fire. Near by, the black, grimy wigwam stood. Hither the warriors brought the bear, deer or beaver, their skill in arms had given them. Soon with their stone knives they have skinned and dismembered it roughly, and a feast is prepared, to which we are not drawn, for their cookery

was of the simplest, fingers and teeth were not used daintily, and cleanliness was not a virtue. Anon, we see them at their toil. The skins are smoothed and cured and reserved for robes, or divested of hair, softened and shred into strips for bow-strings and strong cords for fishing or domestic use; or cut and shaped and sewed skilfully to make them garments, squaw work, we presume, carried on most industriously, with sleek little pap-pooes slung up in the bushes near by, and naked children playing their rude games. Here are the very smooth stones, and bone awls and needles which they lost or left behind long years ago. Here, too, are the fragments of the clay dishes and bowls used in their housekeeping, skilfully fashioned and ornamented. Their stone pestles, gouges, axes and hoes, tell of rude agriculture in the fields adjoining, toilsome carpentry and deadly fights with other tribes.

Now and then, one of these cairns tells a more thrilling tale. On the seaward side of Treadwell's Island a large and deep deposit of shells, patiently examined, has yielded abundant returns. No less than four feet of shells of the clam, oyster and mussel indicate a prolonged occupation of this site as a village. Mingled with these are bones, large enough to belong to the largest game, teeth of the beaver and the bear, vertebrae of large fish, the coals of the fires, and circles of stones. But the gruesome remains are the human bones, not laid in order as for burial, but broken and scattered and mixed with shells, and the bones of the head crushed and jumbled together in a little heap as though they had been cooked in some primitive kettle and thrown out in a mass—traces of a horrid feast on human flesh, we think though no other suggestion of such appetite has before been discovered. It is the body of some dreaded foe, perhaps, slain at last and now ignominiously consumed; or can it be, that some living man was tortured here, while the wilderness round rang with the shouts of the torturers, though he scorned to give one dying groan before his bones were torn asunder? Some rods back from the highway at the Village, on the farm of John W. Nourse, a few years ago, the ploughshare disclosed a cache of finely fashioned stone spearheads, some forty or more, the buried treasure, perchance, of an Indian brave, or some armorer of the centuries past.

Save for these remains, scant in variety, though wondrously abundant in quantity, this ancient people has passed away like a dream. Not even their bones are left. Now and then, indeed, a solitary skeleton has been discovered; but where are the remains of the hundreds and thousands who dwelt here, who died in childhood and youth as well as mature age? Record remains, of a consuming pestilence that raged among them in 1616-17 and swept away full nine-tenths of their numbers. That pestilence, which reduced the red men of Eastern Massachusetts to a handful, broke their pride and made them the victims of the strong Tarratines of the Maine coast, seems a providential factor in the planting of the English settlement. Save for this the little group at Plymouth and the feeble companies of the later Colony might have been annihilated by the forest peoples. These strong children of Nature died that the more delicate pale face might live; but deep pathos attaches to the thought of the destruction of a whole nation by loathsome disease, which filled the land with gloom and strewed the earth with unburied corpses.

But a knell of doom, surer than the pestilence, was sounded when the first white man amazed them by his appearance, and when William Jeffrey bargained with them for a trifle for what we still call Jeffrey's Neck, and John Winthrop purchased the fair, broad fields of their cherished Agawam for £20. They were doomed to disappear; but before they vanished there came observing men who were interested enough in these rude people to describe them as they saw and knew them, when their primitive modes of life were just feeling the influence of higher civilization.

The excellent Francis Higginson, pastor at Salem, described their personal appearance as early as 1629. "They are a tall and strong-limbed people, their colours are tawney, they goe naked, save only they are in part covered with beasts' skins on one of their shoulders and wear something before them." "Their haire is generally black and cut before like our gentlewomen, and one lock longer than the rest much like to our gentlemen, which fashion I think came from hence into England."

Thomas Lechford writing in 1641, completes the story of their

hair dressing, by informing us that they wore the long lock on the side of their heads and "weave feathers of peacock and such like, and red cloth or ribbands at their locks, beads of wampumpeage about their necks, and a girdle of the same two fingers broad about the loins." "Some of the chief men wear pendants of wampum in their ears, and the women, some of the chief, have fair bracelets and chains of wampum."

"John Josselyn, Gentleman," as he subscribes himself, ventured from England in two voyages to these shores in 1638 and in 1663. He wrote a narrative which is not always judicious and trustworthy, as may be seen from his descriptions of the moose as an animal with huge horns, "the tips whereof are sometimes found to be two fathom asunder," "and in height from the toe of the forefoot to the pitch of the shoulder, twelve foot, both which," he naïvely observes, "have been taken by some of my sceptique Readers to be monstrous Lyes." He says he has seen radishes, too, as big as a man's arm, and hens, with spurs like a cock, that crew often.

Subtracting our grain of allowance from our Munchausen's tale, we still find much that is credible and vivid in Josselyn's record. The Indians but rarely wore beards, he informs us. "Their teeth are very white, short and even. They account them the most necessary and best parts of a man." Their noses were inclined to flatness, yet their appearance was prepossessing. They were "of a disposition," he adds, "very inconstant, crafty, timorous, quick of apprehension, and very ingenious, soon angry and so malicious that they seldom forget an injury, and barbarously cruel, witness their direful revenges upon one another; all of them cannibals, eaters of human flesh." This extreme statement, which he substantiates by the tale of cruel maiming, joint by joint, and burning with hot embers, of two Mohawk Indians while he was in this country, until the agony was finished by tearing out the heart, which was bitten into by every old Squaw, finds confirmation in the Treadwell's island cairn.

Their wigwams built of poles, he describes, as generally round, but sometimes square. Leaving a hole at the top for the smoke, "the rest they cover with the bark of trees, and line the inside of their wigwams with mats made of rushes, painted with

several colors. Round by the walls they spread their mats and skins where the men sleep, whilst their women dress their victuals. They have commonly two doors, one opening to the South, the other to the North, and according as the wind sets they close one door with bark and hang a deer's skin of the like before the other."

Daniel Gookin's painstaking "Historical Collections of the Indians of New England" of the date 1674 give us light as to the cooking utensils. "The pots, they seeth their food in, which were heretofore and yet are in use among some of them, are made of clay or earth, almost in the form of an egg, the top taken off; but now they generally get kettles of brass, copper, iron, as the clay or earth they were made of, was very scarce and dear. Their dishes and spoons and ladles are made of wood, very smooth and artificial. Their pails to fetch water in are made of birch-bark. Some of their baskets are made of rushes, some of bents, others of maize husks, others of a kind of silk grass, others of a kind of wild hemp, and some of barks of trees, many of them very neat and artificial with the portraiture of birds, beasts, fishes, and flowers upon them in colours. Also they make mats of several sorts for covering their houses and doors, and to sleep and sit on. The baskets and mats are always made by their women, their dishes, pots, and spoons are the manufacture of the men." A scouting party of the Pilgrims discovered within a sand heap "a fine great new basket full of very fair corn of this year, with some six and thirty goodly ears of corn, some yellow, and some red, and others with mixed blue. The basket was round and narrow at the top. It held about three or four bushels, and was very handsomely and cunningly made."

Birch-bark furnished material for their canoes, as well, which were so light that a man could easily carry one a mile, and yet large enough sometimes to transport ten or twelve savages at once. William Wood records that they also made canoes of pine trees, which "they burned hollow, scraping them smooth with clam shells and oyster shells, cutting their outsides with stone hatchets; these boats be not above a foot and a half or two foot wide, and twenty foot long."

The century was well gone, in 1685, when the book-peddler

John Dunton came to Ipswich, with his stock of books and improved the opportunity to go to Wonasquam, an Indian village, "after a long and difficult ramble." On the way he found some Indians, with faces blackened with soot, who rather alarmed him, though their greeting, *Ascowequassummis*, which was being interpreted, "Good morrow to you," relieved his fears. They were in mourning for a dead chief and they buried him that night. Dunton remained and made a note of the funeral ceremony.

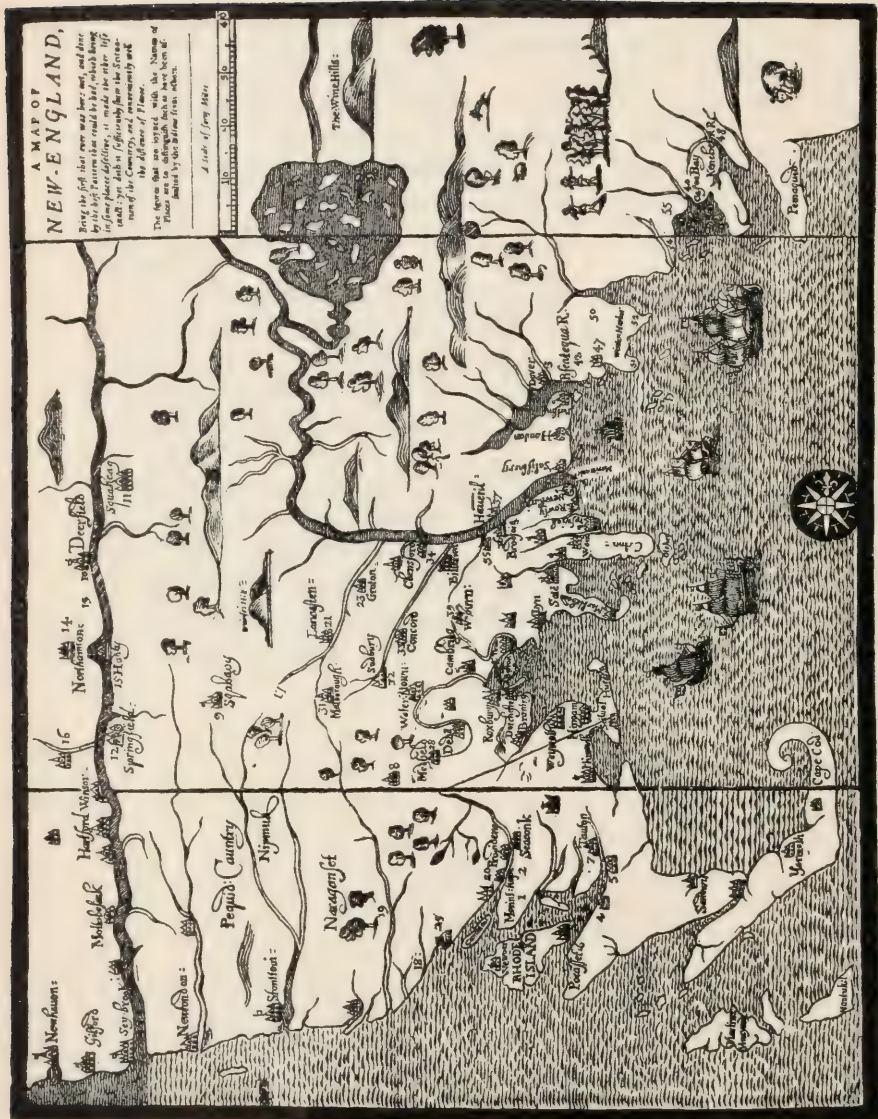
"First the gravest among them wound up and prepared the dead body for the coffin; when the mourners came to the grave they laid the body by the grave's mouth, and then all the Indians sat down and lamented, and I observed tears to run down the cheeks of the oldest among them, as well as from little children.

"After the dead body was laid in the grave (and in some parts some of their goods are cast in with them), they then made a second great lamentation. Upon the grave they spread the mat that the deceased died on, the dish he eat in, and two of the Indians hung a fair coat of skin upon the next tree to the grave, which none will touch, but suffer it there to rot with the dead."

A M A P O V

The figures that are joined with the names of
Places are to distinguish such as have been af-
forded by the different seasons.

A scale of from 1000 to 10000



Map of New England from Hubbard's History of the
Indian Wars in New England.

CHAPTER II.

THE COMING OF THE ENGLISH.

JUST when and where the first white man stepped upon the shores of Agawam we may not hope to discover. As early as 1608, as Captain John Smith mentions in his History of Virginia, Captain Harlow, Master of the ship *Ordnaunce*, touched here, while on a voyage in the interest of an English company, which included John Popham, Lord Chief Justice of England, to the grant it had obtained about the Kennebec. But one item of that visit has been preserved,—“the people at Agawam used them kindly.” Smith, himself, landed here in 1614, and says of Augoan, as he calls it, “this place might content a right curious judgement; but there are many sands at the entrance of the Harbour, and the worst is, it is imbayed too farre from the deepe sea. Here are many rising hills, and on their tops and descents are many corne fields, and delightfull groves. On the East is an Isle of two or three leagues in length; the one half plaine marish ground, fit for pasture, or salt ponds, with many faire high groves of mulberry trees and gardens. There is also Okes, Pines, Walnuts and other wood to make this place an excellent habitation, being a good and safe harbor.”

Thomas Morton in his “New English Canaan,” and William Wood in “New England’s Prospect” record the habit of the Indians of burning over the country in November. By this means, the dense undergrowth was destroyed, large tracts were made passable for the hunter, and easily capable of tillage, and the heavy woods grew like groves in a great park. The Pilgrim explorers found “a high ground, where there is a great deal of land cleared and hath been planted with corn,” and good Pastor Higginson, of Salem, wrote to his friends in the old country, that he had been told, that a man might stand on a little hilly place about three miles from Salem and “see divers thousands of acres of ground as good as need to be, and not a tree in the

same." When the lands were apportioned among the settlers, the broad summits of Heartbreak, Sagamore and Town Hills were assigned as planting lots, and the mystery attending the choice of the hill tops for tillage instead of the rich and level lowlands may be solved by these records. The Indians had cleared these slopes with patient industry and planted them with corn, and the new owners of the land enjoyed the fruits of their toil.

News of the pleasantness of the Indian village, its good land and rich fisheries spread abroad. The Pilgrims, shivering in their rude huts at Plymouth, debated whether they should not migrate at once to this Land of Promise. Mourt, in his Relation under date of December, 1620, says that some of them, "urged greatly the going to Anguam or Angoum, a place twenty leagues off to the Northward, which they heard to be an excellent harbor for ships, better ground and better fishing." But they chose to remove to some less distant spot should removal become necessary.

From time to time, settlers came and built their cabins, to fish for sturgeon, cod and salmon, and gather beaver skins and other peltry from the natives by barter, individual adventurers or employees of some English trading company, and they were not molested by the Indian warriors. The first Englishman, whose name has been preserved, was William Jeffreys. Jeffreys was never a resident, so far as is known. In 1623, he came over in Robert Gorges' company and settled at Wessagussett, now Weymouth, and in 1630 was reckoned one of the principal men of that little hamlet. Prior to 1633, however, he must have been in this neighborhood, for Great Neck was called Jeffrey's Neck from the beginning. As late as 1666 he claimed ownership, and the General Court voted him 500 acre elsewhere, "to be a final issue of all claims by virtue of any grant, heretofore made by any Indians, whatsoever."

The formal occupation and settlement of Agawam were now at hand. By a grant of King James, on Nov. 3, 1620, the whole country from the 40th to the 48th degree of latitude, reaching from Philadelphia to the Bay of Chaleur had been granted to the "council at Plymouth" so called, headed by Sir Ferdinando Gorges. This company made no serious attempt

The original deed of Musconominet, preserved among the papers
of the Winthrop family and given to the Essex Institute
by Robert C. Winthrop Jr.

I Musconominet, Sagamore of Agawam, doe by theise p'sents
acknowledge to have Received of M^r John Winthrop the some of
Twenty poundes, in ful satisfacon of all the Right, property and
Cleame, I have or ought to have, unto all the land lying and being
in the Bay of Agawam, alls Ipswich, being soe called now by the
English, as well alsuch land as I formerly reserved unto my owne use
at Chiboeco, as alsoe all other lands belonging unto me in those parts,
M^r Dummers farme excepted only. And I herby relinquish all the
Right and Interest I have unto all the Havens, Rivers, Creekes,
Islands, huntings and fishings, with all the woodes, swampes, timber
and whatsoever ells is or may be in or upon the said ground to me
belongeing, and I doe hereby acknowledge to have received full satis-
facon from the said Jⁿ Wintropp for all former agreements touching
the p'mises or any part of them, and I doe hereby bind my selfe to
make good the foresaid bargaine and saile unto the said John Wintrop
his heires and assignes forever, and to secure him against the tytle
and claime of all other Indians and Natives whatsoever. Wisse
my hand this 28 June 1638.

MUSCONOMINET
his marke.

Witnesses hereunto.

THOMAS COYTMORE.
JAMES DOWNINGE.
ROBERT HARDINGE.
JNO JOLLIFE.

This deed above written, so signed & witnessed, being compared
wth the original (4 : B. p 381 : 2) word for word, stands thus entred &
Recorded at the request of Captaine Wayte Winthrop this 15th of
february 1682, as Attests

EDWARD RAWSON, *Secret.*

at settlement, and on the 19th of March, 1627-28, issued a patent to Sir Henry Rosewell and others, covering the territory bounded by a line three miles south of the Charles River, and reaching northward to a line three miles north of the Merrimac. Charles the First confirmed this patent by royal grant to the representatives of the Massachusetts Bay Company on the 4th of March, 1629, and on the 20th of June, the ship *George*, bearing John Endicott and the first company of colonists reached Salem. Ship followed ship, and hundreds of sturdy Puritans were soon found in the various settlements.

The attention of the Court of Assistants was soon directed toward the squatter settlers at Agawam. On Sept. 7, 1630, it was "ordered, that noe p'son shall plant in any place within the lymitts of this pattent without leave from Gouñr and Assistants or the maior parte of them;" and, more specifically, "Also that a warrant shall p'sently be sent to Aggawam to comānd those that are planted there forthwith to come away."

But it was not until March, 1633, that the Court made any effort toward peopling this attractive region with settlers after its own heart. "On the 17th of January, 1632-3," as Rev. William Hubbard, our famous Ipswich historian relates in his *History of New England*, "they had intelligence that the French had bought the Scottish plantation near Cape Sables, and that the fort there, with all the ammunition was delivered to them and that the cardinal of France (supposed to be Richelieu) having the managing of that affair, had sent some companies already, and that preparation was made to send more the next year, with divers priests and Jesuits among them. This news alarmed the Governor and Council to stand upon their guard and look to themselves, and upon further debate and consultation with the chief of the country, it was agreed with all expedition to finish the fort began at Boston, and raise another at Nantasket, and to hasten the planting of Agawam (since Ipswich) one of the most commodious places in the country for cattle and tillage, lest an enemy should prevent them by taking possession of the place." Hubbard adds, "the settlement was well advised, but they were more afraid than hurt, for the French aimed at nothing but trade."

No less a person than John Winthrop, son of the Governor,

was selected as the leader of this expedition. He was but twenty-seven years of age, yet a man of large practical sagacity, and undoubted gifts of leadership. Twelve men were assigned him, with the promise of more when the ships arrived, but of these twelve, the names of only nine have been preserved. These were Mr. Clerk, Robert Coles, Thomas Howlett, John Biggs, John Gage, Thomas Hardy, William Perkins, Mr. Thorn-dike and Will Sergeant.¹

The urgency of the settlement is indicated by the departure of the colonists in March, as early as possible after the severity of the winter was spent. There were no roads, and the journey was made undoubtedly in a shallop, skirting the coast. In imagination we can see the hills that stand like sentinels on either side of the River, densely wooded and white perhaps with snow, the marshes laden with the stranded ice floes, and that little craft, with the tide at flood, slowly sailing up the river, eager eyes scanning every rod of the banks to guard against Indian assaults. It rounded Nabby's Point, and dropped anchor in the still cove, where there was firm landing place near at hand.

We hope their wives and children did not accompany them, for those bleak March days must have been days of hardship, if not of suffering. If the squatter settlers, who had been driven away, had grace to leave their cabins undestroyed, temporary shelter might have been found in them, or they may have lived aboard ship awhile, if they really came that way. Yet for all we know, the planters at Agawam may have had the same experiences that Edward Johnson describes in his "Wonder Working Providence," as frequently falling to the lot of those opening up the wilderness. "After they have found out a place of aboad," he writes, "they burrow themselves in the Earth for their first shelter, under some Hill-side, casting the earth aloft upon timber; they make a smoaky fire against the earth at the highest side, and thus these poor servants of Christ provide shelter for themselves, their wives and little ones, keeping off the short showers from their lodgings, but the long rains penetrate through, to their grate disturbance in the night season; yet in these poor wigwams, they sing Psalms, pray and

¹ Winthrop's History of New England, ed. 1853, 1: 120.

praise their God, till they can provide them homes, which ordinarily was not wont to be with many till the Earth, by the Lord's blessing, brought forth bread to feed them, their wives and little ones."

The long summer afforded ample opportunity to build comfortable homes, and make preparation for the winter, in striking contrast with the unfortunate experience of the Pilgrims, landing at Plymouth when winter was already begun. Nature lent kindly aid. The meadows abounded in grass, "both verie thicke, verie long, and verie high in divers places, with a great stalk and a broad and ranker blade" as Pastor Higginson of Salem records, and a letter of Master Graves mentions that it was "up to a man's face." The broad marshes afforded a plentiful supply of salt hay and thatch for their roofs.

Mr. Higginson found the vegetables grown in the virgin soil very comforting. "Our turnips, parsnips and carrots are here both bigger and sweeter than is ordinary to be found in England. Here are stores of pumpions, cucumbers, and other things of that nature I know not. Plentie of strawberries in their time, and penny-royall, winter saverie, sorrell, brook-lime, liverwort, carvell and water-cresses, also leeks and onions are ordinarie." Great lobsters abounded, weighing, it was affirmed from sixteen to twenty-five pounds. As for drink, Mr. Higginson declared, "a sup of New England aire is better than a whole draught of English ale."

An air of dignity attached to the new settlement. Three men of the little company were gentlemen, as the title Mr. prefixed to their names proclaims. It was a far more significant prefix than it is today. Josias Plaistowe was found guilty of theft by the General Court in 1631, and the Court ordered that henceforth he should be called by the name of Josias, and not Mr. as formerly. Only the wealthier and the more educated wore that name of honor. Simple Goodman was the appellation of the common sort.

The new plantation was not forgotten by the good people of Boston. On the twenty-sixth of November, Rev. John Wilson, by leave of his congregation, "went to Agawam to teach the people of that plantation because they had yet no minister." He tarried a week and on December fourth the snow fell knee

deep and detained him several days longer and a boat which came was frozen up in the River.¹ Again, in the following spring, on April 3, 1634, the Governor himself, anxious to see his son, and the new settlement, went on foot to Agawam, and because the people there wanted a minister, spent a Sabbath with them, and exercised by way of prophecy, and returned home the 10th.²

The General Court was jealous of too great an influx of settlers into the new plantation at the outset, and forbade any taking up residence here, without leave from that body, except the original company. During the year, 1633, only one other man, Thomas Sellan, received permission to locate here. The year, 1634, witnessed a great incoming. In May, the people of Newton, now Cambridge, meditating removal, "sent men to Agawam and Merrimack, and gave out they would move," but they emigrated to Connecticut. Rev. Thomas Parker, and a company of a hundred, from Wiltshire in England, came and decided to make their home here;³ but Parker and a considerable company removed the next May, and settled at Quasacacunquen, which they called Newbury, where Mr. Parker's name is still borne by the familiar Parker River.

Notwithstanding all this coming and going, there was steady growth in population, and in August the settlement had attained to too great dignity to wear its Indian name any longer. Accordingly, on Aug. 4, 1634, the Court of Assistants decreed that the place be called Ipswich, after old Ipswich in England, "in acknowledgment of the great honor and kindness done to our people, who took shipping there." Previous to this, in Capt. John Smith's time, the name Southampton had been recommended, and this name occurs on Smith's map of New England.

Three locations of the first importance were decided on at once. For their food supply, they needed a mill, and with commendable thrift they relieved themselves of any common expense in building one, by granting to Mr. John Speneer and Mr. Nicholas Easton liberty to build a mill and a fish weir upon the

¹ Winthrop's History of New England, ed. 1853, I: 141.

² Winthrop's History of New England, ed. 1853, I: 154.

³ Winthrop's History of New England, ed. 1853 I: 158.

river, "about the falls upon it," on condition that they sold half their fish to the inhabitants, at five shillings a thousand more or less, as the market price varied. Spencer and Easton did not improve their privilege and definitely resigned it in December. They removed to Newbury in Mr. Parker's company in 1636. Mr. Easton became involved in the religious troubles incident to Mrs. Hutchinson's teachings, and subsequently removed to Rhode Island and became the Governor of the Colony.¹ Mr. Richard Saltonstall, however, son of the titled Sir Richard of Watertown, became a resident and built the mill just about where the old stone mill now stands.

For their spiritual nurture, they must have a meeting-house, and they built some humble structure, perhaps of logs and thatch, like the first church in Winnisimmet. There is no reason to doubt that they chose for its location the slightly spot where the present First Church stands. "Meeting House Hill" it has been from the earliest times. The "way to the meeting house" was the name given to streets leading toward it, and Edward Johnson, who was here in 1646, says, "Their meeting house is a very good prospect to a great part of the town, and beautifully built." He was speaking of the new building that was erected that year, perhaps, but as the Town sold the old building to Thomas Firman in February, 1646-7, and stipulated that it should be removed by the 29th of September, the old building either occupied the very spot desired for the new, or was very near at hand, and detracted from the glory of the new edifice.²

For the burial of their dead they must have a Burying Ground. In their old English homes the village church had its quiet church-yard, and the dead slept close by the walls of the sanctuary. In their Puritan dislike of all things savoring of churchly leanings, our fathers built themselves not churches but "meeting-houses," and they had no "churchyards," but simple "burying-grounds." They selected a goodly spot, the old ground at the foot of the sunny-hill slope on High Street, and the year, 1634, saw a very sorrowful company gathered about a new grave somewhere there, for Martha, the young

¹ Felt, page 72.

² See Publications of the Ipswich Hist. Soc. No. XI, The Meeting House Green, etc.

wife of John Winthrop, Jr., lived but a year after the settlement was begun,— the very first, perhaps, to be laid to rest there.

Roads were cut through the woods. They were soon called "streets," but it is likely they were rough and encumbered with stumps and stones in these earliest years. The principal thoroughfare was quaint, crooked, venerable High Street, skirting the bank of the river, reaching out to the fat tillage lands on Manning's Neck, the goodly pastures on Jeffrey's, and the level acres of salt marsh, on the one side, and on the other following the warm, western slope of Town Hill, a most inviting shelter for the homes of the infant community, and opening a way to other marshes and pastures on the western border. That part of the street that now borders the wharves was at first called, "the way to the meeting house," or "the cross-way leading to the mill." How vividly these names recall the simplicity and reverence of those days! Later, it bore the more sounding title, "East End." The main portion of the Street was variously called "ye Great St.," "ye Long St.," High St., Hill St., and in common with other streets is sometimes alluded to as "the king's highway", while the upper portion was known as West End.

North Main Street was styled originally "the way to the mill" or "to the meeting house" as physical or spiritual food engaged the thought of the speaker. Market Street and Washington Street both seem to have been called Mill Street. Access to the mill was gained through the present Union Street. Stony Street or Aniball's or Annable's Lane of the early days is now known as Summer Street. Scott's Lane was known later as Washington Street, and Dirty Lane, because it was so muddy, afterwards Baker's Lane, now rejoices in the name of Mineral Street.

A crooked foot-way led from Scott's Lane toward the spot occupied by the Burke shoe factory, across the brook, and up over the hill where the cellars of the ancient Pindar houses show its course, and turning sharply to the right, entered North Main Street. This was distinctively a way to the meeting house for settlers in the northwest section of the town. It was known later as Pindar's Lane, and the upper end of it is still known as Loney's Lane.

Another lane, early distinguished as Hog Lane, and earlier than that as "the way to the Merrimack," came to be called Brook Street. This was the main road for eastern travel, and continued to be used for many years. Mr. John W. Nourse has very ingeniously traced this ancient way over the hills, and by bridge across Egypt River to its juncture with the present highway. Green Lane is recognized as Green Street. Thus in name at least the sturdy pioneers preserved the remembrance of the delightful, shadowy, quiet lanes of Old England, with their hedgerows and primroses, but in this land of forest, thicket and swamp the lanes were probably only narrower than streets and equally rough and uninviting.

Close by the river bank, on either side, a public way was sedulously preserved from any encroachment. On the north side of the river it still remains in Water Street, and originally it seems to have continued near the river, through the present County lands. On the south side it skirted the river, where the remains of the old Heard's Wharf are seen today, followed Turkey Shore, and continued round the cove to the saw-mill. There were ways to the Labour-in-vain fields, and to the Heart-break Hill lands, "Old England," as we call it now, and to Chebacco. One of these is known now, as from the earliest days, as Argilla Road.

South Main Street, in part, at least, was not opened until 1646, when the bridge was built. The present County Road on the south side was an ancient way, extending to the river. Foot-travellers crossed the river on a foot-bridge in 1634. This bridge was near the saw-mill now owned by the Damon heirs.¹

On all these streets and lanes, plots of various sizes, but rarely exceeding three acres, were assigned for house lots. Tillage lands were apportioned in six and twelve acre lots, and even larger, near the town, and great farms were granted on the outskirts.

It is a matter of more than passing interest to see how these earliest settlers chose their lands. Robert Coles received a house lot on East Street, not far from Brook Street, and the farm that is believed to be the Greenwood farm. Winthrop's

¹ See a careful consideration of this in the chapters on Houses and Lands.

lot adjoined, lower down the street. Here we may suppose Winthrop built his house. He also received a grant of a six-acre field that seems to have included a part at least of the fine lot on the south side of South Main St. opposite the Heard mansion, and a 300 acre farm, called the Argilla farm, afterwards owned by Samuel Symonds, and now, in part, the property of the heirs of the late Thomas Brown.

Howlett and Hardy located on the land bounded by the way now called Agawam Avenue, leading from East Street to the shipyard. Hardy built his house there "on the highway leading to the river." Howlett's lot adjoined Hardy's, fronting "on the cross-way leading towards the Mill," and although no mention of his house occurs, I have seen an allusion to the well known as "^{Hardy's} Howlett's well," on this tract of land. Back of the shipyard shed, an old well may be found by the curious searcher, and the bricks of ancient pattern strewn around attest an early residence, and suggest that here may have been Howlett's lot. The remains of old wharves near by indicate that this was a much-used way in those times.

Wm. Perkins owned land on the north side of the road to Jeffrey's Neck, and perhaps lived there, and Mr. William Clerk, or Clark, had an acre and a half house lot near the corner occupied by Mr. Glover. But he did not build, for Thomas Clark recorded a purchase of the lot in 1639, and the deed stated that he had "sett a dwelling there." William Clark also owned 60 acres in the Labour-in-vain fields, as they styled the lands near the great creek, called "Labour-in-vain." John Gage had a six-acre lot, as did Howlett and later settlers, on "this neck of land the Town standeth," as the Town Record quaintly reads, commonly known as Manning's Neck.

Thus we know that seven of the original thirteen chose lands in neighborly proximity, and the whole baker's dozen may have pitched their camp in this section. Convenience and safety and love of society naturally constrained these lonely adventurers to keep within easy touch of each other during those spring and summer months, while they lived in expectation of French incursions and Indian assaults.

As for the homes of the settlers, we know some things and can imagine others. The house lots were fenced in, in 1635,

or paled, as the phrase was, with sharpened stakes driven in to the earth, perhaps in the criss-cross style, a rough inclosure, for we must beware of imagining any resemblance to the trim fence of our day at the first.

Within the fences, I imagine, were generally gardens or a grass plot separating the houses from the highway, for many of our oldest houses were built well back from the street, and old deeds contain many references to land in front. Edward Johnson, in 1646, remarked on "the pleasant gardens and orchards" about the houses. Here the housewives doubtless had their beloved English flowers, heart's-ease, mignonette and wall-flowers, and their lavender and thyme, rue and rosemary, marjoram, saffron and anise, for scenting chests and closets and flavoring their cookery.

Trees of many kinds were soon grown. The Assistants of the Company sent over in their first ships seeds or cuttings of the peach, plum, filbert, cherry, pear, apple, quince and pomegranate, as well as potatoes and hop roots. In 1646-47, an ancient interleaved almanac of Rev. Mr. Danforth mentions "great pears," "long apples," Blackstone apples, Tankerd apples, Kreton pippins, "long red apples" all ripe and gathered by the middle of August, "Russetines and Pearmaines" gathered in the middle of September.

The home surroundings then were inviting. What of the homes themselves? Certain ancient mansions of venerable age remain. Their exact age is a matter of conjecture, but popular tradition as to their antiquity is generally in error. Be that as it may, these fine old houses, large and imposing still, are not to be considered as the type of the first dwellings. It must be borne in mind that there was no saw-mill, of which we have certain record until 1649. Previous to that date, the sawing of trees into planks and boards was done by hand with a long saw, working in a saw-pit, one man standing below and one above the saw-log; and clapboards and shingles were made by hand for a century and more. Every nail, hinge and bolt was forged out laboriously by the village blacksmiths. Cut nails were not made till 1790, and laths were not sawed till 1830. There was no time for elaborate carpentry. Work

must be spent on clearing the forest, and breaking up the soil to provide food for themselves and their cattle.

So they built for themselves small, rough houses. Some of them were doubtless the simple log-house of the modern backwoods man, with a roof covered with tiles or with the long thatch, as many a laborer's cottage in Old England is still roofed. Sometimes, as in the case of Mr. Oldham at Watertown, they were built all of clapboards.¹

The chimneys were chiefly of wood, daubed with clay. Mr. Sharpe's house in Boston took fire ("the splinters being not clayed at the top") and "taking the thatch burned it down."² This happened on March 16, 1630, and Governor Dudley's account of the fire speaks of this and Colborn's house, "as good and well-furnished as most in the plantation." Repeated accidents of this kind show how common these wood chimneys were, and a vote of the Town was passed, in 1647, "requiring chinnies to be kept clean," and "also to look to any defect in daubing." Governor Winthrop's Journal mentions, under date of March 16, 1638, a violent south southeast storm that overturned some new strong houses, but the Lord miraculously preserved old weak cottages. He also records a dreadful tempest at northeast with wind and rain, in 1646, in which the Lady Moody's house at Salem, being but one story in height, and a flat roof, with a brick chimney in the midst, had the roof taken off in two parts (with the top of the chimney) and carried six or seven rods off. This house, a letter of Winthrop mentions, as nine feet high.³

One item of quaint interest adds vividness to our conception of this simple type of dwellings. In 1668, the house of Jacob Perkins was burned. The maid servant was arrested on suspicion of incendiarism. She testified that she stood upon the oven on the back side of the house, and supported herself by holding to the thatch of the roof, while she looked to see if there were any hogs in the corn. Standing there, she knocked the ashes out of her pipe upon the thatch . . . When she looked

¹ Winthrop's History of New England, ed. 1853, 1: 104.

² Winthrop's History of New England, 1853, 1: 58.

³ See Publications of Ipswich Historical Society, No. v, The Early Homes of the Puritans.

back from the cornfield, she saw smoke, and gave the alarm to Neighbour Abraham Perkins's wife. She came in haste, and looked into "both the rooms of the house, and up into both the chimneys." She also "looked up into the chamber thro the boards that lay very open towards that side where the smoke was on the outside."

A photograph could hardly be more realistic. The house had two rooms on the ground floor, and a chimney at each end. In the kitchen, an oven was built outside, opening from the fireplace, without doubt. The house had but a single story, we judge from the low roof, and the floor of the loft was so loosely boarded that the roof could be seen through the cracks.

Up and down our streets, these small, roughly-built pioneer homes were built. They were devoid of paint. Many windows were destitute of glass, and were provided with oiled paper. Heavy thatch roofs and clumsy wooden chimneys blended well with the savagery of the wild forest. Winthrop's anticipation of "poor cottages in the wilderness" was realized by many a Puritan in all these early settlements. Here and there, however, more pretentious houses arose at a surprisingly early date. Deputy Governor Symonds's house at the Argilla farm was of superior quality, if the plan of the owner was carried out. He bought the farm of Mr. Winthrop in February, 1637-8. Shortly after he wrote to Mr. Winthrop, desiring him to superintend the building.¹ "I am indifferent whether it be 30 foote or 35 foote long; 16 or 18 foote broad. I would have wood chimneys at each end, the frames of the chimneys to be stronger then ordinary, to beare good heavy load of clay for security against fire. You may let the chimneys be all the breadth of the howse, if you thinke good; the 2 lower dores to be in the middle of the house, one opposite to the other. Be sure that all the dorewaies in evry place be soe high that any man may goe upright under. The staiers I thinke had best be placed close by the dore. It makes noe great matter though there be noe particion vpon the first floore; if there be, make one bigger then the other. For windowes let them not be over large in any roome, and as few as conveniently may be: let all have current shutting draw-windowes, haveing respect both to present and future vse."

¹ Mass. Hist. Soc. Collections, series 4, vol. VII, p. 118.

“I think to make it a girt howse will make it more chargeable then neede; however, the side bearers for the second story being to be loaden with corne, etc., must not be pinned on, but rather cyther lett in to the studds, or borne vp with false studds, and soe tenented in at the ends; I leave it to you and the carpenters. In this story over the first, I would have a particion, whether in the middest or over the particion vnder I leave it. In the garrett, noe particion, but let there be one or two lucome¹ windowes, if two, both on one side.”

“I desire to have the sparrs reach doune pretty deep at the eyes to preserve the walls the better from the wether. I would have it sellered all over, and soe the frame of the howse accordingly from the bottom. I would have the howse stronge in timber, though plaine & well brased. I would have it covered with very good oake-hart inch board, for the present, to be tacked on onely for the present as you tould me.”

“Let the frame begin from the bottom of the seller, and soe in the ordinary way upright; for I can hereafter (to save the timber within ground) run vp a thin brick worke without. I think it best to have the walls without to be all clap-boarded besides the clay walls. It were not amisse to leave a doreway or two within the seller, that soe hereafter one may make comings in from without and let them be both vpon that side which the lucome¹ window or windowes be.”

As Mr. Symonds desired that it be built as speedily as possible it may have been erected that same year. This was certainly a comfortable home. The west end of the ancient house now owned by the Historical Society was framed in precisely this fashion, and was built probably by John Fawn, before his removal about the year 1638.² No other house of this period exists today in our community.

¹ Lutheran?

² Publications of the Ipswich Hist. Society, No. x.

CHAPTER III.

HOMES AND DRESS.

Our surmise as to the common style of their dwellings is confirmed by indubitable record. Matthew Whipple lived on the corner of the present County and Summer streets, near Miss Sarah P. Caldwell's present residence. In the inventory of his estate made in 1645, his dwelling house, barn and four acres of land, were appraised at £36, and six bullocks were valued at the same figure. His executors sold the dwelling with an acre of ground on the corner, in 1648, to Robert Whitman for £5. Whitman sold this property, and another house and lot, to William Duglass, cooper, for £22, in 1652. John Anniball, or Annable, bought the dwelling, barn, and two acres of land, on the eastern corner of North Main and Summer streets, then called Annable's Lane, for £39, in 1647. Joseph Morse was a man of wealth and social standing. His inventory in 1646 mentions a house, land, etc., valued at £9, and another old house with barn and eight acres of land valued at £8, 10s and one cow and a heifer, estimated at £6, 10s. Thomas Firman was a leading citizen. His house was appraised in the inventory at £15, and the house he had bought of John Proctor, with three acres of land, was estimated to be worth £18, 10s. Proctor's house was near the lower falls on County street, and his land included the estate now owned by Mr. Warren Boynton, Mr. Samuel N. Baker and others. Few deeds of sale or inventories mention houses of any considerable value in these earlier years.

Richard Scofield sold a house and two acres of land to Robert Roberts, in 1643, for £11, 17s. In 1649 John West sold John Woodman, for £13, a house and an acre of land, and another half acre near the Meeting House. Robert Whitman sold John Woodman a house near the Meeting House, for £7. In 1652, Richard Scofield, leather dresser, sold Moses Pengry yeoman, a house and land, for £17, and Solomon Martin sold

Thomas Lovell, currier, a house and lot near the present "Dodge's Corner," for £16. Rarely in these opening years, the appraised value of an estate amounted to £100. In 1646, this was the valuation of John Shatswell's. It included a "house, homestead, barn, cow house, orchard, yard, etc." Six oxen were appraised at £36, and five cows at £25, 0s. The average price received from the actual sale of houses was less than £25. Mr. John Whittingham had a house on High street containing kitchen and parlor, and chambers over the kitchen and parlor, sumptuously furnished, as the inventory records in 1648, and valued with the barn, cow house and forty-four acres of land, at £100, but the contents of a single chamber were appraised at £82 15s.

The established value of a bullock seems to have been £6, and cowes were appraised at about £5. A day's work of a team in drawing timber for the watch house, in 1645, was reckoned at 8 shillings, and in 1646, the inventory of the estate of Joseph Morse reveals the market prices of various commodities.

20 bushels of Indian corn	were rated at £2, 10s.
$\frac{1}{2}$ bushel of hemp seede, 2
6 small cheeses,	2
20 lbs. butter,	10

These prices fix the purchasing power of money at that period and make it certain that houses, that were quoted at £25 and less, were very simple and primitive. Often, we may presume, they were log-houses.

Thomas Lechford, in his Note Book, preserves an interesting contract, made by John Davys, joiner, to build a house for William Rix, in 1640; it was to be "16 foot long and 14 feet wide, w'th a chamber floare finish't summer and joysts, a cellar floare with joysts finish't, the rooffe and walls clapboarded on the out syde, the chimney framed without daubing, to be done with hewan timber." The price was to be £21.

Houses of this dimension were common, as late as 1665. In that year such inroads had been made upon the oaks and other valuable trees, that the Town of Ipswich ordered the Selectmen to issue a permit before a tree could be cut. The certificates issued possess a curious interest.

Edmund Bridges was allowed timber "to make up his cellar,"

in 1667. In 1670, Joseph Goodhue received permit for a house 18 feet square, and Ephraim Fellows for a house 16 feet square. In 1671, Thomas Burnam's new house was 20 feet square, that of Obadiah Bridges 18 feet square, and Deacon Goodhue built one 16 feet square. In 1657, Alexander Knight, a helpless pauper, was provided with a house at the Town's expense, and the vote provided that it should be 16 feet long, 12 feet wide, 7 or 8 feet stud, with thatched roof, for which £6 was appropriated.

Within, these homes were for the most part very plain and simple. Governor Dudley's house in Cambridge was reputed to be over-elegant, so that Governor Winthrop wrote him: "He did not well to bestow such cost about wainscoting and adorning his house, in the beginning of a plantation, both in regard to the expense and the example." But Dudley was able to reply, that "it was for the warmth of his house, and the charge was but little, being but clap-boards, nailed to the wall in the form of wainscot." The common finish of the rooms of houses of the better sort was a coating of clay, over the frame timbers and the bricks which filled the spaces between the studs. The ceilings were frequently, if not universally, left unfinished, and the rough, unpainted beams and floor joists, and the flooring of the room above, blackened with the smoke and grimy with dust, were a sombre contrast to the white ceilings of the modern home.

Nevertheless, I incline to believe that if we could turn back the wheels of time and enter an early Ipswich home, we should find that it was not only habitable, but comfortable, and the furnishings much beyond our anticipation. For these yeomen and carpenters and weavers very likely had transported some of their furniture across the sea, and they reproduced here in the wilderness the living rooms of their old English homes.

Happily our curiosity may be gratified in very large degree by the numerous inventories that remain, and we may in imagination undertake a tour of calls in the old town, and see for ourselves what those houses contained. There were but two rooms on the main floor, the "hall" and the parlor, and entrance to them was made from the entry in the middle of the

house. The "hall" of the old Puritan house, was the "kitchen" of the next century. Indeed, these two words are used of the same apartment from the earliest record. It was the living room, the room where they cooked and ate and wrought and sat; in one home at least, that of Joseph Morse, a well-to-do settler, the room where his bed was set up, wherein he died in 1646.

The chief object in this family room was always the fireplace, with its broad and generous hearth and chimney, ample enough to allow boys bent on mischief to drop a live calf from the roof, as they did one night, into poor old Mark Quilter's kitchen. As brick chimneys were not the rule at first, safety could be secured only by building their wooden chimneys, daubed with clay, abnormally large. No wonder the worthy folk who wrote these inventories invariably began with the fireplace and its appurtenances. Piled high with logs, roaring and snapping, it sent forth most comfortable heat, and cast a warm glow over the plainest interior, and beautified the humblest home. "Here is good living for those that love good fires," Pastor Higginson wrote. Bare walls, rough, unfinished ceilings, floors without carpets or rugs, all took on an humble grace; privation and loneliness and homesickness could be forgotten, in the rich glow of the evening firelight.

Several pairs of andirons or cobirons were frequently used to support logs of different lengths. In one hall, at least, two pairs of cobirons, and a third pair ornamented with brasses are mentioned. Within easy reach, were the bellows and tongs, the fire-pan for carrying hot coals, the "fire-fork" and "fire-iron, for use about the hearth, we presume.

Over the fire hung the trammel or coltrell, as it is called in one inventory. Pot hooks were suspended from the wooden or iron bar within the chimney that was supplanted by the crane in later times, and from them hung pots and kettles of copper, brass or iron, and of sizes, various. Some of these kettles must have been of prodigious size. Matthew Whipple had three brass pots that weighed sixty-eight pounds, and a copper that weighed forty pounds. The rich John Whittingham's kitchen, in his High street home, boasted a copper that was worth £3 10s, and Mr. Nelson of Rowley had a "great copper" that was

inventoried at £10 sterling. The family washing, soap-making, candle-dipping and daily cookery, no doubt, required them all.

A copper baking-pan, a great brass pan, spits for roasts, iron dripping pans to catch the juices, gridirons and frying-pans, an iron peele or shovel for the brick oven, a trivet (a three-legged support for hot pans or pots), and the indispensable warming-pan, were common appendages of this central orb. Lesser articles—skimmers, skillets and ladles, chafing dishes and posnets, smoothing irons and box irons that were heated from within, and sieves covered with haircloth or tiffany, were found as well. Upon the open shelves stood the rows of pewter plates or platters, and latten or brass ware, all bright and shining in the firelight, and upon nails,

“The porringers that in a row
Hung high and made a glittering show.”

Trenchers and trays and platters of wood were still common; “juggs” and leather bottles found place. Pewter salts, pots, bottles, spoons, cups and flagons, candlesticks of pewter or iron, spoons of silver or “alehimie,” an alloy of brass, were abundant.

The cupboard or shelf bore the books that were found in almost every family, “the great Bible” and smaller Bibles, the Psalm book, some sad volumes of Doctor Preston’s or Mr. Dike’s or Doctor Bifield’s theological writings, the “physike book” in one instance, and the silver bowl, or other cherished remnant of former luxury. For furniture, there were tables and frames on which boards were laid and removed, forms or long settees, stools and cushions, but only a chair or two, for chairs were luxuries then. Other clumsy things, that ought to have found place in barn or “leanto,” are mentioned so regularly in the list of hall or kitchen chattels, that we are compelled to think they were really there—the “chirne,” and powdering tub, as they called the great tub used for salting meats, barrels and keelers, cowles for water-carrying and pails, bucking tubs for washing and buckets, beere vessels and sundry articles of unknown use, “earthen salts,” “cheese-breads,” “beekor balke,” and “hayles.”

Either those halls must have had extraordinary capacity

for storage, or the occupants must have had scant room in many a house. Queer, confused rooms they must have been at best, in their furnishings and the multitude of employments continually going on, as suggested by the implements, the spinning and weaving, the sewing and knitting, the washing and ironing, cooking and brewing, butter and cheese-making. Their garnishings, too, were quaint. Strings of dried apples and corn and fat hams swung in the smoke of the chimney and, grim and stern, the ever present fire-arms, ready for use at a moment's warning hung upon the walls. The briefest inventory includes these.

Matthew Whipple's "hall," on the corner of Summer and County streets, must have been a veritable arsenal. Upon its walls hung three muskets, three pairs of bandoleers, three swords and two rests (or crotched sticks, in which the long heavy musket barrel was rested while aim was taken), a fowling piece, a "costlett," or armor for the breast, a pike and sword, a rapier, a halberd and bill. In John Knowlton's "hall," we should have found a musket, bandoleers, rest, knapsack, moulds and scourer. John Lee, the owner of the land still known as Lee's, or Leigh's meadow, on the Argilla road, had a sword and belt, pistols and holster, and Luke Heard owned a "pistolett." Head pieces and corselets were not uncommon. John Winthrop's kitchen may have been a depot of supply, for it contained fourteen muskets, rests and bandoleers.

The frequent mention of candlesticks suggests that candles were in common use in these first Ipswich homes, yet a more primitive method was common in the poorer families at least. Higginson tells us how the Salem houses were lighted, at the beginning of the settlement. "Although New England have no tallow to make candles of, yet by the abundance of the fish thereof, it can afford oil for lamps. Yea, our pine trees that are the most plentiful of all wood, doth allow us plenty of candles, which are very useful in a house. And they are such candles as the Indians commonly use, having no other, and they are nothing else but the wood of the pine tree, cloven in two little slices, something thin, which are so full of the moys-ture of turpentine and pitch, that they burn as cleere as a torch." "Candlewood," is the name of a fine farm district

of our town today. It assures us that the Ipswich planters knew the value of the fat pine strips. "Old lamps," are sometimes mentioned, perhaps the open iron or tin cup with a wick lying over one side fed with fish oil, or lamps brought with their household goods.

The frugality of the early living is frequently remarked on. Felt says, "For more than a century and a half, the most of them had pea and bean porridge, or broth, made of the liquor of boiled salt meat and pork, and mixed with meal, and sometimes hasty pudding and milk, both morning and evening." But those great spits (Matthew Whipple had four that weighed together twenty pounds), brass baking pans and dripping pans, kettles and pots, gridirons, frying pans and skillets, tell of more appetizing fare. The cattle in the stalls and the abounding game in forest and sea, furnished the material for substantial and generous living for the great majority, we will believe. Yet the best spread table would have looked strange to us. Wooden plates, sometimes a square bit of wood slightly hollowed or perfectly plain, and platters for the central dish, at best dishes and plates of bright pewter; no forks, for forks did not attain common use till the later years of the century; no coffee or tea, but plenty of home-brewed beer and cider and stronger spirits for drinks,—these things seem rude in style and deficient in comfort.

In the parlor, or the "fine-room," surprises await us as well. Like the hall, it had its fireplace, and its goodly array of hearth furniture, but its furnishings were rarely elegant. The most conspicuous article, even in the homes of rich men, like Matthew Whipple and John Whittingham, was the best bed, of imposing size and stately elegance, with its curtains and valance or half curtain, that hung from the cross pieces to the floor, and is still in use with ancient bedsteads,—fitted most luxuriously with a mat upon the cords, and with beds that awake our envy. Matthew Whipple's best feather bed, bolster and nine pillows weighed one hundred and six pounds, and were valued at £5-6-0. Mr. Whittingham's parlor bed and furnishings were worth £12-0-0, Thomas Barker's of Rowley, £13-0-0. What an amount of "solid comfort" is represented

by an hundred weight of feathers with a warming pan, in those bleak Puritan winters!

The furnishings were ample. Mine host Lumpkin, one of the earliest inn-keepers, had two flock beds and two bolsters, in addition to the feather bed; also five blankets, one rug and one coverlet. Strangely enough, a rug or carpet was a bed furnishing and not a floor covering and mention remains of a rug for the baby's cradle.

In John Jackson's house, close by the present Methodist meeting-house, was "a half-headed bedstead," that rejoiced in "an old dornix coverlet," and it had "a side bed for a child." Lionel Chute, the schoolmaster, in his East street home, had an "old damakell coverlet." Thomas Firman had "damiele curtaynes and vallens." A trundle bed was common. Beside the bed were a table, a "joyned table," as it is called, made with turned legs, and "joyned stools," few chairs, but plenty of cushions, and a "cushen stoole" occasionally. Whittingham's parlor had eleven curtains, and its two windows were adorned with curtains and curtain rods, one of the few instances mentioned of which I am at present aware.

In the parlor, too, were the chests, the common strong boxes in which they brought their goods and the more elaborate ones for storage of bedding and table linen. One chest in Whipple's parlor was furnished with a glass and there were three simpler ones. These chests were highly prized by their owners, and they were important pieces of furniture when the closet and modern bureaus and chiffoniers had not yet found place. Lionel Chute mentions in his will, "all things in my chest, and white deep box with the locke and key." We read of great chests and small chests, long boarded chests, great boarded chests and John Knowlton's "chest with a drawer," also of trunks and boxes. Robert Mussey bequeathed his daughter Mary in 1642 his home, adjoining that of John Dane the elder, "in the West street in the town," also "my best Bible," "a great brass pan to be reserved for her until she comes of years," and "the broad box with all her mother's wearing linen."

The "cubbered" as it was spelled, was common, and it bore

a "cubbered clothe" "laced" or "fringed." In some of the finest houses there was a clock, valued at £1 in Matthew Whipple's, £2 in Thomas Nelson's of Rowley. In Whipple's parlor, too, there was "a staniell bearing cloth;" and a "baize bearing cloth." This was used, it has been affirmed, for wrapping babies, when carried to baptism, and Puritan babies invariably went to church on the first Sunday after birth. On January 22, 1694, Judge Sewall records—"A very extraordinary storm by reason of the falling and driving of the snow. Few women could get to meeting. A child named Alexander was baptized in the afternoon." I fancy that many wee new-born children may have been taken to that hospitable fireside, before and after the baptism in the icy cold meeting house, and those bearing cloths may have been a kind of public property, and often seen in the first house of worship, for Whipple died the year the old house was sold, 1646.

The family still for extracting the fragrant oil from rose leaves and the medicinal virtues from roots and herbs found place in the stately Whittingham parlor; and in Giles Badger's of Newbury there were a "glass bowl, beaker and jugg," the only suggestion of toilet convenience which I remember. A case of glass bottles now and then is mentioned.

But of pictures for the wall and carpets for the floor, and the ornaments now deemed essential for parlor adornings, there were few. The finest Puritan parlor of these early days was only a primitive best bed-room. Indeed, it was not always a spare room. Joseph Morse, whose will was probated in 1646, bequeathed his son John "the bed and all y^e bedding he lyeth on, standing in the parlor."

Above stairs the sleeping apartments of the family were found. For the most part, they were cold and cheerless, mere lofts, as the houses were of one story. In one house at least, in Rowley, the floor boards were laid so loosely that a person above could look down through the cracks and see whatever was occurring below, as a witness testified before the court. If such wide spacing was common the heat from the hall fire would have made the "chamber over the kitchen" the coveted room.

But Mr. Whittingham's house had a set of fire irons in the chamber over the parlor, and this excess of dignity betokens more of comfort than fell to the common lot. The contents of that chamber are so interesting that they deserve a full record as showing how much of luxury even was found in the better class of Ipswich houses of this early period.

Item	A bedstead, two fether beds, curtains, rugg, etc.	£13- 0-0
"	One fether bed, one boulster, two quilts, two pair blankets, one coverlet, and trundlebed,	6- 0-0
"	Four trunks, one chest, one box, two chairs, four stools, two small trunks,	3- 5-0
"	9 pieces of plate, 11 spoons	25- 0-0
"	10 pr. sheets, £8 ten others £4	12- 0-0
"	3 pr. pillow beers 8 ^s	1- 4-0
"	3 " " " 5 ^s	15-0
"	Four table cloths	2-10-0
"	1 doz. diaper, 2 doz. flaxen napkins	1-10-0
"	2 doz. of napkins	12-0
"	the hangings in the chamber,	1-10-0
"	3 holland cupboard cloths	2- 4-0
"	2 half sheetes	1-10-0
"	1 diaper and damask cupboard cloth	1- 0-0
"	one screene	10-0
"	2 pair cob-iron, 1 pr. tongs	15-0
"	one carpett	3-10-0
"	one pair curtains and vallance	5- 0-0
"	one blew coverlet,	1- 0-0

This was a regal room for the times, with its carpet and screen, its hangings upon the walls, its rich store of family silver, and its sumptuous beds and bed linen. Think of twenty pairs of sheets, all spun and woven by hand, and a single bedstead with its belongings, worth 13 pounds sterling, more than twice the whole value of some of the dwellings of that day! But Shakespeare's will specified the "second best bed" for his wife's portion, and extraordinary value commonly attached to these high-posted, canopied, curtained structures. Yet this room had no looking-glass nor toilet articles, bureau nor case of drawers. In the other chamber we find a variety of miscellaneous articles besides the beds and bedding, a saddle, rolls of canvas of different value, 10 yds. of French serge, 6 yds. of

carpeting, remnants of holland and a valuable assortment of wearing apparel, worth £22, unfortunately for our information, with no mention of garments in detail.

In Matthew Whipple's chamber, there were 7 children's blankets, and a pillion cloth and foot stool. At Joseph Morse's, the chamber was a store room, where were deposited, as we have mentioned:

20 bushels Indian corn	£2- 10-0
mault	
half bushel hemp seede	2-0
6 small cheeses	2-0
20 pounds butter	10-0
" hemp drest and undrest."	10-0

One other fine interior must be noted—that of Nathaniel Rogers—pastor of the church from Feb., 1638, to 1655, whose residence stood very near the old Baker house, so called, fronting on the South Green, and whose house lot reached down to the River, and was bounded by Mr. Saltonstall's property on the S. W. and Isaac Coming's on the N. E.

Mr. Rogers died in 1655 leaving an estate, real and personal, valued at £1497, a princely fortune in those days. His hall contained a small cistern, with other implements, valued at 17s. (this was an urn, probably of pewter, for holding water and wine, and the "other implements" were wine-glasses perhaps), two Spanish platters, of earthen or china ware, very rare at that time, a chest and hanging cupboard, a round table with five joined stools, six chairs and five cushions. Evidently this was a dining room, for the kitchen was a separate room with an elaborate set of pewter dishes, flagons and the like that weighed a hundred and fifty pounds, and the usual paraphernalia of cooking utensils including a "jacked" for turning the spit.

The parlor contained some rare articles, a great chair, two pictures, a livery cupboard, a clock and other implements worth three pounds, window curtains and rods, and the one solitary musical instrument in all the town, so far as early inventories show, "a treble violl," by which is meant, it may be supposed, a violin. Yet this elegant room had a canopy bed and down pillows.

The chamber furnishings were exceptionally fine. Its bed

and bedding were valued at £14-10-0. A single "perpetuanny coverlet" was appraised at £1-05-0. There was a gilt looking glass, a "childing wicker basket" for the babies' toilet, perhaps, a table basket, and a sumptuous store of linen. A single suit of diaper table linen was reckoned at £4, two pair of holland sheets at £3-10s., five fine pillow-beeres or cases, £1-15s., and goods brought from Old England worth over twenty pounds.

In the chamber over the hall were a yellow rug, a couch, silver plate worth £35-18s., and the only watch I have ever found mentioned, valued at £4, in addition to the common furniture. The study gloried in a library, worth £100-0-0, an extraordinary collection of books, revealing scholarly tastes as well as a plethoric purse, a cabinet, a desk and two chairs, and a pair of creepers or little fire irons.

In contrast with the comfort and luxury of these fine homes, "the short and simple annals of the poor" would be of deep interest. Unfortunately for us, as well as for the humble folk themselves, who dwelt in houses sixteen and eighteen feet square, their belongings were so few and cheap that an inventory seemed superfluous, and we are left largely to our own surmising as to how they lived. One glimpse into the humbler sort of home is permitted us in the inventory of William Averill. His will was entered in 1652. He gave to each of his seven children the sum of five shillings, "for my outward estate being but small." In his inventory his house and lot were appraised at £10, and the furnishings enumerated are:

1 iron pott, 1 brass pott, 1 frying pan, 4 pewter platters	
1 flagon, 1 iron kettle, 1 brass kettle, 1 copper, 1 brass pan, and some other small things,	£ 2-17-0
2 chests, 1 fether bed, 1 other bed, 2 pair of sheets, 2 bolsters, 3 pillows, 2 blankets, 1 coverlid, 1 bedstead, and other small linen,	5-10-0
2 coats and wearing apparel	3-0-0
a warming pan	3-0
a tub, 2 pails, a few books	10-0
a corslett	1- 0-0

The total of house, land, cattle and goods was £50.

He was not desperately poor then, but his circumstances were somewhat narrow. His family numbered nine souls.

yet they had but one bedstead, and beds and bedding only adequate for this, and four pewter platters for the daily meals. How these nine Averills ate and slept would be an entertaining story, and a reproof to much discontent.

In Coffin's History of Newbury I find the following, under the date of 1657: "Steven Dow did acknowledge to him it was a good while before he could eate his master's food, viz. meate and milk, or drinke beer, saying he did not know it was good, because he was not used to eat such victuall, but to eate bread and water porridge, and to drink water." No doubt many a family of the poorer sort lived as frugally as he.

The house of John Winthrop, jun., who led the little band of settlers to our town in 1633, is the most interesting of the earliest homes. "An Inventorie of Mr. Winthropp's goods of Ipswich," made by William Clerk, about the year 1636, while Mr. Winthrop was in England, has recently come into the possession of the Historical Society. Thanks to the carefulness of the ancient recorder, we know the contents of every room, and we find far less of luxury than Mr. Rogers enjoyed. Indeed, the humblest of his fellow-citizens might have felt at home in the unpretentious domicile of the excellent young leader. The inventory was made at so early a date, moreover, that it gives us certain knowledge of the rooms and their furnishings of one of the original houses.

Imp^{re}; In the Cham^r ov^r the parlor 1 feath^r bed 1 banckett
1 cov^rlett 1 blew rugg 1 boster & 2 pillowes.

trunck marked with R. W. F. wherein is

1 mantle of silk wth gld lace

1 holland tablecloth some 3 yards loun^g

1 pr. SSS holl [twilled holland?] sheets

1 pillo bear half full of child's linning, etc.

5 child's blanketts whereof one is bare million

1 cushion for a child of chamlett

1 cours table cloth 3 yards long

6 cros cloths and 2 gñives?

9 child's bedds 2 duble clouts 1 pr holl sleeves

4 apons whereof 1 is laced

2 smocks 2 pr sheets 1 napkin

1 whit square chest wherein is

1 doz. dyp. [diaper ?] napkins 1 damsk napkin

1 doz. holl napkins

2 doz. & 2 napkins
 2 cuberd cloths
 11 pillow beares
 11 SSS napkins
 2 table cloths
 4 towills
 1 SSS holl shirt
 2 dyp towills
 3 dyp table cloths
 1 pr SSS holl sheets
 1 long great chest where in is
 1 black gowne tam'y
 1 gowne sea greene
 1 childs baskett
 2 old petticotts 1 red 1 sand coll^r serg
 1 pr leath^r stockins 1 muff
 1 window cushion
 5 quishion cases 1 small pillowe
 1 peece stript linsy woolsy
 1 pr boddyes
 1 tapstry cov^rlett
 1 peece lininge stuff for curtins
 1 red bayes cloake for a woman
 1 pr of sheets

In the Cham^r ov^r the kychin

1 feath^r bed 1 boster 1 pillowe 2 blanketts
 2 ruggs bl. & w^t
 2 floq bedds 5 ruggs 2 bolsters 1 pillowe
 1 broken warming pan

In the Garrett Cham^r ov^r the Storehouse

many small things glasses, potts etc.

In the Parlor

1 bedsted 1 trundle bedsted wth curtains & vallences
 1 table & 6 stooles
 1 muskett, 1 small fowleing peece wth rest and bandeleer
 # 1 trunk of pewter
 # 1 cabbinnett, wherein the servants say is
 rungs [rings?] iewills 13 sil^r spoones this I cannot open
 # 1 cabbinnett of Surgerie

In the kyttehin

1 brass baking pan
 5 milk pans
 1 small pestle & mortar

1 steele mill
 14 muskets, rests & bandeleers
 2 iron kettles 2 copp^r 1 brasse kettle
 1 iron pott
 2 bl jacks
 2 skillitts whereof one is brasse
 4 porringors
 1 spitt 1 grat^r
 1 p^r racks 1 p^r audirnes 1 old iron rack
 1 iron pole 1 grediron 1 p^r tongs
 2 brass ladles 1 p^r bellows
 2 stills wth bottums

In M Wards hands

1 silv^r cupp 6 spoones 1 salt of silver

In the ware howse

2 great chests naled upp
 1 chest 1 trunk w^{ch} I had ord^r not to open
 1 chest of tooles
 # 6 coves 6 steeres 2 heiffers
 # dyv^{rs} peeces of iron and steele

Mr. Winthrop's wife and infant daughter had died not long before, and a pathetic interest attaches to the contents of the chests. The trundle bed in the parlor would indicate that this had been the family sleeping room. Evidently there were but four rooms and the house we can easily imagine was small and unassuming.

A demure Puritan simplicity, we may think, characterized the dress of our forefathers. Life in the wilderness may seem to harmonize only with coarse and cheap attire, for an age of homespun logically admitted of no finery. Such preconceptions are wide of the truth. Puritan principle required a protest against current fashion as against religious and social usages; but the elegance and expensiveness of both male and female dress in Old England had been so great that a goodly degree of reaction and repression could find place and yet leave no small remnant of goodly and gay attire. Not a few of those men and women of old Ipswich came from homes of luxury,—Dudley and Bradstreet from the castle home of the Earl of Lincoln; Saltonstall from contact with the nobility in his knightly father's house; Winthrop and Whittingham from

fine family connections. Many fair English costumes found place in their chests and strong boxes that came over the seas, and the plain houses and plainer meeting-house were radiant, on Sabbath days and high days, with bright colors and fine fabrics.

The common dress of men was far more showy than the fashion of today. A loose-fitting coat, called a doublet, reached a little below the hips. Beneath this, a long, full waistcoat was worn. Baggy trousers were met just below the knee by long stockings, which were held in place by garters, tied with a bow-knot at the side. About the neck, a "falling band" found place, a broad, white collar, that appears in all pictures of the time; and a hat with conical crown and broad brim completed the best attire. A great cloak or heavy long coat secured warmth in winter. Their garments were of various materials and colors. Unfortunately, wearing apparel is usually mentioned in the bulk in inventories, but occasional specifications afford us an idea of the best raiment.

Mention is made of "a large blew cote" and "a large white coat;" of a fine "purple cloth sute, doublett and hose" belonging to John Goffe or Goss of Newbury, who also had a short coat, a pair of lead-colored breeches, a green doublett, a cloth doublett, a leather doublett, also leather and woolen stockings, two hats and a cloth cap. The men generally had their rough suits of leather and homespun for the farm work, and the delicate clothing for special occasions. So we find musk-colored broadcloth and damson-colored cloth, cloth grass-green, blue waistcoats and green waistcoats, cloth hose, and hose of leather and woolen stuff, boots and shoes, black hats, home-made caps, gloves, silver buttons, of which John Cross owned three dozen and one, and sometimes a gown.

Of the ladies' wardrobe, I am loath to speak. Certain popular pictures of Priscilla at her spinning, and sweet Puritan maidens watching the departure of the Mayflower, have pleased our fancy, and forthwith we clothe the women of the days of old in quaker-like caps and dresses, graceful in their simplicity. — nun-like garbs, over which Dame Fashion had no tyranny. But the truth must be told.

Widow Jane Kenning, who lived near the corner of Loney's

Lane, had for her best array, "a cloth gowne," worth £2 5s., "a serge gown" valued at £2, "a red petticoat with two laces," appraised at a pound sterling, and lesser ones of serge and paragon, a cloth waistcoat and a linsey woolsey apron. That "cloth waistcoat" was no mean affair, I judge. The lawyer, Thomas Leehford of Boston, who indulged in a silver-laced coat and a gold-wrought cap for himself, records: "Received of Mr. Geo. Story, four yards and half a quarter of tuft holland to make my wife a wasteoate at 2s. 8d. a yard." Widow Kenning's was worth 8s. Leehford also enters under date 1640, Feb. 1: "I pay'd John Hurd [a tailor in Boston], delivered to his wife by Sara our mayd, for making my wife's gown, 8s." "Tailor made" dresses are not a modern invention, then, and if Boston dames were patrons of tailors, the ladies of aristocratic Ipswich were not a whit behind. For common wear, blue linen, lockram or coarse linen, linsey-woolsey, mohair, a mixture of linen and wool, and holland were the common materials.

Dame Eliz. Lowle of Newbury had her riding suit and muff, silver bodkins and gold rings. Some interesting letters to Madame Rebekah Symonds, widow of the Deputy Governor, from her son by a former marriage in London, in the Antiquarian papers, reveal these wardrobe secrets. He wrote in 1664 of sending his mother a "flower satin mantle lined with sarsnet. £1 10s., a silver clasp for it, 2s. 6d., cinnamon taffity, 15s., two Cambrick whisks with two pare of cuffs, £1" also, in the same ship, "a light blew blanket, 200 pins, 1½ yards chamlet, also Dod on the Commandments (bound in green plush), also a pair of wedding gloves, and my grandmother's funeral ring." In 1673, he sent "one ell ½ of fine bag Holland, 2 yds. ⅔ of lute-string, a Lawn whiske, wool cards one paire, a Heath Brush, 2 Ivorie Combe, ye bord box rest."

In her sixtieth year, Madam Symonds, keenly alive to the demands of fashion, had written her son for a fashionable Lawn whiske; but he, anxious to gratify her, yet desirous as well that his mother should be dressed in strict accord with London fashion, replied that the "fashionable Lawn whiske is not now worn, either by Gentil or simple, young or old. Instead whereof I have bought a shape and ruffles, which is now

the ware of the gravest as well as the young ones. Such as goe not with naked necks ware a black wifle over it. Therefore, I have not only Bought a plaine one yt you sent for, but also a Lustre one, such as are most in fashion."

She had sent for damson-colored Spanish leather for women's shoes. This, he informed her, was wholly out of style and use, and "as to the feathered fan, I should also have found in my heart, to have let it alone, because none but very grave persons (and of them very few) use it. That now 'tis grown almost as obsolete as Russets, and more rare to be seen than a yellow hood."

Nevertheless, to please the exacting leader of the Ipswich ton, he sent, with ten yards of silk, and two yards of Lustre "a feather fan and silver handle, two tortois fans, 200 needles, 5 yds. sky calico, silver gimp, black sarindin cloak, damson leather skin, two women's Ivorie knives, etc."

Madame Symonds was no more addicted to the uttermost extreme of fashion than were the women of the first years of the settlement and the men themselves, we must confess. It is one of the anomalies of history that the most religious of all people, as we have come to think them, the Sabbath-keeping, church-going Puritans, should have been so far in thralldom to the world, the flesh and the devil, that they were guilty of frivolous excess in aping the fashions of the mother-land. But so it was.

In 1634, the love of fine clothes was so notorious, that the General Court felt constrained to lament "the greate supfluous, and unnecessary expences occaconed by reason of some newe and im̄odest fashions, as also the ordinary wearing of silver, golde and silk laces, girdles, hat-bands, etc." and ordered forthwith that no person, either man or woman, "shall hereafter make or buy an *appell* either woollen, silke or lynnem, with any lace in it, silver, golde, silke or threade," under penalty of forfeiture of such clothes—"also noe p̄son, either man or woman, shall make or buy any slashed cloathes, other than one slash in each sleeve and another in the backes; also all cut-works, imbroidered or needle worke, cappes, bands and rayles, are forbidden hereafter to be made or worn, under the aforesaid penalty." Apparel already in use might be worn

out, but the immoderate great sleeves, slashed apparel, immoderate great "rayles," long wings, etc., were to be curtailed and remodelled more modestly at once.

In 1639, when our town had been gathering strength six years, the fiat again went forth against "women's sleeves more than half an ell wide in the widest place, immoderate great breeches, knots of ryban, broad shoulder bands and rayles, silk roses, double ruffles and cuffs, etc." Sleeves were a target for Shakespeare's wit.

"What, this a sleeve?

There's snip, and nip; and cut and slish and slash,
Like to a censor in a barber's shop."

No doubt the women of Ipswich needed admonition in these particulars, and some of the men most likely walked abroad with their doublet sleeves slashed to display the fine linen shirt sleeves beneath, with too large trousers and knots of ribbon in their shoes, or wearing boots with flaring tops, nearly as large as the brim of a hat, very conspicuous, if made of "white russet" leather, as Edward Skinner's in 1641. Perchance they dared to wear their hair below the ears, and falling upon the neck. The English Roundhead with short, cropped hair, in obedience to Paul's injunction, was the ideal of the sterner Puritans of our Colony, but there was from the beginning a persistent determination by some of the more frivolous sort, to wear long hair. Higginson jocosely discovered the origin of the fashion in the long lock worn by Indian braves. The General Court set its face as a flint against this in 1634. It was a burning theme of pulpit address, and the clergy prescribed that the hair should by no means lie over the band or doublet collar, but might grow a little below the ear in winter for warmth.

Rev. Nath. Ward, in his *Simple Cobbler*, dispensed wisdom: "If it be thought no wisdom in men to distinguish themselves in the field by the Scissors, let it be thought no injustice in God not to distinguish them by the sword," and "I am sure men use not to wear such manes." It was derisively suggested that long nails like Nebuchadnezzar's would be next in fashion. Rev. Ezekiel Rogers of Rowley was so bitter in his detestation of the habit that he cut off his nephew from his inheritance

because of his persistence; and in his Election sermon before the General Court, he assailed long hair with fiery zeal.

So enormous was the offence that on May 10, 1649, Governor Endicott, Deputy Governor Dudley and seven of the Assistants thus declared themselves: "Forasmuch as the wearing of long hair after the manner of ruffians and barbarous Indians has begun to invade New England, contrary to the rule of God's word, which says it is a shame for a man to wear long hair, etc., We, the magistrates, who have subscribed this paper, (for the shewing of our own innocency in this behalf) do declare and manifest our dislike and detestation against the wearing of such long hair, as against a thing uncivil and unmanly, whereby men doe deforme themselves, and offend sober and modest men, and doe corrupt good manners. We doe, therefore, earnestly entreat all the elders of this jurisdiction (as often as they shall see cause to manifest their zeal against it in their public administration) to take care that the members of their respective churches be not defiled therewith; that so such as shall prove obstinate and will not reforme themselves, may have God and man to witness against them."

Some gay-plumed ladies of his Ipswich church may have been in his mind, when grim Mr. Ward discharged himself of his ill-humor against the sex, affirming "When I heare a nupgerous Gentle-dame inquire what dress the Queen is in this week, what the nudius tertian of the Court, I look at her as the very gizzard of a trifle, the product of a quarter of a cypher, the epitome of nothing, fitter to be kickt, if she were of a kickable substance, than either honored or humored."

"To speak moderately, I truly confess it is beyond the ken of my understanding to conceive, how those women should have any true grace or valuable vertue, that have so little wit as to disfigure themselves with such exotick garbs, as not only dismantles their native lovely lustre, but transclouts them into gant bar-geese, ill-shapen, shotten shell-fish, Egyptian hieroglyphics, or at the best into French flurts of the pastry, which a proper English woman should scorn with her heels. It is no marvel they wear drailes on the hinder part of their heads, having nothing as it seems in the fore-part but a few

Squirrel brains to help them frisk from one ill-favor'd fortune to another."

His indignation against tailors for lending their art to clothe women in French fashions was intense: "It is a more common than convenient saying that nine Taylors make a man; it were well if nineteene could make a woman to her minde; if Taylors were men indeed, well furnished but with meer morall principles, they would disdain to be led about like apes, by such mimick Marmosets. It is a most unworthy thing for men that have bones in them to spend their lives in making fiddle-cases for futilous women's phansies; which are the very pettitoes of infirmity, the gyblets of perquisquilian toyes."

Ridicule, precept and statute law were alike powerless to check this over-elegance. Again, in 1651, the General Court repeated its "greife . . . that intollerable excesse and bravery hath crept in upon us, and especially amongst people of meane condition, to the dishonor of God, the scandall of its professors, the consumption of estates, and altogether unsuteable to our povertie." Hence it proceeded to declare its "utter detestation and dislike that men or women of mean condition, educations and callings should take upon them the garb of gentlemen by the wearing of gold and silver lace, or buttons, or poynts at their knees, to walke in greate bootes, or women of the same ranke to wear silke or tiffany hoodes or scarfes, which though allowable to persons of greater estate or more liberal education, yet we cannot but judge intollerable in person of such like condition."

So, at last, it was ordered that no person whose visible estate did not exceed £200 should wear such buttons or gold or silver lace, or any bone lace above 2s. per yard or silk hoods or scarfs, upon penalty of 10s. for each offence. Magistrates and their families, military officers, soldiers in time of service, or any whose education or employments were above the ordinary were excepted from the operation of this law.

The judicial powers were in grim earnest, and at the March term of the Quarter Sessions Court, in Ipswich, some of her gentle folk felt the power of the law.

Ruth Haffield, daughter of the widow whose farm was near the bridge, still called "Haffield's," was "presented" as the

legal phrase is, for excess in apparel, but upon the affidavit of Richard Coy, that her mother was worth £200 she was discharged. George Palmer was fined 10s. and fees for wearing silver lace. Samuel Brocklebank, taxed with the same offence, was discharged. The wife of John Hutchings was called to account shortly after for wearing a silk hood, but she proved that she had been brought up above the ordinary rank and was discharged. John Whipple made it evident that he was worth the requisite £200 and his good wife escaped. Anthony Potter, Richard Brabrook, Thomas Harris, Thomas Maybe and Edward Brown were all called upon to justify their wives' finery.

In 1659 the daughter of Humphrey Griffin presumed to indulge in a silk scarf, and her father was fined 10s. and court fees. John Kimball was able to prove his pecuniary ability and his wife wore her silk scarf henceforth unquestioned. As late as 1675, Arthur Abbott, who is mentioned as the bearer of fine dress goods from Madame Symonds's son in London, and who very naturally may have brought his good wife some finery from the London shops, was obliged to pay his 10s. for his wife's public wearing of a silk hood. Benedict Puleipher for his wife, Haniell Bosworth for his two daughters, John Kindrick, Thomas Knowlton and Obadiah Bridges for their wives' over dress, were called to account before judge and jury.

The middle of the century found one of the most whimsical and extraordinary fashions in vogue in England, and New England was infected as well, we presume. Ladies decorated their faces with court-plaster, cut in fantastic shapes. Bulwer, in his "Artificial Changeling," published in 1650, in England, speaking of these patches says "some fill their visage full of them," and he describes the shapes one fine lady delighted to wear: "a coach with a coachman and two horses with postilions on her forehead, a crescent under each eye, a star on one side of her mouth, a plain circular patch on her chin."

In "Wit Restored," a poem printed in 1658:

"Her patches are of every cut
For pimples and for scars;
Here's all the wandering planets' signs
And some of the fixed stars,
Already gummed to make them stick.
They need no other sky."

As the century waned, the offence of wearing long hair paled into insignificance beside the unspeakable sin of wearing wigs. Happily, or unhappily, as the point of view varies, the ministers could not agree in this. The portrait of Rev. John Wilson, of Boston, who died in 1667, presents him wearing a full wig, and many of the clergy were addicted to the same head-gear; but public sentiment was strong against the fashion, and the General Court in 1675, condemned "the practise of men's wearing their own or other's hair made into periwigs." Judge Sewall alludes to the hated custom with spiteful brevity in his Diary.

"1685—Sept. 15. Three admitted to the church. Two wore periwigs."

"1697—Mr. Noyes of Salem wrote a treatise on periwigs."

"1708—Aug. 20. Mr. Cheever died. The welfare of the province was much upon his heart. He abominated periwigs."

The Judge felt such extreme virulence toward these "Horrid Bushes of Vanity," that he would not sit under the ministrations of his own pastor, who had cut off his hair and donned a wig, but worshipped elsewhere.

In our neighbor town of Newbury, the clerical wig was so much an affront that, in 1752, Richard Bartlett was taken to task for refusing to commune with the church because the pastor wore a wig, and because the church justified him in it, and also for that "he sticks not from time to time to assert with the greatest assurance that all who wear wigs, unless they repent of that particuliar sin before they die, will certainly be damned, which we judge to be a piece of uncharitable and sinful rashness."

But the battle was already lost. In 1722, here in Ipswich just about on the site of the Seminary building, Patrick Farrin, chirurgeon, boldly hung out his sign, "periwig-maker" and the gentlemen of Ipswich could have their wigs and keep them curled, powdered and frizzled as fashion required.

Women, too, were given to marvellous coiffures. Cotton Mather apostrophized the erring sex in 1683—"Will not the haughty daughters of Zion refrain their pride in apparel? Will they lay out their hair, and wear their false locks, their borders and towers like comets about their heads?" They were called "apes of Fancy, friziling and curlying of their hayr." They had fallen far away from the Puritan "bangs" to which Hig-

ginson alludes in his comment on the Indians. "Their hair is generally black and cut before like our gentlewomen." Then, their hair was built aloft and extended out "like butterfly wings over the ears." "False locks were set on wyers to make them stand at a distance from the head." A bill is mentioned by Felt, as contracted in this town in 1697 "for wire and catgut in making up attire for the head."

But legal restriction of dress was at an end. The whim of the wearer, and the state of the purse, henceforth determined the fashion of head dress and raiment.

CHAPTER IV.

SOME NOTABLE SETTLERS.

The little colony of a dozen souls became at once a conspicuous center of light and influence. The leader, John Winthrop, eldest son of the Governor, gave great prestige.¹ He had been a student of Trinity College, Dublin, and after a course of legal study had been admitted a barrister of the Inner Temple, February 28, 1624-5. A few years later he entered the navy and served with the fleet under the Duke of Buckingham, for the relief of the French Protestants of La Rochelle. He spent more than a year in foreign travel. Cultured and companionable, he drew about him by the force of his personality that group of eminent men, which made Ipswich a town of rare quality.

One of the earliest arrivals was Nathaniel Ward, the first of the long line of eminent ministers. Thomas Parker had served the church for a few months, but had removed with his company to Newbury, and his residence seemed to have been regarded as temporary.

"Perhaps no other Englishman who came to America in those days brought with him more of the ripeness that is born not only of time and study but of distinguished early associations, extensive travel in foreign lands, and varied professional experience at home. He was graduated at Emmanuel College, Cambridge, in 1603, and is named by Fuller among the learned writers of that college who were not fellows. . . . His personal and professional standing may be partly inferred from his acquaintance with Sir Francis Bacon, with Archbishop Usher, and with the famous theologian of Heidelberg, David Pareus."² He chose the law as his profession and became a barrister in 1615, but while travelling on the Continent, he was so much influenced by the advice of Pareus, that he decided to enter the ministry.

¹ See "A Sketch of John Winthrop the Younger," Publications of the Ipswich Historical Society, VII.

² M. C. Tyler, "History of American Literature", vol. I, p. 227.

though he was then about forty years old. He became rector at Stondon Massey in Essex. His uncompromising Puritanism brought him into sharp conflict with the ruling powers. He refused to subscribe to the articles established by the Canon of the Church, and condemned the "Book of Sports" and the practice of bowing at the name of Jesus. Summoned before Archbishop Laud, he refused to conform and was roughly excommunicated in 1633. His wife died at about the same time, leaving two sons and a daughter. Lonely, sorrowful, despairing of any asylum or field of usefulness in England, in common with multitudes of Puritans, he turned to the New World and, with his family, in the sixty-fourth year of his age, landed in 1634. He spent his first winter in Ipswich in Mr. Winthrop's house,¹ as Winthrop had gone to England upon the death of his wife in the autumn, but during the next year probably, took up his residence in his own home, somewhere on the eastern side of the South Common. The house was standing in Cotton Mather's time, and he says that Ward had inscribed over the fireplace, the Latin legend, "Sobrie, juste, pie" (soberly, justly, piously) and afterward, "laete" (gladly). Sober, indeed, was the life of the Cambridge scholar in those years, amid the privations of the wilderness life. "I intreate you," he wrote pathetically to the younger Winthrop when a shipload of provisions had arrived, "to do so much as to speake to him (Mr. Coddington) in my name, to reserve some meale and malt, and what victuals else he thinks meete, till our River be open; our church will pay him duely for it. I am very destitute; I have not above 6 bushells of corn left, and other things answerable."² "I acknowledge," he wrote again to Mr. Winthrop, "I am tender and more unfit for solitariness and hardship than some other, especially at this tyme, through many colds and seeds of the bay sicknesses I brought from thence." His health became impaired and in a few years he gave up the work of the ministry, but turned with vigor to other tasks of great importance. In the year 1638 he was requested by the colony to draw up a code of laws, as no written statutes had yet been formulated. He was fitted for this task above any other man in the Colony

¹ R. C. Winthrop. *Life and Letters of John Winthrop*, vol. II, p. 126.

² Mass. Hist. Soc. Collec. series 4, vol. VII, pp. 24-26.

by his legal learning, his long familiarity with the legal systems of the Old World and his mature age.

He spent three years in this work, and the result of his labors was a code of one hundred laws, which was submitted to the judgment of the General Court, discussed in every town, and finally adopted in 1641. John Cotton was associated with him nominally, but Governor Winthrop speaks of the code, "as composed by Mr. Nathaniel Ward,"¹ and it has been generally recognized as his work.² "The Body of Liberties," as it was called, has challenged the admiration of many acute students. Speaking of the Preamble, Mr. W. F. Poole observes:³

"This sublime declaration standing at the head of the first Code of Laws in New England was the production of no common intellect. It has the movement and the dignity of a mind like John Milton's or Algernon Sidney's, and its theory of government was far in advance of the age. A bold avowal of the rights of man, and a plea for popular freedom, it contains the germs of the memorable declaration of July 4, 1776."

Dr. Francis C. Gray⁴ remarks upon the originality of this Code, "although it retains some strong traces of the times, it is, in the main, far in advance of them, and in several respects in advance of the Common Law of England at this day (1818)." "It shows, that our ancestors," he continues, "instead of deducing their laws from the books of Moses, established at the outset a code of fundamental principles, which taken as a whole, for wisdom, equity and adaptation to the wants of their community, challenge a comparison with any similar production from Magna Charta itself to the latest Bill of Rights that has been put forth in Europe or America."

This great work was followed by another, of different character, but of unique and imperishable renown, the famous satire, "The Simple Cobler of Aggawam." It was published in England in 1646, and attained immediate success. Four editions were called for before the year closed. Its pungent criti-

¹ Winthrop's History of New England, vol. II, 1st ed. p. 55; 2nd ed. p. 66.

² "Remarks on the early Laws of Massachusetts Bay, with the Code adopted in 1641 and called the Body of Liberties, by F. C. Gray, LL.D. Mass. Hist. Soc. Collec., series 3, VIII, 191."

³ Introduction to his edition of Johnson's Wonder Working Providence, page lxx.

⁴ Mass. Hist. Soc. Collections, series 3, VIII, p. 199.

cism, its originality of thought, its striking vocabulary, more rugged and individual than Carlyle's, made it a pioneer work in that department of literature.¹

In the year following the beginning of Mr. Ward's ministry, a welcome addition to the settlement was made, when Richard Saltonstall, eldest son of Sir Richard, conspicuous for wealth and highest social standing, chose this town for his home. He was only twenty-five years old, but had already graduated from Emmanuel College. With him came his young wife, Meriel or Muriel Gurdon, only twenty-two years old, and the baby Muriel of nine months. The old minister was more than glad, we are sure, when Saltonstall built his house only a few rods away, somewhere on the sightly fourteen acres, that bordered on the Green, the Highway, and the River, not far from the ancient Merrifield house.

The community honored young Saltonstall at once with responsible public office. He was elected Deputy to the General Court, and in 1636, was appointed to hold court in Ipswich. He was chosen Assistant in 1637, and was re-elected annually until 1649. In March, 1635-6, the General Court passed an order providing that a certain number of magistrates should be elected for a life term as a standing council. The measure proved unpopular. The people saw in it an irresponsible body, the existence of which was wholly contrary to democratic ideas.

Some action was taken by the Court looking toward its dissolution, but the Council still remained. Whereupon, Mr. Saltonstall, then an Assistant, with fair prospect of becoming a member of this life board, wrote a book, in which he argued with much force that it was contrary to the Charter and a sinful innovation. The book gave great offence, and many demanded that summary punishment be visited upon its author, but the book was referred to the elders. They all met in Ipswich on the 18th of October, 1642, differed much in their judgment about it, but acknowledged the soundness of the propositions advanced.

Again in 1645, single-handed and alone, he lifted up his voice like a trumpet in the Great and General Court, when Capt.

¹ See an excellent review of this work in M. C. Tyler's *History of American Literature*, vol. 1, page 228. . . .

James Smith, master of the ship *Rainbow*, brought into the country two negroes kidnapped from the Guinea coast. He denounced the heinous act of stealing these poor blacks, as contrary to the law of God and of the country, demanded that the officers of the ship be imprisoned, and addressed a petition, signed by himself alone, praying that the slaves be returned at the public expense. Mr. Saltonstall lived to be an old man, full of honors, but nothing gives such lustre to his name as this strong blow for the emancipation of these two African slaves.¹

That same year, 1635, saw the incoming of another family of great distinction. Gov. Thomas Dudley, having retired from the chief magistracy in May, 1635, removed from Cambridge and took up his home in Ipswich. He had distinguished himself as a man of affairs in Old England, and brought wealth and reputation to the Colony. He was made Deputy Governor before the ship sailed, and continued in that office until 1634, when he was chosen Governor. He was in his sixtieth year, and a notable family circle had grown up about him. His daughter Ann had married Simon Bradstreet, and Patience had married Daniel Denison. Both sons-in-law accompanied him or soon followed, already men of weight, and destined to play a great part in the history of the colony. Denison took rank at once with the most conspicuous citizens. He was chosen Deputy to the General Court the same year he arrived, and continued in public office all his life, as Justice of the lower Court, Assistant, and leader in political affairs. He was the one skilled soldier as well, and became the military leader of the Town and eventually of the Colony. Samuel Symonds soon arrived, a man of most lovable spirit, and a sharer with Denison in all political and judicial distinctions. He began his public career with the offices of Town Clerk and Deputy, but died while holding the high place of Deputy Governor. The careers of these men were inwoven with the history of our Town, and will be unfolded as later events claim our notice.

Rev. John Norton² came as associate to Mr. Ward near the close of his ministry. He was then thirty-two years old, and had gained already a reputation for extraordinary scholarship,

¹ Bond's *History of Watertown*, p. 915 and following.

² Cotton Mather's *Magnalia*, p. 32, ed. of 1772.

and great acuteness in theological controversies. He became the Teacher of the Ipswich church, and Mr. Nathaniel Rogers, his senior by eight years, was ordained as Pastor on Feb. 20, 1638. Cotton Mather wrote in his Eulogy of Mr. Rogers in the *Magnalia*: "Here was a Renowned Church consisting mostly of such illuminated Christians, that their Pastors in the Exercise of their Ministry, might (as Jerome said of that brave woman, Marcella) *Sentire se non tam Discipulos habere quam Judices* (feel that they had Judges rather than Disciples). His Colleague here was the celebrated Norton, and glorious was the Church of Ipswich now, in two such extraordinary persons, with their different Gifts, but united Hearts, carrying on the Concerns of the Lord's kingdom in it!"¹

Mr. Rogers built his house near the "Gables" on the west side of the South Green, the third graduate of Emmanuel College to make his home in this favored neighborhood. Mr. Norton purchased Mr. Fawn's house on East Street, on the site of the Foster Russell house, a little way from Mr. Winthrop's. Other men of sterling quality came: Samuel Appleton from Little Waldingfield, with his two sons, John and Samuel, destined for conspicuous careers; Robert Payne, the Elder of the Church, the generous friend of education; John Cogswell, the London merchant, and many others.

This extraordinary circle of cultured and conspicuous settlers did not remain long unbroken. Mr. Winthrop returned from England in 1635 with a commission from Lords Say and Brook to begin a plantation in Connecticut, and he began active preparations in November, 1635, to build a fort at Saybrook. His townsmen were greatly grieved at his prospective departure, and Mr. Ward wrote him a noteworthy and pathetic letter praying him to continue in Ipswich.² He did not remove permanently, however. In the summer of 1637, fresh occasion of disquiet arose, from the report that he was to be appointed Commander of the Castle at Boston, and a petition of remonstrance to the Governor and Councillors was drawn up and signed by Richard Saltonstall, Nath^l. Ward, John Norton, Daniel Denison, Samuel Appleton, and more than fifty other citizens. This is dated June 21, 1637.

¹ *Magnalia*, p. 107.

² The letter in full is in the Sketch of John Winthrop the Younger, p. 19.

Transcription of the petition of remonstrance against the
departure of John Winthrop Jr. Page 50.

(First page.)

To our much honored Gov^r & Counsellors att Boston, these.

Our humble duties & respects premised: understanding there is an Intention to call M^r Winthrop Jun from us & to remitt the Custody of the Castle to him, we could not, out of the entire affection we beare to him & his welfare, but become earnest petitioner^s to your worship^s that you would not deprive our Church & Towne of one whose presence is so gratefull & usefull to us. It was for his sake that many of us came to this place & wthout him we should not have come. His abode with us hath made our abode here much more comfortable than otherwise it would have bene. M^r Dudley's leaving us hath made us much more desolate & weake than we were, & if we should loose anoth^r magistrate it would be too great a grief to us & breach upon us, & not a magistrate only but our Lieutenant Colonell so beloved of our Soldiours & military men that this remote Corner would be left destitute & desolate. Neith^r can we conceive but that this removall from us will much prejudice & unsettle him; the place he is chosen unto we feare will neith^r mayntaine him & his company comfortably nor prove certaine to him, but upon sundray occasions mutable. It would be very uncomfortable to him, as we suppose, to live upon others maintenace, or to neglect that portion of land & love which God hath given him amongst us. The improvall of his estate here we hope will prove a better & surer support then a yearly stipend from the country, w^{ch} hath groaned much under the burthen of that Fort already. We find his affections great & constant to our Towne & we hope ours shall never faile towards him & his. We therefore humbly beseech you that we may still enjoy him, & that you would not expose him to so solitary a life & a place where we hope there will not be much use of him; nor us to the losse & want of one so much desired of us. The distance we are sett in hath made us earnest for the company of able men & as loath to loose them when we have obtained them.

Thus hoping you will please to consider & tender our condition, we humbly take our leaves, resting

Your worp^s in all due serviss,

June 21, 1637.

RICHARD SALTONSTALL.
NATH^l WARDE.
JOHN NORTON.

June 21 1637

John Norton

(Second page of petition.)

DANIELL DENISON.
SAMUELL APPLETON.
THOMAS BRESSYE.

ROBERTT ANDREWES.	W: HUBBARD.
JOSEPH MORSE.	JONATHAN WADE.
CHRISTOPHER OSGOOD.	WILLIAM WHITE.
JOHN PERKINS, Jouner.	JOHN PIRKINES, Senar.
RICHARD JACOB.	GEORGE CAR.
PHILIP FOWLER.	JOHN TUTTELL.
WILLIAM GOODHUE.	RICHARD HAFFIELD.
ROGER LANCKTON.	GEORGE GIDDINGS.
THOMAS DORMAN.	EDWARD GARDNER.
JOSEPH MEDCALFE.	JOHN SATCHWELL.
THOMAS BORMAN.	JOHN SAUNDERS.
JOHN WEBSTER.	JOHN SEVERNES.
ROBERT LORD.	ANTONY COLBY.
THOMAS WELLS.	ROBERT MUSSY.
JOHN GASSETT.	JOHN PEEKINS.
JOHN COGGSWELL.	NATHANIELL BISHOP.
HUMFRIE BRODSTREE.	JOHN COVENTUN.
THOMAS COOKE.	ALLEN PERLEY.
HEUGHE SHERRATT.	JOHN PROCTER.
EDWARD KATCHAM.	THOMAS HOWLITT.
THOMAS CLARK.	WILLIAM FULLER.
JOHN GAGE.	ALEXANDER KNIGHT.
WILLIAM BARTHOLMEW	THOMAS HARDY.
MICAELL CATHERITE.	
HENRI PINNDER.	
SAMUELL SHARMAN.	
JHON JHONSON.	
THOMAS FRENCH.	

Daniel Denison

Samuel Appleton

Thomas Appleton

Robert Appleton

John Appleton

William Appleton

John Appleton

Thomas Appleton

John Appleton

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Thomas Appleton

W. Hubbard

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W. Hubbard

(Third page of petition.)

Some of us that are members of the Church at Boston are bold to clayme this promise from M^r Winthrop for whome we write, that if we would come hith^r wth him he would not forsake us but live & die wth us. Upon these promises we came wth him to beginn this plantation, and they were made to us upon the proposall of our feares that when we were drawne hith^r he should be called away from us. And we both desire and hope that they might be alwayes remembered & pformed.

Some of us got out, married off to Boston and had
to repay the promise from the money for the money we
wrote for, if we would come off the line we would not
fulfill it, but this is the way, upon the promise to come
off the line to the plantation, the money made to us
and upon the promise of some friends that upon the new
adventure they would be called away from us. and
and by the way the fact is that we have not been
C. J. Smith.

"We could not," it declares, "out of the entire affection we beare to him & his welfare, but become earnest petitioner^s to your worship^s that you would not deprive our Church & Towne of one whose presence is so gratefull & usefull to us. It was for his sake that many of us came to this place & wthout him we should not have come. His abode with us hath made our abode here much more comfortable than otherwise it would have bene. Mr. Dudley's leaving us hath made us much more desolate & weake than we were, & if we should loose anoth^r magistrate it would be too great a grief to us & breach upon us, & not a magistrate only but our Lieutenant Colonell so beloved of our Soldiours & military men that this remote Corner would be left destitute & desolate."

In the following January the Town granted him Castle Hill and all meadow and marsh lying within the creeke, "provided y he lives in the Towne and that the Towne may have what they shall need for the building of a Fort."¹ But during the year 1639, he seems to have removed his domicile,² and the allusion to Mr. Dudley in the petition indicates that he also had removed at that date.

Mr. Saltonstall made repeated and prolonged visits to England, but he had part in one very interesting public matter, which must always be associated with the choice neighborhood about the South Green. The Frenchman, La Tour, arrived in Boston in 1643, and sought of Governor Winthrop help against his rival, D'Aulnay, who had blockaded the St. John River. Winthrop permitted him to hire four ships and a pinnace and sail away. This act roused severe criticism, and on the day the little fleet sailed, a vigorous written protest was handed the Governor, signed by Saltonstall, Ward and Nathaniel Rogers, John Norton and Simon Bradstreet, and Rev. Ezekiel Rogers of Rowley. Dr. Palfray finds Ward's hand in the pungent utterance, others attribute it to Saltonstall as the prime mover in the enterprise. Be that as it may, it was an Ipswich Protest, and is so styled in the records of the time.

In one of these houses about our Common, the Ipswich clergy and magistrates may have taken deep counsel together and drafted this historic document. Winthrop failed of re-

¹ Town Records.

² Sketch of John Winthrop the Younger, p. 26.

election and Dudley was chosen Governor. But this troublesome French business was not easily settled. In 1645, a commission was appointed and authorized to search out the whole truth, but the same Court granted La Tour liberty to arm and equip seven vessels, and Mr. Saltonstall drew up a solemn minority protest against such action, Mr. Hathorne alone signing with him. No state paper of the period, it is affirmed, excels this document in vigor of expression and loftiness of tone.

While the Body of Liberties and the "Simple Cobler" were being written in the humble home of Ward, a gentler Muse was moving the soul of the young wife and mother, Ann Bradstreet. No professional poet had yet arisen in the new Colony. Some metrical Psalms and hymns of singularly unmusical character had been composed for the services of public worship, but Poetry as a fine Art was doubtless reckoned an abomination. The writings of William Shakspeare were held in abhorrence, as the embodiment of that light and frothy spirit, which rejoiced in the drama and the dance, and all other worldly frivolities. But Ann Bradstreet had breathed the air of culture in the old country, and her father's ample library contained the best books that were admissible in a Puritan household. There she found no doubt the works of the French Guillaume du Bartas, a poet now wholly forgotten, but who enjoyed a great reputation in our early colonial times. His chief poem, "The Divine Weeks and Works," was a metrical version of the story of the Creation and the early history of the Jews. It achieved extraordinary popularity, running to thirty editions in six years, though its style is barbarous, judged by canons of modern judgment. Its pious theme commended it to the sternest Puritans, and Ann Bradstreet was allowed to feast upon its sweets. She was moved to write, and we may count it a necessity of genius. She was married when she was only a girl of sixteen; she was only twenty-three and a family of children already required much of her when she came to Ipswich to establish a new home in the wilderness, with its burdensome routine of laborious housework. She was of delicate health withal. Nevertheless, this young wife had presumed to write a poem as early as 1632, when she was twenty years old, and after she had settled into her new Ipswich home, she burst into song, which surprised and

charmed her generation. Poem after poem fell from her facile pen during those eight or nine years of her Ipswich life. Her "Elegy upon Sir Philip Sidney" bears the date, 1638. "In Honor of du Bartas" was written in 1641. The Dialogue between Old England and New England was composed in 1642, and the poem in honor of Queen Elizabeth in 1643. Her longer poems were composed, it is generally believed, during this same period,¹ and when her husband removed his home to Andover, her muse grew silent. We need not be surprised.

Where else than in Ipswich could she have found the genial and inspiring surroundings which encouraged her song? Her father and mother were next door neighbors for a time. Her sister was close at hand. The excellent William Hubbard, whose two boys were both to become Harvard graduates, and one, Richard, was to marry his boyhood playmate, Sarah Bradstreet, the second daughter of the Bradstreets, lived within a stone's throw. Her brother-in-law, Denison, and Samuel Symonds, were helpful society. The stern and rasping Nathaniel Ward was so appreciative of her poetical efforts that he wrote the preface to the volume of poems she was led to publish in 1650. He railed most ungallantly against women with their "squirrel brains" in his *Simple Cocker*, but he generously acknowledged in her praise.

"It half revives my chil frost-bitten blood,
To see a Woman once do ought that's good:
And chode by Chaucer's Bootes and Homer's Furs,
Let Men look to't, least Women wear the Spurrs."

Norton and Rogers may have been no less kindly and praise-ful. The Saltonstalls were friends and companions. Keen critics, admiring friends, sympathetic neighbors were about her. It was not the loneliness and desolateness of those years in Ipswich that drove her to poetry for relief but it was the privilege and richness of her life, the fine intellectual atmosphere, the generous recognition of her talent, that inspired her. No wonder her pen faltered in the solitude of the Andover farmhouse.

Her poems are not read today, but the curious student of

¹ John Harvard Ellis affirms that "all the poems in the first edition, at least, were thus apparently written by the time she was thirty years old."

the literature of her time, the unmelodious hymns, the stilted and pedantic *Magnalia*, the dull, mechanically measured sermons, the grotesque and bitter Simple Cabler, will feel in her verse, often dull and labored, a singular delicacy and tenderness, and a true poetic instinct. It is not hard to understand that her published poems should have been held in high regard. Her name heads the long list of New England poets, and her genius brought grace and strength no doubt to William E. Channing, the preacher, and Richard H. Dana, the poet, to the orator, Wendell Phillips, and Oliver Wendell Holmes, her direct descendants.

Mr. Ward's son, John, who had been settled as rector of Hadleigh in England in 1633, joined his father in 1639, and became the minister of Haverhill. His younger son, James, graduated from Harvard in 1645, and in the following year, Mr. Ward and James returned to England. Susan Ward became the wife of Dr. Giles Firmin, who lived awhile in Ipswich on or near the site now occupied by the Parsonage of the South Parish, but returned to England and became eminent as a preacher.

Mr. Norton grew in scholarly reputation as the years passed. One William Apollonius of Holland, sent over some "Questions" concerning church government in 1644, "whereto the ministers of New England unanimously imposed upon Mr. Norton the task of drawing up an Answer, which he finished in the year 1645. And it was, I suppose, the first Latin book that ever was written in this country."¹ He had a large place in the Synod at Cambridge in 1647, and when there was need of a complete refutation of the heresies taught by a book, entitled "The Meritorious Price of Man's Redemption," the General Court appointed Mr. Norton to draw up a Reply, which he did to great acceptance. The renowned John Cotton in his last sickness advised that his church should select Mr. Norton as his successor. He died in December, 1652, and overtures were made at once to Mr. Norton. The Ipswich church made violent opposition to his leaving them, and council followed council, and eventually the good offices of the General Court were needed to secure the transfer of relationship. Cotton Mather discourses of Mr. Norton in the pulpit:

"It even Transported the Souls of his Hearers to accompany

¹ *Magnalia*, Book III, p. 34.

Monument with tablets near the Meeting House of the
South Church.

A few rods east of this spot
were the dwelling and school house of
Ezekiel Cheever
First Master of the Grammar School
1650 ——— 1661

On the east side of the Common
was the house of
Rev. Nathaniel Ward
1634 Minister of Ipswich 1637
author of
“ The Simple Cobler of Aggawam ”
compiler of
The Body of Liberties

The residence of
Richard Saltonstall
was on the south side of the Common
and that of
Rev. Nathaniel Rogers
Pastor of Ipswich Church
1638 ——— 1655
was on the west side

ON THE REVERSE.

Here stood
The First Meeting House
of the
1747 South Parish 1837

The Expedition against Quebec
Benedict Arnold in command
Aaron Burr in the ranks
Marched by this spot, Sept. 15, 1775

Rev. William Hubbard
Pastor of the Ipswich Church
1656 ——— 1704
Historian of the Indian wars
lived near the river about
a hundred rods eastward

Erected by
The Ipswich Historical Society
1896

A FEW RODS EAST OF THIS SPOT
WERE THE DWELLING AND SCHOOL HOUSE OF
EZEKIEL CHILVER
FIRST MASTER OF THE GRAMMAR SCHOOL
1680 — 1683

ON THE EAST SIDE OF THE COMMON
WAS THE HOUSE OF
REV. NATHANIEL WARD
1684 MASTER OF IPSWICH 1687
AUTHOR OF
"THE SIMPLE COBBLER OF AGASSAY"
COMPILER OF
THE BODY OF LIBERTY

THE RESIDENCE OF
RICHARD SALTONSTALL
WAS ON THE WEST SIDE OF THE COMMON
AND THAT OF
REV. NATHANIEL ROBERTS
PASTOR OF IPSWICH CHURCH
1698 — 1706
WAS ON THE WEST SIDE

him in his devotions, wherein its Graces would make wonderful Salleys into the vast Field of Entertainments and Acknowledgments, with which we are furnished in the New Covenant, for our Prayers. I have heard of a Godly Man in Ipswich, who after Mr. Norton's going to Boston, would Ordinarily Travel on foot from Ipswich to Boston, which is about Thirty miles, for nothing but the Weekly Lecture there, and he would profess That it was worth a Great Journey, to be a Partaker in one of Mr. Norton's Prayers."¹

Mr. Rogers, the last member of this brilliant group, continued his pastorate until 1655. He suffered much in his last years from the reproach of his hearers that he did not exert himself as he might to prevent the removal of his illustrious Associate. His health, never vigorous, was weakened, Cotton Mather records, by his disuse of Tobacco, to which he was much addicted. He was aware of his approaching end, and having blessed the three children of his daughter Margaret, wife of Rev. William Hubbard, he uttered his last words, "My Times are in thy Hands," and passed away on July 3, 1655. In the seventeen years of his ministry, "he went over the Five last Chapters of the Epistle to the Ephesians, . . . the Twelfth Chapter to the Hebrews; the Fourteenth Chapter of Hosea; the Doctrine of Self-Denial, and walking with God, and the Fifty-third Chapter of Isaiah to the great Satisfaction of all his Hearers, with many other subjects more occasionally handled."²

¹ Magnalia, Book III, p. 40.

² Magnalia, Book III, pp 107, 108.

CHAPTER V.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF OUR TOWN GOVERNMENT.

It was an easy matter, we imagine, for the little handful of original settlers to talk over their affairs and agree on measures of public policy. They might have gathered in a body and selected a spot for their meeting house, located the earliest roads and apportioned themselves home lots and tillage lands. The simplest form of pure democracy was adequate to all their needs; but, as their number increased, some system of representative government was found necessary.

The first public official appointed was the Clerk. As the Town Record begins with November, 1634, the Recorder or Clerk had been chosen before that date. The "lot-layers" also appear at this time, a Committee to which was referred the delicate task of assigning lands: Henry Short, John Perkins, Robert Mussey and John Gage. The grants, however, were determined in open meeting, and the function of the lot-layers was merely to determine locations, and fix "by metes and bounds" the lot apportioned.

"The seven men" are first mentioned under the date of Feb. 20, 1636-7, but they are alluded to in such an incidental way, that it would seem that they were already an established feature of town polity. This first board of government consisted of Mr. John Winthrop, Mr. Bradstreet, Mr. Denison, Goodman Perkins, Goodman Scott, John Gage and Mr. Wade, and they were chosen to order business for the next three months. Mr. Denison was chosen to keep the Town Book, enter the Town orders, and "set a copy of them up in ye meeting house." He was to keep a record of land grants as well, and a fee of sixpence for every entry was granted him.

But the sturdy democracy seems to have been suspicious of detriment to its own power and dignity, accruing from the new officials, and forthwith it proceeded to hedge in their author-

ity by ordering that "they shall have no power to grant any land in that which is commonly reputed and accounted the Cow Pasture, nor above twenty acres in any other place." The older board of lot-layers was made to feel its subservience to the popular will, by the addition of Mr. Appleton, Serg. Howlett, John Perkins and Thos. Scott to assist them in laying out the large grants made to "Mr. Dudley, Mr. Bradstreet and Mr. Saltingstall" before the 14th of May 1637.

"The seven men" seem to have become "the eleven men" in January 1637-8, but in 1639, "the seven men" reappear, and in Feb. 1640-1, their term of office is specified as six months. Mr. Hubbard, Capt. Denison, Jo: Whipple, Good. Giddings, Mark Symonds, John Perkins, and Mr. William Payne were then chosen "for the Town's business for six months, provided that they give noe lands, nor meddle with dividing or stinting the Commons." Thus the lengthening of the term of service was balanced by curtailing their authority in regard to lands. In 1642, further "direction to simplify the Town business" was desired, and a committee consisting of the two magistrates, the elders, Mr. Giles Firman and George Giddings was appointed "to prepare for the next meeting of the freemen, what they shall think meet for yearly maintenance and for the way of raying of it."

In Feb. 1643-4, Robert Lord was chosen by the Town, "from this time forward to be present at every general meeting of the Town, and of the freemen and of the seven men, and to record in a book what is committed to him by [] Moderator of every such meeting, and to tend in some convenient time before the end of the meeting to read over what is written, and he is to have [] third parts of the fines for not appearing at meetings, for this service." He was termed Recorder, but the duties of his office were very similar to those of the Town Clerk of later days.

Glimpses are had here of the rigor with which the body of voters directed its own action. In 1648, in general Town meeting, it was ordered that all the inhabitants of the Town that shall be absent from the yearly meeting, or any other whereof they have lawful warning, shall forfeit a shilling. Robert Lord earned his two-thirds no doubt, for his duties in-

cluded ringing the bell, calling the roll, and collecting the forfeit. Twelve freemen were soon called upon to pay a fine of 12^d a-piece for absence.

In 1643, the tenure of office was extended to a year, and in 1650, the seven men were called by the familiar name of selectmen. In that year, the elective officials were Selectmen, two Constables, four Surveyors, and a Committee of Five "to make the elders' rates," or, in plainer language, to apportion the tax for the support of the ministry. Mr. Robert Payne had been appointed Committee or Treasurer for the Town in May, 1642, but it does not seem to have been an annual elective office.

Road-surveyors were appointed in January, 1640-1, and the men appointed to that office were Mr. Hubbard, Mr. Symonds, Mr. Payne, and Robert Andrews, four of the most substantial citizens. The roads were hardly more than cart-paths, grass-grown, except in the wheelruts. In some localities the unused portion of the public way was sufficiently broad to pay for its own maintenance. Thus, in 1640, "The haye upon Chebacco waye toward Labour-in-vain Creeke [now known as the Argilla road] was granted John Lee, this year only, the land itself being settled for a highway, the Town intending that by like grant he shall enjoy it, he giving no cause to the contrary, it remaining in the Town's hand to give or not to give."

It was also voted, that same year, that "the highway to Chebacco beneath Heart-break Hill forever be repayed by the benefit of the grass yearly growing upon the same;" and John Leigh (whose name is still associated with "Leigh's Meadow," as the older people among us still call the meadow land, owned by the late George Haskell on the south side of the Argilla road) was "to enjoy all profits of the highway, and all the common ground lying at the foot of Heart-break Hill, maintaining the highway from Rocky Hill [now owned by Mr. Moritz B. Philipp], to William Lampson's lot;" "and if there be any ground that may conveniently be planted, he hath liberty to plant it and secure it for himself, he always leaving a sufficient highway for carting and drift."

Within the memory of a venerable lady still living, Green Lane, as Green Street was then called, was a grassy lane with a

number of different ruts. Travel was chiefly on horseback, and the heavy farm teaming was done in two-wheeled carts or tumbrils, drawn by oxen. Four-wheeled vehicles were almost unknown. In many spots the roads were wet and muddy from the outflow of springs. The present Mineral Street, originally Dirty Lane, was a proverbially miry thoroughfare, from its nearness to the swampy lands, that are still low and wet. The deep deposit of leaf mould, which had accumulated for ages, made it difficult to maintain a passable road in many quarters, no doubt.

To keep these primitive highways in fair condition was no mean task in itself. But the highway surveyor had other duties. The lines of roadway were not defined with any accuracy. It was easy for landholders to push out their fences and claim portions of the common highway, and the surveyor was bound to detect such encroachments and determine their extent. Men of the finest quality were needed for this and other delicate tasks, and large powers were given them, as the regulations adopted in 1641 indicate:

1. "Agreed that road-ways and general ways be done first."
2. "That people work the whole day."
3. "That defaulters shall forfeit the value of their wages double, both carts and workmen: carts to have reasonable warning."
4. "If any man hath 24 hours warning, it is sufficient, unless his excuse be allowed by one of the surveyors."
5. "All youths above 14 years of age are to work in this common business. It is intended such as doe comonly use to work."
6. "That the surveyors are to take notice themselves and information of others of encroachment of all ways, and also of annoyances, etc.—and to bring the same to the Town to be punished."
7. "For every day's default, the forfeit is in Summer 3^s 4^d, in Winter 2^s 6^d; for defect of a team each day is in Summer 13^s 4^d, in Winter 10^s."

To execute these regulations required much discretion. That fifth article alone was enough to involve the unhappy

surveyor in much difficulty, if he failed to recognize the dignity of some fourteen-year-old son of a sensitive family.

To these responsible duties were added, "making up and keeping the wall about the Meeting House in repair" (1650), and "repairing the highway leading to Chebacco and to Castle Neck, that is, beyond that part of the way that John Leigh hath undertaken" (1650). They were instructed, in 1651, to "appoint a considerable company of men to fell the small wood upon the Eastern side of Jeffries Neck, to prepare it for sowing to hay seed;" and in 1653, Mr. Hodges, with one other surveyor, calling John Perkins Sen. with them, were ordered to "call out 40 of the Inhabitants to goe to Jeffry's Neck with hoes, to hoe up weeds that spoil the Neck and sow some grass seeds." The surveyors have power also to call out all the Town for one day's work, both men and teams, "to the filling up of a wharf, and mending the street against it."

Next to the question of roads and highways, their location, bounds and maintenance, was the great matter of the common lands, which were held by the householders in common, and used for pasturage, and supplies of fuel and timber. This was a relic of the ancient system of land-holding in Germany and England, and was reverted to naturally, in the primitive colonial life from the necessities of the situation.

In November, 1634, it was agreed that "the length of Ipswich should extend westward unto [] buryinge place, and Eastward unto a Cove of the River, unto the planting ground of John Pirkings the Elder." The cove here mentioned is that below the wharves, where East street touches the River; John Perkins Sen. owned land on the opposite side of the street. Beyond these limits, the land was held in common. It was further specified that "the Neck of land adjoining Mr. Robert Coles extending unto the sea shall remayne for common use unto the Town forever." This may mean Manning's Neck, or Jeffrey's, or even both. "The Necke of land, whereupon the Great Hill standeth, w'ch is known by the name of Castle Hill," was likewise reserved. This vote, however, was revoked when Castle Hill was granted Mr. John Winthrop Jan. 13, 1637-8 "provided that he lives in the Town, and that the Town may have what they shall need for the building of a fort."

To define this common land, and separate it effectually from the Town proper, a fence was necessary, and the Town voted in January, 1637-8 "that a general fence shall be made from the end of the town to Egypt River, with a sufficient fence, and also from the East end of the Town in the way to Jeffries Neck, from the fence of John Perkins to the end of a creek in the marsh near land of W^{ry} Foster, to be done at the charge of all those that have land within the said compass, and by them to be maintained." On the south side of the River, this fence was near Heart-break Hill (1650), and it extended across to the present County Road, near the line of the brook, as seems probable from ancient deeds. Liberty was granted to fell trees for this purpose, and it may have been built easily of logs, piled zigzag fashion, as pasture fences are still built in wooded regions. As early as 1639, a special Committee was chosen to view this fence, the original "Fence Viewers," who are still elected at the March town meeting. Their function was of the highest importance.

The principal use of these common lands was for pasturage. Johnson, in his *Wonder Working Providence*, observes that the cattle had become so numerous in 1646 that many hundred quarters of beef were sent to Boston from Ipswich every autumn. Swine and sheep had increased rapidly also. Every day these great herds were driven out into the commons to find rich and abundant forage in the woods, and along the sedgy banks of ponds and streams. The common fence was necessary to keep them from straying back into the cultivated fields. Any breach in it might involve great loss in growing crops, at a time when a scarce harvest was a very serious menace to the health and comfort of the little community. No wonder they chose men of the greatest sobriety and carefulness for the responsible duty of viewing and having charge of this rude fence.

Their duties became even more onerous, we may presume, after the year 1653 when, in accordance with the order from the General Court, the town ordered "that all persons, concerned and living in Ipswich shall, before April 20th have their fences in a good state (except farms of one hundred acres) made of pales well nailed or pinned, or of five rails well fitted, or

of stone wall three and a half feet high at least, or with a ditch three or four feet wide, with a substantial bank, having two rails or a hedge, or some equivalent, on penalty of 5s. a rod and 2s a week for each rod while neglected."

The herds of large and small cattle needed to be watched lest they should stray away into the wilderness, or be assailed by wolves. For this service, the cowherd and shepherd and swine-herd were essential, and thus we find the town officials of England in the Middle Ages again in vogue in our midst. Prof. Edward A. Freeman in his *Introduction to American Institutional History*¹ aptly observes:

"The most notable thing of all, yet surely the most natural thing of all, is that the New England settlers of the 17th century, largely reproduced English institutions in an older shape than they bore in the England of the seventeenth century. They gave a new life to many things, which in their older home had well nigh died out. The necessary smallness of scale in the original settlements was the root of the whole matter. It, so to speak, drove them back for several centuries. It caused them to reproduce in not a few points, not the England of their own day, but the England of a far earlier time. It led them to reproduce in many points the state of things in old Greece and in medieval Switzerland."

In the earliest contract with the cowherds mentioned in our Town Records, under date of Sept. 1639, agreement was made with Wm. Fellows to keep the herd of cows on the south side the river, from the 20th of April to the 20th of November. He was bound "to drive them out to feed before the sunne be half an hour high, and not to bring them home before half an hour before sunset." He was to drive the cattle, "coming over the River, back over the River at night," and to take charge of them "as soon as they are put over the River in the morning." He was liable for all danger coming to the cattle, either by leaving them at night or during the day, and was to receive 12 pence for each cow before he took them, a shilling and sixpence fourteen days after midsummer and the rest at the end of the term in corn or money, a total of £15.

¹ Johns Hopkins University Studies, I.

The cows on the north side of the river were herded by themselves in 1640, and Wm. Fellows, Mark Quilter and Symon Tompson were the cow-keepers, receiving them at Mr. Norton's gate. In 1643, the cows were gathered, "over against Mr. Robert Payne's house," *i. e.* at the corner of High and North-Main streets. The cowherds were instructed in 1647, at "the first opportunity to burn the woods, and to make a Bridge over the River to Wilderness Hill,"¹ and all herdsmen were ordered "to winde a horn before their going out." The herds were driven out, partly "over Sanders," *i. e.* over Sanders's brook on the Topsfield road, and partly up High street. The owners of cows were bound to provide men to relieve the cowherds every other Sabbath day. The herdsmen warned two on Friday night for each Sabbath day and refusal to do the service required was punishable with a fine of three shillings for each instance of neglect. In 1649, Daniel Ringe was ordered to "attend on the green before Mr. Rogers house" (the South Green) and the cowherd was obliged to keep the herd one Sunday in four.

The whole time and attention of the cowherd and his assistants were regulated by law. By order of the General Court in 1642, the "prudential" men of each town were instructed "to take care of such [children] as are sett to keep cattle be set to some other employment withal, as spinning upon the rock,² knitting, weaving tape, etc., and that boys and girls be not suffered to converse together so as may occasion any wanton, dishonest or immodest behaviour." Wm. Symonds needed a special permit in 1653, before he could cut two parcels of meadow in the common, near Capt. Turner's Hill, while he kept the herd.

"No great cattle, except cows and working cattle in the night," were allowed on the cow commons and any mares, horses or oxen found in the common two hours after sunrising, might be driven to the Pound by the finder (1639).

The cowherd's recompense varied from year to year, but

¹ This was the name of a hill near the present line of division between Essex and Ipswich, in the vicinity of Hatfield's Bridge. The name is still remembered in connection with the range of hills on the east side of the Candlewood road, near Sagamore Hill.

² The rock was a hand distaff, from which thread was spun.

was always a modest return for his service. Haniel Bosworth contracted in 1661 to keep the herd on the north side of the river for thirteen shillings a week, "a peck of corn a head at their going out, one pound of butter or half peck of wheat in June, and the rest of his pay at the end of his time, whereof half to be paid in wheat or malt; the pay to be brought to his house within six days after demanded or else to forfeit 6d a head more." "Agreed with Henry Osborn to join Bosworth to keep the cows on the same terms. One of them to take the cows in Scott's lane and to blow a horn at the meeting-house green in the morning." In 1670, the town voted that every cow of the herd should wear a bell and the early morning air was full of rural music, with lowing cows, tinkling bells and the sounding blasts upon the cowherd's horn.

Swine caused more trouble than the great cattle. Certain sections of the common lands were set apart for their special use. In 1639 it was agreed with Robert Wallis and Thomas Manning to keep four score hogs upon Plum Island from the 10th of April "until harvest be got in" "and that one of them shall be constantly there night and day, all the tyme, and they are to carry them and bring them home, provided those that own them send each of them a man to help catch them, and they are to make troughs to water them in, for all which paynes and care they are to have 12 pence a hogg, at the entrance, 2 shillings a hogg at mid summer, for so many as are then living, and 2 shillings a hogg for each hogg they shall deliver at the end of harvest." A herd of swine is alluded to in 1640 on Castle Neck and on Hogg Island.

But many of the inhabitants preferred to keep their hogs nearer home, and as the idea of confining them in pens about the premises had not been conceived, they were driven out into the commons to graze. A good two miles was to separate them from the town, and for any big pigs found within that limit the owners were liable to pay a forfeit of five shillings apiece; but it was "provided that such small pigs as are pigged after 1st of February shall have liberty to be about the Town, not being liable to pay any damage in house lots or gardens, but if any hurt be done in house lots and gardens, the owner of

the fence through which they came shall pay the damage. The pigges have liberty until 16 August next."

"The pigges" used their liberty injudiciously, and brought upon themselves the severer edict of 1645, that no hogs should run in the streets or commons without being yoked and ringed. Finally the town undertook the care of the hogs on the same basis as the cows. Contract was made with Wm. Clark in 1652 to keep a herd of hogs from the 26th of April to the last of October, "to drive them out to their feed in the Commons, being all ringed, between seven or eight of the clock, to have 12 shillings per week, six pence for every head." Hogs were to be brought to Mr. Payne's corner, and the owners were ordered "to find for every six hogs one to help keep them till they be wanted."

The next year, Abraham Warr and the son of Goodman Symmes were the swine herds, and they were expected to take them at the Meeting House Green and drive one herd through the street by Mr. P . . . (probably High St.), the other out at Scott's Lane (the present Washington St.). Robert Whitman also was commissioned to keep a herd of hogs on the north side, "he and his boys to keep out with them until 4 o'clock in the afternoon, to drive them out presently after the cows,—his boy has liberty to leave the hogs at one o'clock." This swine-herd, Whitman, is mentioned in the record of 1644 as the keeper of the goat herd on the north side.

Sheep were kept on Jeffries Neck, and liberty was given sheep owners in 1656 to "fence in about half an acre of ground there for a year to keep their sheep in nights," and it was also ordered that "one able person out of every family shall work one day in May or June as they shall be ordered, to help clear the commons for the better keeping of sheep, upon a day's warning." Robert Roberts was the shepherd on Jeffries Neck in 1661 from April 8th till the end of October and his wages were £13. Robert Whitman was paid 10 shillings a week to keep another flock on the north side of the river. In 1662 there were three shepherds and the commons on the south side were so burdened that one hundred sheep were transferred to the north side. By vote of 1702 the shepherds were required to have cottages adjoining the sheep-walks to be near their

flocks. Felt¹ says it was the custom for each shepherd to put his flock in the pen every Friday afternoon, that the owners might take what they needed for family use and for market.

Another public functionary of no small dignity was the Town Crier, whose task it was to proclaim with loud voice any announcement of public importance. The first allusion to this official occurs in the year 1640, when it was voted that "Ralph Varnham, for ringing the bell, keeping clean the meeting house and publishing such things as the town shall appoint shall have for his paynes, of every man for the year past whose estate is rated under 100 £, 6^d, from 100 to 500 £, 12^d, and upward, 18^d; the like for this year to come." Henceforward the Town Crier was elected annually.

Commendable care for the neat and tidy appearance of the public thoroughfares was manifested in the vote of March, 1645, that Robert Lord "keep the streets clear of wood and timber under penalty 12^d the load and as proportionable for more or less for lying or standing above three days in any of the streets or lanes," and in 1652, the Town

"Ordered, that all dung-hills lying in the streets shall be removed by the 20th of October and from that time noe dung hills to be layed in the streets under the penalty of 10s." A stringent prohibition of felling any shade trees in the streets or highways, under penalty of 20^s for every offence was enacted in 1666.

A Committee to provide a building for the town school was appointed in Jan., 1651-2, and studious effort to secure the best educational advantages is manifest in the annual provision for the public school and frequent contributions to Harvard College.

As various industries assumed prominence, special inspectors were appointed, generally in compliance with some edict of the General Court. Thus, John Knowlton was appointed to "search and scale leather" in 1652, that no unmarketable leather might be sold by any tanner of hides, and the sealer was a regular official henceforth. The Common Paçker, whose function was to secure the proper packing of fish or meat in barrels, I presume, came into existence in 1658. "Pounders," for the care of

¹ History of Ipswich.

stray animals shut up in the public pounds and the collection of fines, were chosen in 1674, but some provision must have been made long before this as the pounds had been built some years. Tithing men were chosen first in 1677, and in 1680 there is mention of a Clerk of the Market Place. "Gagers of casque" were chosen in 1726. The poor had been provided for always at the public expense, but the first mention of an overseer of the poor, of which I am aware, occurs in 1734. Capt. Thos. Wade was then elected to that office. Col. John Choate was chosen surveyor of flax and hemp in 1735.

By the middle of the century, deer began to be scarce in the forests, and to prevent their extinction and to regulate their destruction for food, "deer reeves" were established and the first election was made in 1743. They were elected annually for many years, but as the office had been discontinued in 1797, it is probable that the deer had wholly disappeared.

Thus the government of the town was systematized gradually. Every industry seems to have been supervised by some public functionary and the climax of petty officialdom might well have been reached in 1797, when the list of officers chosen at the Town meeting included Selectmen, Overseers, Town Clerk and Treasurer, Tithing-men, Road Surveyors, Fish Committee, Clerk of the Market, Fence Viewers, Haywards, Surveyors of Lumber, Cullers of Fish, Sealers of Leather, Hog-reeves, Gaugers of Cask, Sealers of Weights, Measurers of Grain, Cordors of Wood, Firewards, Packer of Pork, and Cullers of Brick. Surely the thirst for public office, which afflicts every American citizen, was easily gratified. The Ipswich of a century ago must have been a paradise for politicians.

CHAPTER VI.

COMMON LANDS AND COMMONAGE.

Ownership of a house and land within the town bounds carried with it the right of pasturage, in the wide domain beyond the Common Fence. This right was definitely recognized, and could be bought or sold. But the privilege of cutting wood in the dense forests, which were included in these commons, was retained by the town.

Singularly enough the town claimed proprietorship even in the trees standing on the houselots granted to individuals, and graciously granted permission in 1634 to the grantees, to have such trees on "paying a valuable consideration for the fallinge of them." In 1635, the Town ordered that "no man shall sell, lend, give or convey, or cause to be conveyed or sent out of the Town, any timber sawn or unsawn, riven or unriven upon pain of forfeiting their sum or price." The "consent of the Town" was necessary before any timber or clapboards could be carried beyond her bounds. The enactment of 1639 was even more stringent:

"Noe man shall fell any timber upon the Common to make sale of, neither Shall any man fell any tree for fuel without leave from the Constable under penalty of x^s for such tree felled for timber or firewood, and if any man shall fell timber for their own use, and remove it not from off the Commons or cleave it or saw it not within one year after the felling of it, it shall be lawful for any man to make use of the same." According to the vote of 1643, a special license from the Town or Seven Men was necessary before a white oak could be felled, and Mr. Gardiner was to give a written certificate that such license was fit. The felling of timber on "Jeffry's Neck, Castle Neck, Hog Island," etc., was prohibited in 1650, but some clearings had been accomplished, as provision was made in 1654 for Jef-

fries Neck and other common lands to be "broken up and planted for English." Special privilege was granted the inhabitants of the Town in 1652, to fell for firewood the swamp between Timber Hill and Bush Hill, "provided no man may take above 2 rods in breadth, and to fell all and clear as they go across the Swamp." By the order of 1665, oaks or walnuts might not be cut without permission, but the maltsters, Capt. Appleton, Cornet Whipple and Thomas L—— were granted liberty to fell some walnuts for their kilns in 1667, and permit was given the tanners in 1671 "to fell for there supply for Barke for there tanning, being as good Husbands for the Town as they can."

Neither did the right of commonage involve any privilege of cultivating any portion of the commons. In 1659, twelve citizens petitioned for the privilege of planting two acres apiece in Jeffries Neck, and they agreed to sow four bushels of hayseed per acre with the last crop. Their petition was allowed and seven others were granted like privilege "if the land holds out."

This use of the common land sprang into instant favor. The next year, fifteen men agreed to cultivate two acres apiece on Jeffries Neck for four years, and with the fifth crop plant four bushels of hayseed, and leave it to the use of the Town for common feed as before. Twenty-four men agreed to clear, and then cultivate Bush Hill and Turkey Hill for six years, on the same terms, with the added proviso, that they "shall keep up fence one year after to let the grass get ahead." Redroot Hill was granted to eight for six years, Scott's Hill to nine, a parcel of land at Cowkeepers Rock to six, land between Haffield's and Wilderness Hill to Giddings and John Andrews.

By the time the first of these tillage rights had expired, the idea of permanent individual ownership had gained general acceptance. So, in 1664, the town voted that Plum Island, Hogg Island and Castle Neck be divided to such as have the right to commonage according to law, according to the proportion of four, six and eight. Those who did not pay more than 6^s 8^d in personal & property tax in a single country rate were to form the first division. All that did not exceed 16^s were to form the second. All that exceeded 16^s "together with our

Magistrates, Elders, Mr. John Rogers, and Mr. Thomas Andrews" (the school-master), were to constitute the highest.

The Committee to which the task was assigned, reported in April, 1665, that there were 203 inhabitants who had right of commonage, that 28 were entitled to a double share, 70 were entitled to a share and a half, 105 were entitled to a single share, 226 single shares in all. They reported as well that there were 800 acres of marsh and upland "beside beaches and gall'd hills," and that each single share would contain three acres. These shares were laid out, first a double share, next two one and a half shares, then three single shares beginning at the end of Plum Island towards Rowley, then on Castle Neck, including "the Pines" and Wigwam Hill. The commoners then took their shares by lot, and Cornet Whipple, Robert Lord, John Leighton and Thomas Lovel went with them to show where their land was. A full list of the shareholders was recorded, and this large section of the public domain was withdrawn from commonage forever. Large tracts of common land remained however, and the right of commonage was granted to five men in 1668 and to Thomas Giddings in 1674 by vote.

Fishermen were allowed to cut wood from the commons for house building and fuel, and each boat's crew had leave to feed one cow on the Common (1670). Yet further privilege was granted them in 1696, when Mr. John Appleton, Mr. Andrew Dyamond, and Mr. Francis Wainwright, were "appointed and empowered a Committee to lay out the several lots that shall be desired by persons to carry on the fishing design at Jeffery's Neck, for flake-room and erecting stage or stages, the said lotts to run up and down the hill fronting to ye River on ye Southside." Traces of these lots are visible in the rows of stones, on the slope of Great Neck near Little Neck. Less favor had been shown other use of common lands in 1682, when the question, "whether any commoner or inhabitant may take up and inclose land upon the common or highways, as he or they shall see good, for Tobacco yards and other uses," was decided in the negative.

Finally, in the beginning of the next century, 1709, it was voted, that all the common lands be divided into "eight parts,"

except what is hereafter to accommodate ancient and new commoners. These votes, we have mentioned, were all votes of the town in regularly warned town meetings. Provision was made for the carrying out of the several votes by the selectmen, the town constable and other public officials. It might appear that the town in its corporate capacity had supreme control.

Nevertheless, from the very beginning, the commoners, or those who had the right of commonage, met in commoners' meeting, had their own records, and legislated with reference to all the duties and privileges of commoners. In fact, it has been affirmed by a careful student, that, in the town of Manchester, land grants made by the town were really made by the commoners acting in their capacity of commoners.¹ In our own town, the line of distinction seems to have been drawn more definitely, yet the commoners claimed and exercised very important rights. As early as 1644, the Town Records allude to a gift by the commoners: "a plot of the Cow Common on the north side of the river containing by estimation 3244 acres, was presented unto the freemen of the town. The freemen doth give and grant unto the Inhabitants of the Town with themselves, their heirs and successors forever [viz. all such as have right to commonage] all the aforesaid Common to be improved as aforesaid."

In 1702 they divided the common lands into large sheep pastures. "The Great Neck by some cal^d Jefferies Neck, now named ye Ram Pasture being part of y^e sheep walks on y^e northerly side of the River," was to be included in the "sheep walk," on the north side of the River; "and on y^e South syde of ye Mill River, excludng y^c bounds of y^c flock cal^d Whipple's (Job's Hill) flock, extending from Isaack Foster's in Chebacco to James Gittings his house; and from thence to y^c valley betwixt Long Hill and Wilderness Hill, and thence in y^c valley betwext Red Root Hill² and Sagamore Hill and thence on a line to Mile Brook agst . . . land."

¹ State Doc. "Inhabitants of the Town of Manchester *versus* Andrew C. Slater," p. 18.

² Now called Red-wood Hill.

These "stinted sheep walks" having been defined for each flock, the commoners voted that there should be nine flocks:

- 1st. "y^e Ram Pasture flock"
2. "y^e Bush Hill " "
3. "Turners Hill " "
4. "Turkey Hill " "
5. "Bull Brook " "
6. "ye Town flock, alias Windmill Hill flock as far as the Bridge below Wm Durges & as sd Rivilet runs by Henry Gold's to Choates land."
7. "Red Root Hill or Brags & Kinsmans flock."
8. "ye Farmers flock next Wenham called Whipples flock, alias Jobs Hill flock."
9. the Chebacco flock.

It was further ordered:

"Every sheppard shall keep his flock in the limits prescribed to the particular flock y^t he takes charge and care of, & not suffer them to stragle into other Flocks limits, on penalty of paying as a fine of two shillings and six for each time he is convicted of such his neglect:—" Each shepherd was to have a cottage near his flock, and a fold in which he was to put them at sunset, "and put them out at sun half an hour high in y^e morne day by day." "Mr. Samuel Appleton & others " were to have "a flock in the Thick Woods and Pigeon Hill."

In 1707, a division of wood, timber, etc., at Chebacco ponds, Knight's farm, etc., was made into four parts. In 1709, the final division of the common lands was made by a Committee of the Commoners and a Committee of the Town. The town voted on January 11, 1708-9, "That wood-land at Chebacco Ponds, that thatch banks and land above Baker's Pond, and Samuel Perley's, Jeffrey's Neck and Paine's Hill, be divided into three-fifths and two-fifths shares."

Voted, "That any commoner who has one or more rights and has built one or more new houses in the place of old ones, shall have only the right for a new house, which belonged to the old one."

The list of old and new commoners, and old and new Jef-

fries Neck commoners was agreed on, and then the common lands were divided into eight parts.

1. "Convenient for Chebacco, about Chebacco pond," about 873 acres.
2. "Convenient for the inhabitants of the Hamblett," about 470 acres.
3. "From Chebacco Pond running northwesterly, taking all the Comon lands between the two lines to Cowkeepers Rock, and all that piece of Common up to the highway by Tanner Norton's, and by the fence to the Gate by Appleton's Mill," about 1181 acres.
4. "Thick Woods & Pigeon Hill."
5. "Beginning at Kimball's corner . . . Warner's or Day's gate . . . " about 946 acres.
6. "From Goodhue's corner to Day's corner, by the River, etc.," about 578 acres (5 and 6 including Bush Hill and Turner's Hill).
7. "Turkey Hill and land about Egypt river," 954 acres.
8. "Toward Rowley line," 850 acres.

The Committee proceeded to assign the commoners to their proper eighths, and each man's right was decided as accurately as possible.

Some title to Castle Neck still remained in the possession of the commoners, as appears from the vote of 21 Mar. 1726, instructing the Treasurer to execute a deed of sale or conveyance of their whole right and title in the "wood that now is, or that shall hereafter be standing, lying, or growing on any part of Castle Neck so called beyond Wigwam Hill," to Symonds Epes, Esq., for ten pounds sterling. The commoners relinquished their "right att Rocky Hill unto James Fuller, Ebenezer Fuller and Jabez Treadwell, they paying the sum of sixty pounds old Tenor, for ye Com^o use." Aug., 1745. (This is the hill now occupied by Mr. Moritz B. Philipp.)

Unappropriated thatch banks were let each year to the highest bidder, only commoners having the right to bid. Rights and privileges in the "Gravill Pit and Clay pitts" were reserved by the commoners for their use and profit. The beaches be-

longed to the commoners, and in 1757 they voted that "Capt. Jonathan Fellows of Cape Ann, have the liberty of all the sands lying in the Town of Ipswich for the space of one year for the sum of 2£ 13s. 4d."

Their authority reached also to the flats and the clams that dwelt therein, and in 1763 the vexed question of the control of the shell fishery led to the first regulation of which I am aware. The commoners voted, on July 4th, "That the Committee take care of all ye flats & clams therein, belonging to ye proprietors of ye Common lands in Ipswich & that no person or persons be allowed to digg any more clams than for their own use, & to be expended in ye Town, & that all owners of fishing vessels and Boats shall apply to one of sd. Committee for liberty to digg clams for their vessels use fare by fare, & no owners of vessel or vessels, boat or boats, shall digg more clams than shall be allowed by one or more of sd. Committee on penalty of prosecution; said Committee are to allow one Barl of clams to each man of every vessel going to the Banks every fare, & so also in propr. to boats fishing in the Bay, and a majority of said Com. are impowered to prosecute all offenders."

The income accruing from these sales and leases was expended for various public uses. In 1771, £100 was voted "for the use of building a work house in the Town of Ipswich," provided the town build within eighteen months. In 1772, £20 was voted to Wm. Dodge and others "to erect suitable land marks for the benefit of vessels outward and inward bound," and 6s. to Anthony Loney for ringing the bell from Feb. 1771 to Feb. 1772. In 1773, £50 was voted for reading and writing schools, provided the town raise £40. Finally, in 1788, the majority of the commoners voted, though vigorous opposition was made by the minority, to resign all their interests in lands, etc., to the town toward the payment of the heavy town debt incurred during the Revolution. Mr. Felt estimated that this grant was worth about £600.

Thus the body of commoners ceased to be but we still are reminded of the old commonage system by the "Common Fields," so called, in the neighborhood of the Poor Farm, and our South Common and the open lands in the centre of our town.

CHAPTER VII.

TRADES AND EMPLOYMENTS.

Sunrise, in the summer time, found the ancient Ipswich wide awake and busily astir. The cattle were gathering on the South Green and at Dodge's Corner, while the cow-herds' horns were blowing, and some one had risen early enough in every family to milk the family cow and drive her to the place of rendezvous. Before the herds had been driven well away, with shouting and lowing and clanging of bells and sounding of horns, the heaviest sleepers had been aroused, and were preparing for the day's toil. As we think of the manifold necessities of that little community, its remote isolation, and the need of its providing by its own varied and wearisome toil for its own wants, we are sure that the longest day was none too long, and that every hour of daylight could be well used.

The pressing matter of food for man and beast was first to be settled, and a considerable proportion of the men were farmers, and almost every man had his garden about his house, and his six-acre tillage lot a little farther away. The town lots averaged about two acres, and allowed ample room for convenient raising of many food products. We should hardly recognize our fair green fields and soil yielding so easily to the plough, in the rough, stony lands cumbered with tree stumps, blackened with the fire, and slowly rotting away, which the first farmers here ploughed with their wooden ploughs, and made ready for the planting. But the virgin soil was black and rich, and even though rocks hindered the course of the plough sometimes, as the observing Johnson remarked in 1646, the toil expended found ample return. The fish that were caught plentifully in the Bay, or taken more easily, when the shad and alewives were passing in shoals up over the fishway of the dam, furnished cheap and good dressing. Moreton observed in 1637 "that a thousand were put into an acre, which would yield three times more corn than without them." But the dogs soon learned to dig up the fish from the corn fields, and they

brought upon themselves a very singular abridgment of their liberty and impairment of their dignity, as we learn from the vote of the town in May, 1644:

"It is ordered that all doggs, for the space of three weeks after the publishinge thereof, shall have one legg tyed up. If such a dogg should break loose and be found in any corne field, doing any harme, the owner of the dogg shall pay the damages. If a man refuse to tye up his dogge's legg, and hee bee found seraping up fish in the corne field, the owner shall pay 12s. besides whatever damage the dogg doth."

Corn was the principal food staple, and a plentiful supply was of the highest importance. Rye was also a favorite article of diet, but wheat was grown and used but sparingly. Vegetables of the common sort were grown, pumpkins, melons, pease, beans and turnips, but the potato, now the chief food crop on every farm, was not known for a century. Felt says that this vegetable was not cultivated in our town until 1733. They were planted in beds, like beets or carrots, and three bushels were counted an ample crop for a family. Hay and oats were essential to the wintering of the cattle, flax was grown to furnish the material for the fine linen garments and table furnishings, barley was raised that there might be no lack of beer. Tobacco, too, was a crop that was prized highly, albeit the use of it was always under the ban of the law. The Statute of 1634 was, "No person shall take tobacco publicly, on fine of 2^s 6d. or privately in his own or another's house, before acquaintance or strangers." The buying or selling was prohibited in 1635. Nevertheless, the Rev. Mr. Rogers was a famous smoker, and his people persisted in cultivating the forbidden herb. All planting and cultivating were done in primitive fashion, and the scythe, hoe and hand rake were the chief implements for the harvesting. Mr. Saltonstall's great four hundred acre farm on the Topsfield border, and the great farms of Appleton, Denison and Symonds and all the wealthier people must have given plentiful employment to many stout yeomen.

After the corn had been raised, there was work for the miller to grind it into meal. "The worshipful Mr. Saltonstall," as he is called in many old records, had the exclusive mill privilege for many years. His mill-dam was built on the site of the present

one, it is supposed, and the original grist-mill probably stood very near the site of the old stone mill. A busy place it must have been, for every family in the whole broad township, from Chebacco to Rowley and Topsfield, was dependent on it, and many a bag of corn was brought on the back of a horse, or in the creaking tumbril, and due weight of meal was borne away, after a sixteenth part had been measured out for the miller. This valuable monopoly continued unbroken until 1687, though much dissatisfaction prevailed because of insufficient accommodation.

In that year, permission was granted Nehemiah Jewett to build a dam and erect a mill on the south side of Egypt River,¹ and in 1696, Edmund and Anthony Potter and Abraham Tilton, Jr., were permitted to build another on Mile River, where the old mill stands today on the farm of Mr. Oliver Smith. Robert Calef was granted leave, in 1715, to build his grist-mill in the Island by the lower Falls.

But Mr. Jonathan Wade seems to have evaded the legal difficulty attaching to the erection of a grist-mill driven by water-power, by building a wind-mill, prior to 1673, on the top of the hill that still bears the name, Windmill, though the oldest inhabitant has no remembrance of such a structure. Its great, clumsy sails, revolving noisily, and the rumble of the millstones gave pleasant welcome no doubt to the traveller, coming slowly into town after his long journey through the woods.

Almost as valuable as the grist-mill was the saw-mill. Singularly enough, though there was abundant water power on the Ipswich River, and the river at Chebacco, and a saw-mill would seem to have been a necessity at the very beginning, we find no grant of water privilege for such a mill until 1649, when Mr. Wade was granted liberty to set up a saw-mill. The Town voted in 1656 that a saw-mill might be built on Chebacco River, "and liberty to cut timber was granted, if one-fifteenth of what is sawed there be granted to the town, and that no timber be cut within three miles and a half of the meet-

¹ This mill was built a little way from the highway, near the house lately built by Mr. John E. Tenney.

ing-house, and the inhabitants be charged no more than four per cent."

Other grants for saw-mills were made in 1665 to Jonathan Wade and in 1667 to Thos. Burnam. Major Samuel Appleton had a saw-mill on his own land near the present bridge over Mile River, and the remains of a dam, which served for a mill on that site within the memory of some old people, may still be found within a few rods of the bridge, towards the east.

A hemp-mill, "for the breaking of hemp" was built about 1657, we presume, near the grist-mill on the upper dam, as Richard Shatswell was granted the privilege that year, "provided it be no prejudice to the Town or the corne mill." A fulling mill, for finishing homespun cloth, was built by John Whipple in 1673, at the lower falls, and other similar mills were built within a few years.

Our forefathers knew nothing of the luxury of hot tea and coffee, and found cold comfort as it seems to us in malt beer and other spirituous drinks. So the maltster was as needful almost as the miller, and a monopoly similar to that enjoyed by Mr. Saltonstall for his grist-mill, was accorded Mr. Samuel Appleton for his malt-kiln, which stood very near the railroad track, south of the crossing on the road to Topsfield. The Town Record under date of December, 1641, reads:

"Mr. Apleton promised to have a malt house ready by 1st of April next, and to mault such corn as shall be brought from the people of the Town at such rates as shall be thought equal from time to time, and noe man (except for himself) is to have any made elsewhere for the space of five years next ensuing."

The malting establishment was built, and Mr. Appleton was permitted to cut wood in the Commons for the fires. In 1648, it was specified, that he might "fell for his kiln, twelve load of black ashes." In 1665, Mr. John Whipple and Mr. John L—— were engaged in the same business.

Following the river down from the upper dam, we should have found the representatives of many industries. Near the present foot-bridge on South Main Street, near the old Lace Factory, Nath. Browne built his "work-house" in 1661 or 2, on the eight or ten rods of land the town granted him, "to

make pott ashes and sope," and in 1691, the old soap-boiling establishment had given place to Samuel Ordway's blacksmith shop. Edmund Bridges was a smith of the earlier time, and his refusal to shoe Dep. Governor Symonds's horse with proper haste was made the occasion of a special reprimand from the Great and General Court, in the year 1647.

"Ordered, that Edm. Bridges for his neglect of shoeing Mr. Symonds' horse (when he was to come to Corte) be required to answer this complaint, and his neglect to further publike service." Isaac Littlehale and John Safford plied the same useful trade.

Moses Pengry had a ship yard on the river bank, in front of Mr. Daniel S. Burnham's old mansion, in the year 1673, and in 1676, Edward Randolph wrote to England that ship-building was an extensive industry here. Thomas Clark had liberty "to sett down Tan fats at the end of his planting lot, upon two rods reserved by the River" in 1640-1, and we should have found that ancient tanyard on the corner of Water and Summer Streets, and the vats on the river bank. Later in the century, Nathaniel Rust had a tanning establishment for the curing of sheep skins and the manufacture of gloves on the site of the residence of the late Mrs. Rhoda Potter, now owned by Mr. Henry Brown, by the brook, on County Road, and here, I presume, he made the four dozen pairs of gloves which the Town furnished for Mr. Cobbet's funeral in Nov., 1685. He sold it to Deacon Thomas Norton, another tanner, who dwelt in the old house under the great elm. On the river bank near the spot now occupied by Mr. Glover's coal wharf, Deacon Moses Pengry had his salt pans and works for the manufacture of salt from the sea water, as early as 1652, and the brew-house built by John Paine in 1663 was in the near vicinity, by the river.

The river itself was a busy place, with the coming and going of the fishing craft, and the larger vessels that carried cargoes of fish, pipe staves and lumber to foreign ports. The building of wharves began in 1641, when William Paine was allowed to build one for a warehouse, and a town wharf was constructed in 1656. I surmise that this wharf was near the dwelling of the late Isaiah Rogers, as two ancient abut-

ments may still be seen in that locality. Daniel Hovey built one in 1659 or '60, and the decaying timbers of this or its successor remain on the south bank of the river, near the site of the old Hovey House. Thomas Clark and Robert Pierce had leave to build in 1662, the Wainwrights in 1668, Simon Stacy in 1682, Samuel Hunt in 1685, Andrew Sergeant in 1686, and the old wharf in Hunt's Cove, near the Turkey Shore Road, was built in 1722. These were unpretentious affairs for the most part no doubt, but they answered for the unloading of salt hay and cord-wood, and other commodities, which were handled more easily in boats than in wagons.

The Town had a Committee for furthering trade in 1641, Mr. Bradstreet, Mr. Robert Payne, Captain Denison, Mr. Tuttle, Matthew Whipple, John Whipple and Mr. Saltonstall, and they had the care of buoys and beacons, the providing of salt and cotton, the sowing of hemp seed and flaxseed, and "cards wyer canes." A special Committee to dispose of Little Neck in such wise as to promote the fishing interest was chosen, Mr. Bradstreet, Mr. Hubbard, Mr. Symonds, Mr. Robert Payne and Mr. John Whipple, and they proceeded to accomplish their task, according to the vote of the Town:

"Agreed that the little neck of land, where the fishing stage is, shall be sequestered and set apart for the advancement of fishing, and that the fishermen there shall have liberty to enclose it from the other neck, where the Cattell goes; and it is agreed that every boat that comes to fish there shall have sufficient roome to make their fish in, as also every boat gang shall have liberty to break up & plant an acre of ground which they shall enjoy during the pleasure of the Town."

"The like encouragement the Town intends to give to any other boat, that shall hereafter come to fish there, and it is the professed desire and agreement of those fishermen that are already settled there, that those that shall hereafter come to fish there, shall have equal privilege there with themselves."

"Also it is agreed that the fishermen shall have liberty to build them such houses as they will be willing to resign to the Town, whenever they desert the place, and they are to have the places assigned them for building their houses, by some that the Town shall appoint."

The Little Neck was full of life and bustle, and boats were coming and going from the Isles of Shoals, where the Ipswich merchants had another fishing station. Francis Wainwright was largely interested there, and sold land there to Thomas Diamond in 1690. William Roe had removed from the Shoals to Ipswich in 1671, and purchased land for his dwelling near Mr. Glover's wharf. In 1673, he sold his house and land to two other fishermen from the Shoals, Andrew Diamond and Henry Maine, and the old house by the wharves that bears the name of the Harry Maine house, though of later date, stands on land once owned by Maine. Diamond's name is familiar still from "Diamond Stage," where he had a fishing stage.

The business was so flourishing that before the end of the century there was need of greater accommodation for the fishermen in drying their fish and preparing them for shipment. So the Town voted June 15, 1696:

"That Mr. John Appleton, merchant, Mr. Andrew Dyamond, Mr. Francis Wainwright be appointed and impowered a Committee to lay out the several lots that shall be desired by Persons to carry on the fishing design at Jeffery's Neck for flake room and erecting of stage or stages, the said Lotts to run up and down the Hill fronting to ye River, on ye Southside, and those that have already built flake room, to order their orderly setting the same up and down said Hill, and that no flake room shall lye along the River to debar others from carrying on the design of fishing." "Stage Hill" is the name that still clings to one of the rounded hillocks on Jeffries Neck toward Parker River, and suggests yet further extension of the fisheries.

An old picture in the possession of the Historical Society shows the fish-houses and stages on Jeffries, and the fishing craft at anchor, at some time previous to the Revolution, and the parallel rows of stones running up the hill on the Great Neck, probably indicate the several flake rooms of that period.

Palfray in his History of New England tells us that in the latter half of the seventeenth century, the trade of the Colony had become extensive and profitable. Provisions, horses, boards, pipe staves and houses ready framed were shipped to Barbadoes, St. Christopher and other Islands. Fish, pipe-staves, and deals were sent to Spain, Portugal and the Straits.

Madeira and Canary Islands. Masts and yards, fir and oak plank, and all kinds of peltry went to England. The Ipswich merchants, the Wainwrights, Jonathan Wade, Thomas Bishop, Mr. Diamond and others were enterprising men, and many a foreign bound vessel, laden with the dried fish and pipe-staves and other commodities sailed down the river and out into the broad Atlantic. We know some of the fishermen who were busy with their boats and fishing in those days, Daniel Ringe, William Smalledge, Thomas Harris, Richard Gross, Robert Dutch, Robert Knight and Richard Lakeman.

Shoreborne Wilson, George Palmer, William Douglass and George Hart were coopers, and they and many others no doubt made the barrels for the fishermen, and the staves for foreign shipment. Some of the sailors' names remain, and a romantic interest attaches to these bold mariners, who voyaged so far in the small and quaint vessels of that day: Joseph Metcalfe, Robert Dutch and Samuel, his son, Peter Peniwell, Freeman Clark and William Donnton. One other artisan contributed in no small degree to this flourishing river business, Simon Tompson, the rope-maker, who lived near Rocky Hill.

But there was thrifty toil beside that on the wharves, and the fishing stages, in the fishing shallops and on the decks of the foreign bound merchantmen, and the tributary employments of the salt-maker and cooper, and rope maker. There were carpenters and some of their names remain: William Whitred, William Storey, John and Thomas Burnam, Ezekiel Woodward, Thomas Clark and Joseph Fuller. In the earliest days, indeed, there were thatchers, also, whose craft it was to cover the roofs of the newly built houses and barns with thatch, and the use they made of the heavy salt grass growing on the banks of the lower river has been perpetuated in the name, thatch-banks. Brick chimneys supplanted the wooden chimneys daubed with clay, and there was call for the bricks that John Day made, and the services of John Woodam or William Knowlton as bricklayers. Glass windows were universal after the middle of the seventeenth century, and there was a distinct trade of glazier. Samuel Hunt and his son followed this trade, and so did Robert Kinsman, one of the immortal group that stood

with John Wise in his protest against the Andros tax, and suffered with him.

There was need of food and raiment. Samuel Younglove was the first butcher of whom we know. William White, Obadiah Wood and his apprentice, John Spark, were "biskett bakers." Shoes and leather garments and gloves were needed, and Thomas Clark tanned the hides. Richard Seofield and Thomas Lovell split and cured and made them ready for the shoemaker. "The cordwainers" as the men of the awl and lapstone were called, were quite a numerous body, and they were men of quality, too: Dea. Thomas Knowlton, Robert Lord, Thomas Smith, Nathaniel Knowlton, John Wilson, John Lovell and William Bulkley.

The weaver, too, was a man of indispensable value. He sat all day at the heavy loom, harnessed like a packhorse to his load, and many a weaver grew round-shouldered and misshapen. We may think of James Sayer and Thomas Lull, Simon Adams and Nathaniel Fuller as philanthropists as well as weavers. The tailor went often from house to house to measure and cut and sew the garments made from the homespun fabric of the good wife, and the more finished product of the professional weaver. John Annibal, Thomas Clark, Jr., John French and one woman, Mary Lord, were of this most useful guild. Samuel Graves, Samuel Wood and William Howard, Jun., were felt makers and hatters. Innkeepers provided for the needs of travellers, and the social tipping of the towns-folk, John Baker, Abraham Perkins, John Spark, and others not a few, including the sober Deacon Moses Pengry.

The gunsmith was indispensable in those days of danger. William Fuller, Thomas Manning and Nathaniel Treadwell plied that calling. Jacob Davis, the potter, was the house-keeper's friend. John Ward was the original "chirurgion". Giles Firmin was a trained physician, and John Aniball of later years was a limb dresser. Dr. Bridgman, formerly of Boston, Dr. Philemon Dane, and Dr. John Perkins ministered as well to fleshly ills.

The division and subdivision of trades in those days are in great contrast with the combination of trades that prevails today, because of the universal use of machinery and the

grouping of workmen in large manufactories. It is interesting, moreover, to note how much more of legal restriction there was in various ways in the olden time.

The use of the wood on the common lands for various purposes brought it within the province of the commoners or freemen to decide whether this privilege should be granted. The maltster and the brick-maker needed fuel constantly, and their business was thus dependent constantly on the favor of the commoners. The water-power on any stream was the property of the Town, and no mill could be erected without a popular vote. The fisherman was restricted in the use he made of the fish he had taken with toil and trouble. In 1639, the General Court ordered that "after June 20th no bass nor cod shall be taken for manure, except their heads and offals."

The artisan might not charge as he saw fit for his day's labor. "Carpenters, joyners, bricklayers, sawyers and thatchers" might not "take above 2^s. a day, nor shall any man give more, under penalty of 10^s. to taker and giver." Carpenters had been receiving 3^s. a day, because workmen were scarce, and common laborers, 2^s. 6^d.; but the order of the Court, in 1633, reduced the skilled workman's wage one-third, and the laborer's pay to 18^d. The baker wrought under the eye of the law. The law of 1637 ordered that cakes or buns may not be sold except "such cakes as shall bee made for any buriall, or marriage, or such like special occation." In 1639, the General Court admonished John Stone and his wife "to make bigger bread or to take heede of offending by making too little bread hereafter," and again "no bread might be made finer than to afford at twelve ounces the two penny loaf."

The leather trade was regulated by the General Court in 1642. To prevent deceit in tanning leather, it was enacted:

"That no butcher, currier or shoemaker should be a tanner; nor should any tanner be a butcher, currier or shoemaker."

"That no gash in a hide should be permitted."

"That every hide should be well tanned."

That tanners should not "sett their fatts in tan-hills or other places, where the woozes or leather which shall be put to tan in the same shall or may take any unkind heats, or shall put any leather into any hott or warm woozes, etc."

The potter was girt about with restriction. The law of 1646 required: "Tile earth, to make sale ware, must be digged before the first of the ninth month (November), and turned over in ye last or first month ensuing, a month before it be wrought."

The cooper's pipe staves were inspected "because often found wormy." Innkeepers might not charge more than 6^d. a meal (1634). One woman, who aspired to professional dignity, was roundly rebuked, Jane Hawkins, wife of Richard, who was especially forbidden, in 1637, "to meddle in surgery or physick drinks, plaisters or oyles, nor to question matters of religion except with the elders for satisfaction."

The traffic in "strong water" was carefully guarded. The statute of 1637 was: "Every town shall p'sent a man to bee allowed to sell wine and strong water made in the country, and no other strong water is to be sold." Mr. Symonds was permitted to sell in Ipswich. In 1639, Good. Lumpkin, Good. Firman or Good. Treadwell might be authorized by the Town. The ordinary was under close watch for illegal sales, for entertaining of boys or habitual tipplers, for dancing or gaming, for permitting any to remain during the week-day lecture.

The most extraordinary assumption of authority over the private affairs of families was made by the General Court in 1641, and several subsequent years. A scarcity of materials for clothing led to the statute of 1641, that heads of families should employ their children and servants in manufacturing wild hemp into a coarse linen cloth. In 1645, each Town was ordered to increase its sheep, to relieve the scarcity of woolen cloth, and in 1654, it was enacted that no sheep should be transported and none killed under two years old. In 1656, the General Court again ordered that in every family: "all hands not necessarily employ'd on other occasions, as woemen, girls and boyes shall & hereby are enjoyned to spin according to their skill & abillitie." The Selectmen were enjoined to consider the capacity of every family and rate it according to its employment in other pursuits, and the amount of time that might be given to spinning. The usual amount of spinning that a spinner could accomplish in a day was to be the standard, and each family was to be "assessed" as a spinner, or a half or quarter spinner. Every family assessed for a whole spinner

was required, after the year 1656, to spin for thirty weeks every year, three pounds per week of linen, cotton or woolen, and so proportionally for half or quarter spinners, under penalty of 12^d for every pound short. To secure proper oversight, the families were to be divided into groups or classes of ten, six or five, and a class leader was to be appointed over each group. The sowing of the seed of hemp and flax was also provided for.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE BODY POLITIC.

The political privileges of those early years of the seventeenth century, when Ipswich was a frontier town, were few. In a community so thoroughly religious, one would expect to find perfect brotherliness. But Religion was itself narrow. Our Puritan forefathers founded the Bay Colony that they might enjoy the privilege of worshipping God according to their own consciences, and build up the kingdom of God on these shores. They were very jealous, however, of any who would not build with them, and they could not believe that any, beside the avowed children of God, were competent to direct the affairs of the new Commonwealth. So it was ordered by vote of the first General Court:

“to the end the body of the commoners may be preserved of honest and good men,” “that for the time to come, no man shall be admitted to the freedom of this body politic, but such as are members of some of the churches within the limit of the same.”

Formal application was made to the General Court, and the Court granted the privilege of freemen to such as were deemed suitable under this law. Every freeman thus elected, took the freeman's oath, prescribed by vote of General Court, May 14, 1634.

“I,—A—— B——, being by God's providence an inhabitant and freeman within the jurisdiction of this Commonwealth, do freely acknowledge myself to be subject to the government thereof, and therefore do here swear by the great and dreadful name of the everlasting God, that I will be true and faithful to the same, and will accordingly yield assistance and support thereunto with my person and estate, as in equity I am bound; and I will also truly endeavour to maintain and preserve all the liberties and privileges thereof, submitting myself to the wholesome laws and orders, made and established by the same.

And further, that I will not plot nor practise any evil against it nor consent to any, that shall so do, but will truly discover and, reveal the same to lawful authority now here established, for the speedy preventing thereof. Moreover, I do solemnly bind myself in the sight of God, that when I shall be called to give my voice, touching any such matter of this state, wherein freemen are to deal, I will give my vote and suffrage, as I shall judge in mine own conscience may best conduce and tend to the public weal of the body, without respect of persons or favor of any man; so help me God in the Lord Jesus Christ."

Having taken this solemn oath, the freeman was eligible to vote for the officers and magistrates of the Colony, and to have a voice and vote in town meeting, and freemen alone were thus privileged in the early years of the Colony. At first, the whole body of freemen met in Boston for the annual election, and we may presume that every freeman of our little settlement made his toilsome journey to exercise his honorable right of franchise; but in 1636, Ipswich and five other towns were allowed to keep a sufficient guard of freemen at home and forward their proxies.

For thirty years this restriction of the franchise to church members, who had taken the freeman's oath, was vigorously enforced. Neither wealth, nor family name, nor distinguished public service, could gain the right of voting, if he were not a church member in good standing. But after Charles the Second succeeded to the throne, there began to be a demand for less exclusiveness. "In 1662, the advisers of Charles II wrote to the colonists that it was desired 'that all freeholders of competent estate, not vicious in conversation, and orthodox in religion (though of different persuasion in church government) may have their votes in the election of all officers civil and military.' " "In 1664, the Commissioners for New England were appointed, and one of their chief duties was to remove the restriction from the franchise and secure greater freedom in matters of religion."

"At the first General Court after the arrival of the Commissioners, a substitute law was passed, but so exacting were the conditions that the change from the old to the new law, amounted to little or nothing. The records of the time say,"

“ In answer to that part of His Majesty’s letter of June 28, 1662, concerning admission of freemen, this Court doth declare that the law prohibiting all persons except members of churches, and that also for allowance of them in any county courts, are hereby repealed; and do hereby also order and enact that from henceforth all Englishmen presenting a certificate under the hands of the ministers or minister of the place where they dwell, that they are orthodox in religion and not vicious in their lives, and also a certificate under the hands of the selectmen of the place, or of the major part of them, that they are freeholders, and are for their own proper estates (without heads of persons) rateable to the country in a single country rate, after the usual manner of valuation in the place where they live, to the full value of ten shillings, or that they are in full communion with some church amongst us, it shall be the liberty of all and every such person or persons being twenty-four years of age, householders and settled inhabitants in this jurisdiction, from time to time, to present themselves and their desires to this Court for admittance to the freedom of the Commonwealth, and shall be allowed the privilege to have such their desire propounded and put to vote in the General Court for acceptance to the freedom of the body politic by the suffrage of the major part according to the rule of our patent.”¹

Thus, very reluctantly, the sturdy Puritan legislators consented to even this allowance, but the way was opened to more material modification of the ancient usage; and the separation of church and state went on apace.

The commoners, as has been already stated,² had the privilege of voting on all questions relating to the common lands, and as a matter of fact, the majority of commoners were also freemen, but the privileges of the two bodies were distinct. Some freemen were not commoners, and commoners were not all freemen.

A third body of inhabitants, and by far the largest, was distinguished as “residents.” Every man, twenty years old,

¹ Johns Hopkins Univ. Studies, tenth series, II, III. Church and State in New England, Paul E. Lauer, A.M.

² Page 71.

who had resided six months within the town limits, and was not enfranchised, was obliged to take the "Residents' Oath" before the Governor or Deputy Governor, or assistants, and was then recognized as a duly qualified inhabitant. The Statute of 1647 allowed such to be chosen on juries by the freemen and to vote for selectmen. Beyond this they had no political privilege.

Even this humble privilege of residing within the town limits, and bearing all the burdens of taxation and compulsory military service, and every other public duty, with no voice in the direction of affairs, was jealously guarded, and very grudging welcome was sometimes accorded a new comer. From the beginning, suspicion always attached to a prospective settler of any other nationality than English. A town vote of 1634 is to this effect:

"That theire shall noe forriner amongst us come into our meetings, unless he will subject himself unto the like orders and penalties that we the freemen of the Towne have established for our peace and comfort in our meetings."

As early as 1639, our record says, "The Town doth refuse to receive Humphrey Griffin as an inhabitant, to provide for him as inhabitants formerly received, the town being full." Reference is made without doubt to the practice of granting building lots and tillage land to new comers. Every new house erected carried with it a right of commonage, and a vote in commoners' meeting. This privilege they wished evidently to keep within their own hands. As a matter of fact, Griffin became an inhabitant, despite this uncomplimentary reception.

"Robert Gray hath free liberty to come to town, and to dwell amongst us," was recorded in 1646, and in 1656, it was "Voted, that Mr. Stevens hath liberty to come to this Town, and be an inhabitant amongst us, and make use of our Commons for timber for his trade, provided that he serve the Town in the first place."

In marked contrast with the welcome received by these two favored men, was the gruff action in the case of some humbler folk in 1673:

"Ordered, the constable shall give notice unto William

Nellson and Abner Ordway, and an Irish or Gurnsey man that married Rachell, Qr. Masr. Perkins' mayd, that the Towne will not allow them to inhabit here in this Town, but that they depart the Town, unless they give security to save the Town harmless from any charge the Town may be put unto, by receiving of them." And in the same year, yet more explicit action was taken: "No person shall suffer any stranger from other towns to continue or live more than one week in his own dwelling house or any tenement of his, unless satisfaction be given the Selectmen." The evident purport of these instances of class legislation was to secure the town against any liability to support poor and shiftless people. Our community was full of thrifty and busy life, and it had no place for any who were likely to become a public burden.

The query may arise naturally, what proportion of the actual inhabitants were freemen, and what proportion were commoners? Various lists of freemen and commoners occur, but the complete list of male residents is lacking until 1678. In that year, Charles II ordered a new oath of allegiance to be taken, and the constables of every town and village were ordered to convene all the inhabitants for the administration of the oath. In Feb., 1678-79, a list of commoners was recorded and in December, 1679, a list of freemen was also prepared and put on record. These lists are of such value, that I insert them in full:

"The list of those that by law are allowed to have there votes in Town affairs. Voted to be recorded at the Towne meeting, December the 2th 1679."

The original list begins in the invariable order, the name of Gen. Denison first, then the names of the ministers, after these in a roughly arranged alphabetical order, the names of the freemen.

Major Gen¹¹ Denison
Mr Thomas Cobbitt
Mr Wry Hubbard¹

Elder Paine²
Mr. John Rogers

¹ Wry is the ancient abbreviation for William.

² Robert Paine, the Elder of the church.

For the sake of convenience, the whole list has been arranged in accurate alphabetical order, as follows:

Arthur Abbott	Mr. Daniel Epps
Neh-miah Abbott	Ephraim Fellows
Corp ¹¹ Jo. Addams	Isaack Fellows ✓
Nath Addams	Joseph Fellows
Corp ¹¹ Jo. Andrews	Abraham Fitts
Mr. Thos. Andrews	Abraham Foster
Capt. John Appleton	Isaack Foster
Sergt. Belcher	Jacob Foster
Henry Bennett	Renold Foster, Sen.
Thos. Borman	Renold Foster, Jr.
Haniel Bosworth	*Phillip Fowler
Moses Bradstreet	Ensign French
Edmund Bragg	Thomas French
John Brewer, Sen.	Thos. Gidding
Edmund Bridges	Deacon Goodhue
John Burnam, Sen.	Joseph Goodhue
Ens. Tho. Burnam	Wry Goodhue
Tho. Burnam, Jr.	George Hadley
John Caldwell	Dan. Hovey, Sen.
Simon Chapman	Daniell Hovey, Jun.
John Chote	James How, Sen.
Serg ^t Clarke	James How, Jun.
Corpll. Thos. Clarke	Wry Howlett
Tho: Clarke mill ¹	Mr. Richard Hubbard
Mr. Thomas Cobbitt	Mr. Wry Hubbard
Mr. John Cogswell	Sam. Hunt
Mr. Will Cogswell	Samuel Ingalls
Edw. Coborne	Nathaniell Jacob
Robert Crose, Sen.	Thos. Jacob
Robert Day	John Jewett
John Dane, Sen.	Neh. Jewett
Major Gen ¹¹ Denison	Daniel Killam Sen.
Jo. Denison, Sen.	John Kimball
Nath. Emerson	Rob ^t Kinsman

¹ Sometimes alluded to as Thomas Clark at the Mill.

Deacon Knowlton	Richard Smith
John Knowlton, Sen.	William Smith
John Lampson	Symon Stace
John Layton	William Story Sen.
Edw ^d Lomas	William Story, Jun.
Robert Lord, Sen.	Nathaniel Tredwell
Robert Lord, Jun.	Simon Tuttle
Tho. Lovell	Thomas Varney
Thomas Low	Mr. Jonathan Wade
Thomas Lull	Mr. Wainwright, Sen.
Thomas Metcalfe	Mr. John Wainwright
John Newmarsh, Sen.	Richard Walker
Mr. Will Norton	Nicholas Wallis
Elder Paine	Daniell Warner, Sen.
Aron Pengry	Nath. Warner
Deacon Pengry	Nathaniel Wells
Abra ^m . Perkins	Twiford West
Jacob Perkins Jun.	Capt. John Whipple
Quar ^r Mas ^r Perkins	Corp ^l John Whipple
Serg. Perkins	Joseph Whipple
Sam. Perley	James White
Samuell Podd	William White
Anthony Potter	Robert Whittman
Joseph Quilter	Mr. Theoph. Willson
Mr. John Rogers	Esaiah Wood
Mr. Sam Rogers	Obadiah Wood
Walter Roper	Sam. Younglove, Sen.
Nath. Rust	Sam. Younglove, Jun.
Mr. Smith	

The names of Major Samuel Appleton and Dep. Gov. Samuel Symonds do not appear, but the omission was accidental.

Feb. 13:1678¹

"A list of the names of those p'sons that have right of com̄onage, according to law & order of the Towne."

¹ Town Record.

The list as it is found in the Town Record begins with the invariable group of dignitaries:

Maj. Gen. Denison	Mr. Rich. Hubbard
Mr. Jona: Wade	Mr. Cobbit
Capt. Jo. Appleton	Mr. Wry Hubbard
Major Sam. Appleton	Mr. John Rogers

For the purpose of affording convenient comparison with the list of freemen, the entire list has been re-arranged in alphabetical order. The original spelling is followed in every case.

Neh. Abbott	Mr. Berry
John Addams	for Sam. Bishop
Nath Adams	Gyeles Birdleys house
Simon Addams	Bishop for Dirty house
(by Thos French) ¹	Bishop (by Sam Ingalls)
Corporal Andrews	Sam. Bishop
for Averills Hill	Thos. Borman
Corp ^{tl} Jo. Andrews	Haniell Bosworth
John Annaball	Bowles for Thos. Medcalfe
Appleton (by Starkweather)	Brabrook farm
Capt. Appleton (by Maning)	(by Downing)
Capt. Jo. Appleton	Brabrooks (see Taylor)]
Major Sam. Appleton	Moses Bradstreet
Henry Archers	Edward Bragg
(see Edmond Heard)	Ed. Braggs farme
Wry Averill (by Tilton)	John Brewer, Sen.
John Ayers	Edmund Bridges
(by Joseph Fellows)	Mr. Brownes farm
Sam. Ayres Sen.	Jo. Browne
	Jo. Browne farmer
John Baker	Joseph Browne
Henry Bachelors farme	Bryer for Mr. Wade
Serg. Belcher	John Burnam, Sen.
Henry Bennett	Ens. Thos. Burnham
Henry Bennett	Tho. Burnham Jun.
for Phillip Calls	

¹ The entry in the Record is "Thos. French for Simon Addams." The reverse order is used for the sake of convenience and is always indicated by the parenthesis.

John Caldwell	Nath. Emerson house
Phillip Calls	at Towne
by Henry Bennett	Mr. Epps
Sam. Chapman	
Simon Chapman	Ephraim Fellows
for Jo. Kimball	Isak Fellows for Saltonstall
John Choate	Joseph Fellows for John Ayers
Mr. Chute	Abraham Fitt
Corp ¹¹ Clarke	Abraham Foster
Thomas Clarke	Isaack Foster
Mr. Cobbit	Jacob Foster
Rober Coborn, Sen.	Renold Foster, Sen.
Mr. Cogswell Rowley line	Renold Foster, Jun.
Mr. John Cogswell	Phillip Fowler
Mr. Wry ¹ Cogswell	Ens. French
Robert Collins	Thos. French
Robert Crose, Sen.	for Simon Addams.
	James Fuller
John Dane, Sen.	
John Dane, Sen. for	John Gaines
yt was Jo. Newmans	John Giddings
John Dane, Jun.	Joseph Gidding
Roger Darby	Thos. Giddings
Hopkin Davis	John Gilbert
John Day	Deacon Goodhue
Robert Day	Joseph Goodhue
Edward Deare	Will Goodhue, Jun.
Maj. Gen. Denison	Sam. Graves
Major Genlls Farme	John Grow
Daniel Denison	
John Denison, Sen.	George Hadley
Thomas Dennis	Halfield farme
Dirky house by Bishop	Mr. Hammonds farme
Downing for Brabrooke farm	Mr. H—mans farme
Robert Dutch Sen.	Hardys house
	by Jo. Newman
John Edwards	John Harris
Mr. Emersons farme	Tho. Harris

¹ Wry is the abbreviated form of William.

Sam. Hart	Robert Lord Sen.
One for John Hassells house	Robert Lord Marshall
Will Hayward	Thomas Lovell
Edmond Heard y ^t was	John Low
Henry Archers	Thos Low, Jun. for
Mr. Hodges house	Matthew Whipples house
Wm. Hodgkins	Thos. Lull
the house at Towne	
Daniell Hovey Sen	Mañing (for Capt Appleton)
Daniel Hovey Jr	Thos. Metcalfe
James How Sen	Thos. Medcalfe (by Bowles)
James How Jun	Widdo Metcalfe
Will Howlett	Moores house
Mr Rich. Hubbard	by Isaiah Wood
Mr Wry Hubbard	
Huning (see Nath. Rogers)	Edward Nealand
Sam Hunt, Sen.	Benj. Newman
	John Newman
Samuell Ingalls	for Hardy's, house
Sam Ingalls for Bishop	John Newman, Jr.
	John Newman
Nathaniel Jacob	(see John Dane Sen)
Jer. Jewett	John Newmarsh
John Jewett	Mr. Nortons farme
Widdo Jordan	Mr. Wry Norton
Caleb Kimball	Henry Ossborne
John Kimball	
Jo. Kimball's farme	Elder Paine
John Kindrick	Elder Paines farme
Robert Kinsman	Andrew Peeters
Deacon Knowlton	Robert Peirce
Wry Knowlton's house	Aron Pengry, Sen.
(see Taylor)	Decon Pengry
	John Pengry
John Layton	Quar ^{tr} Mr Perkins
John Lee to Webster	Mr. Perkins farme
Richard Lee	Qua ^r Mas ^{rs} Perkins Island
Edward Lomas	Serg. Perkins

Timothy Perly	John Sparke
Pery for Nich. Wallis	Simon Stace
John Pindar	Simon Stace (see Kilicros Ross)
Nath. Pippers house	Thomas Stace
Sam. Pod	Starkweather for Appleton
Anthony Potter	Wry Story Sen.
John Potters house	Mr. Symonds for Kilicros Ross
Benj. Prockter	house
Benedick Pulsipher	Mr. Will Symonds
	——— taylor for Wry Knowl-
Widdo Quilter, Sen	tons house or purchase of
Widdo Quilter	Brabrook
	Sam. Tayler
Widdo Redding	Tilton for Wry Averill
Ring for	Nath. Tredwell
Mr. Sam. Rogers	Simon Tuttle
Daniel Ringe for farme	
Ezekiel Rogers house	Thomas Varney
Mr. John Rogers	
Nath. Rogers where Huning is	Mr. Wade (by Bryer)
Mr. Sam Rogers	Mr. Jonathan Wade
Walter Roper	Mr. Francis Wainwright
Kilicros Ross for ye	Mr. John Wainwright
home y ^t was Simon Stace	Serg ^t Tho Waite
Kilicros Ross house	Nicholas Wallis
(by Mr. Symonds)	Nich. Wallis (by Pery)
Nath. Rust	Usuall Wardell
	Wardell for Ezekiel Wood-
John Safford	ward
Joseph Safford	Dan ^{ll} Warner Sen
Saltonstall (by Isak Fellows)	Webster (from John Lee)
Mr. Saltonstalls farm	Nathaniel Wells
Seoole-house	Twiford West
Goodman Scotts house	Capt. Whipples farme
Richard Shatswell	Capt. Jo. Whipple
The house where Sherrin lives	Corp ^{ll} Jo Whipple
Richard Smith	Joseph Whipple
Sam. Smith	Matthew Whipples house
Thos. Smith Sen	by Thos. Lowe, Jun.

James White	Simon Wood
Robert Whitman	Nichlas Woodberry farme
Mr. Winthrops farm	Ezekiel Woodward (see Ward- ell)
Mr. Willson	
Esaiah Wood	
Isaiah Wood for Moores house	Sam. Younglove Sen
Obadiah Wood	Sam. Younglove Jun

The names of the commoners include those of four widows, who had the privilege of the ballot undoubtedly in the commoner's meeting. Wealthy men like General Denison had two votes, apparently in the commoners' meeting; one, because of their town property, and one from their farms. Only 125 names are recorded in the list of freemen, seventeen of which are not found among the commoners. 224 names of commoners are recorded, and the "School Farm."

When we compare these lists with the total male population, yet more striking contrasts appear. Several enrollments of the male inhabitants above the age of sixteen are preserved in the old Records of Deeds. One bears the caption, "A list of those of Ipswich, who according to an order of the Gen^l Court appeared before Worshipfull Major Gen^l Denison, Esq. ye Decem. and January 1677, and have taken the oath of alegance and fidelity." To this is appended another list, under the heading, "Samuell Symonds, Esq., dep. Gov^r his returne that had taken the oath." Another is headed, "A list of those that tooke the oath of Alegance of Ipswich Towne, before the worshipfull Maior Gen^l Denison Esq., the 11th of December, 1678." In 1683, a list of nineteen who took the oath before Samuel Appleton was recorded.

I have compared these lists carefully, one with another, and have combined in a new alphabetical list, all the different names derived from these random enrollments. This list is probably an approximately correct enrollment of the total male population in 1678, and it possesses value sufficient to entitle it to full place in these pages. Frequent duplicates will be noticed, but I have ventured only in a few cases to strike out such, inasmuch as there were no middle names to distinguish those who bore the same name, and various devices

were in vogue to accomplish this end, as Serg. Clark, who was also Thos. Clark, Thos. Clark, the tanner, Thos. Clark, Tersh. or the third, and plain Thos. Clarke; "Isaac Foster" and "Isaac Foster, the tythingman;" "Marshall Lord" (Robert), Robert Lord, Sen., Robert Lord, Jun., and Robert Lord Tersh.

Some of these duplicates may have no rightful place, but I venture on few liberties with these ancient lists, which included all the youth and men from Topsfield line to Gloucester, who lived in scattered hamlets, and were members of large families, in which there was a reverent regard for the parental name. The same name may have been borne by several individuals without any confusion in those primitive times.

Arthur Abbott	Sam. Ayres
George Abbott	Sam. Ayres Sen
Nehemiah Abbott	Sam. Ayres Jun
Nehemiah Abbott	Thos. Ayres
John Adams	
Nath. Adams	Edw. Bagett
Sam. Adams	John Baker
Symon Adams	W ^{ry} Baker
Edw. Allen	John Bare
John Allen	John Barnes
John Andrews	John Barry
Corp. Jo. Andrews	Thos. Bayly
Joseph Andrews	David Belcher
W ^{ry} Andrews	Rich. Beddford
Wry Andrews	Henry Bennett
Thos. Andrews	Jacob Bennett
Mr. Andrews* (Thos.)	Steph. Bennett
John Annable	W ^{ry} Bennett
Matt: Annaball	Mr. Berry
Sam. Appleton	Andrew Birdly
Sam. Appleton Jr	James Birdly
Sam. Ardway	John Birdly
Thos. Attwood	Sam. Bishop
John Ayres	Dan. Borman
Jo. Ayres of Andover	Thos. Borman
Joseph Ayres	Haniel Bosworth Sen.

* The school master.

Haniel Bosworth Jun.	Nich. Cheverle?
Good. Boston (or Baston)	John Chote Sen.
Christopher Bowles	John Chote Jun.
Caleb Boynton	James Chute Sen.
John Bradstreet	James Chute Jun.
Moses Bradstreet	John Chubb
Edward Bragg	Freeman Clark
Timothy Bragg	John Clark
Thos. Bray	Thos. Clarke
John Brewer, Sen.	Thos. Clarke Tersh. (3d)
John Brewer, Jun.	Sergt. Clarke
Edmund Bridges	Thos. Clark, tanner
John Bridge	Lawrence Clenton ✓
Chas. Brown	Thos. Coborne
John Brown	Mr. Cobbitt
John Brown	Edward Cogswell
John Brown jr.	Mr. John Cogswell
Joseph Brown	W ^{ry} Cogswell
Nath. Brown	Daniel Colborne
Nath. Brown	Ezra Colborne
Richard Bryer	Edward Colborne
John Burnam	Joseph Colborne
John Burnam	Rob. Collins
James Burnam	James Colman
Joseph Burnam	Thos. Comings
Thos. Burnam	Isaac Comings
Thos. Burnam	Sam. Cowdry
W ^{ry} Buttler	Gyles Cowes
	James Creek
John Cabwell	George Cross
Dillingham Caldwell	Ralph Cross
John Caldwell Jun.	Robert Cross
Philip Call	Stephen Cross
Rich. Carr	
Jo. Carpenter	Doctor Dane
Nath. Chapman	John Dane
Sam. Chapman	Philemon Dane
W ^{ry} Chapman	Roger Darbye
Symon Chapman	Hopkin Davis

Dan. Davison	Sam. Fellows
James Day	Philip Finler
John Day	Abram Fitt Sen.
John Day	Abram Fitt Jun.
Thos. Day	James Ford
Robert Day	Abra. Foster Sen.
Edward Deare	Abra. Foster Jun.
Edward Deare Jun.	Benj. Foster
John Denison Sen.	Isaac Foster
John Denison Jun.	Isaac Foster, Sen.
Thos. Dennis	Isaac Foster, tythingman
Wry Dirgye	John Foster
Sam. Dodge	Jacob Foster
Jeremiah Dow	Renold Foster Sen.
Thos. Dow	Renold (or Reginold) Foster Jun
John Downing	Reginold Foster
John Dutch	Thos. Fossie
Robert Dutch Jun.	Philip Fowler Jun.
Samuel Dutch	John French
	Sam. French
John Edwards Sen.	Thos. French
John Edwards Jun.	Ensign Thos. French
Thos. Edwards	James Fuller
Nallo Ely	Joseph Fuller
Peeter Emans	Nathaniel Fuller
Nath. Emerson Sen.	Thos. Fuller
Nath. Emerson Jun.	
Mr. Joseph Epps	John Gaines
Mr. Lionell Epps	Nath. Gallop
Joseph Evely	John Gamage
	Amos Gaudea?
David Falton	Amos Garding
Jonathan Fanton	Curnel. genelee?
Mr. Farley	James Gidding
Mesheck Farley	John Gidding
Mighill Farley	Joseph Giddings
Ephraim Fellows	Sam. Giddings
Isaac Fellows	Thos. Giddings
Joseph Fellows	John Gilbert

Henry Goub	Wry Howlett
Henry Goub	John Hubbard
Joseph Goodhue Sen.	Sam. Hunt Sen.
Joseph Goodhue Jun.	Sam. Hunt, Jun.
Wry Goodhue Jr.	Isaac Huniwell
Dea. Goodhue	John Hunking
John Graves	Edmund Ingalls
Francis Graves	Sam. Ingalls
Sam. Graves Sen.	Sam. Ingalls Jun.
Sam. Graves Jun.	
Jonas Gregory	James ———
Sam. Griffin	John B. ———
John Grow	James ———, a frenchman
George Hadley	Joseph Jacob
George Hadley	Nath. Jacob
John Hadley	Thos. Jacob
John Haggett	Isaac Jewett
Moses Haggett	Jeremiah Jewett
John Harris	John Jewett
John Harris	John Jewett
John Harris	Joseph Jewett
Timothy Harris	Nehemiah Jewett
Thos. Harris	Jeremy—Capt. Appleton
Thos. Harris	Francis Jordan
Sam. Hart	
Thos. Hart	Thos. Kellin
Thos. Hayward	Daniel Killam, Sen.
Wry Hayward	Daniel Killam, Jun.
Edmund Heard	John Killam
Jonath. Hobbes	Joseph Killam
John Hodgkinson	Caleb Kimball
Wry Hodgkinson Sen.	Caleb Kimball, Jr.
Wry Hodgkinson Jun.	Robert Kinsman
Nath. Hooker	Thos. Kinsman
Daniel Hovey Sen.	Jo. Kindrick
Nath. Hovey	Jas. King
Abra. How	Edw. Kitto
James How	John Knowlton
James How Jun.	John Knowlton, Jun.

Joseph Knowlton	Joseph Marshall
Nath. Knowlton	Thos. Marshall Sen.
Sam. Knowlton	Thos. Marshall
Thos. Knowlton	Abra. Martin
	Robert Martin
James Lambert	Alex. Merrill
John Lambert	Thos. Metcalfe
John Lampson	Joseph Metcalfe
Nath. Lampson	Samuel Moses
John Layton	
John Lead	Edward Neland
John Lee	Robert Nelson
Joseph Lee	W ^{ry} Nelson Sen.
Richard Lee	Wry Nelson Jun.
Richard Lee	Benj. Newman
Isaac Littlehale	John Newman
Richard Littlehale	Thos. Newman
Edward Lomas	John Newmarsh, Sen.
Jonathan Lomas	John Newmarsh Jun
Sam. Lomas	Thos. Newmarsh
John Lord	Zaccheus Newmarsh
Nath. Lord	Bonus Norton
Marshall Lord	Mr. Wry Norton
Rob. Lord Sen.	
Robert Lord Jun.	John Osborne
Robert Lord Tersh (3 ^d)	Henry Osborne
John Lovel	Wry Owen
Thos. Lovel Sen.	
Thos. Lovel Jun.	Thos. Page
John Loveren	Elder Paine
Jo. Low	(Mr. Robt. Paine Sen.)
Thos. Low	Mr. Robt. Paine Jun.
Thos. Low Jun.	Sam. Parker
Peeter Lurvey	Robt. Pearce Sen.
Thos. Lull	Rob. Pearce Jun.
	John Pearce
Dan. Manning	Sam. Pearce
Nick. Marble	Jo. Pearl
Benj. Marshall	Sam. Pearly

Timothy Pearly	Mr. W ^m . Quarles
Andrew Peaters	Joseph Quilter
John Peeters	Mark Quilter
John Pell	
Jo. Pengilly	John Ring
Deacon (Moses) Pengry	Dan. Ringe
John Pengry	Isaac Ringe
Aaron Pengry Jun.	Roger Ringe
Moses Pengry Sen.	Jo. Roberts
Abr. Perkins	John Rogers
Isaac Perkins	Mr. John Rogers
Jacob Perkins	Mr. Nath. Rogers
Jacob Perkins Jun.	Mr. Sam. Rogers
John Perkins Jun.	John Roper
Luke Perkins	Nath. Roper
Matthew Perkins	Walter Roper
Nath. Perkins	Fenell Ross
Qr. Master Perkins	John Ross
Samuel Perkins	Kilicross Ross
Serg. Perkins	Era Rost
Sam. Perley	Peter Rougetoll
Matthew Perry	Nathaniel Rust
Thos. Perrin	Jer. Rylay
John Pinder Sen.	
John Pinder Jun.	John Sady
Sam. Pinder	Abeel Sadler
Sam. Pipper	John Safford
Anthony Potter	John Safford Jun.
John Potter	Joseph Safford
Edmund Potter	James Scandlin
Samuel Potter	Benj. Scilian
John Prickett	Joseph Scilian
Benj. Prockter	Joseph Scilian Jun.
Joseph Prockter	Roger Scott
Rich. Pryer	Sam. Searle
Benedict Pulsipher	Henry Serret
John Pulsipher	John Shatswell
Nath. Pyper	Rich. Shatswell
	John Sherrin

John Smith Sen.	Mr. Thos. Wade
John Smith Jun.	Mr. Fran. Wainwright
Rich. Smith	John Wainwright
Sam. Smith	Simon Wainwright
Thos. Smith	John Waite
Thos. Smith Sen.	Serg. Waite
Thos. Smith Jun.	Thos. Waite Jun.
Wry Smith Sen.	Nicolas Wallis
Wry Smith Jun.	Robert Wallis
W ^m . Smith	John Walden
John Sparke	Elihu Wardell
Tho. Sparke	Uzell Wardell
Simon Stace	Dan. Warner Sen.
———— Starkweather	Dan. Warner Jun.
Moses Stevens	John Warner
George Stinson	Nath. Warner
Edw. Stone	Benj. Webster
Sam. Story	(said to be of Salem)
Seth Story	John West
Wry. Story	Twiford West
Wry Story Jun.	Nath. Wells
Henry Sweet	John Whipple
Mr. Wry Symonds	John Whipple Jun.
	Joseph Whipple
Sam Taylor !	Matthew Whipple
Barnard Thorne	Rob. Whitman
Abra. Tilton	James White
Alex. Tompson	Wry White
Nath. Tompson	Wry Whitredge
Wry. Tompson	Theophilus Willson
Nath. Tredwell	Shoreborne Willson
Thos. Tredwell	Wry Wombell
Rich. Trells	Isaiah Wood
Simon Tuttle	John Wood
Thos., a Scotchman	Nath. Wood
	Obadiah Wood
Thos. Varney	Sam. Wood
	Symon Wood
Mr. Jona. Wade	John Wooding

John Yell
Francis Young
Sam. Young

Sam. Younglove Sen.
Joseph Younglove.

Lewis Zacharias

To this list there are to be added the names of Gen. Daniel Denison, Dep. Gov. Samuel Symonds, Major Samuel Appleton, the magistrates before whom the oath of allegiance was taken. The total number of names thus attained is five hundred and eight. This included, it must be remembered, all youth of sixteen years and more; but making all due allowance for those who by reason of age were disqualified from the franchise, there remains a very large proportion of the men, who were not allowed to vote in civil affairs. Only 220 names of men appear on the commoners' list, about half of the adult male population, and there were only 125 freemen.

Probably there was no nation of the Old World where the lines of division between the rich and the poor, the learned and the unlearned, the master and the servant, were drawn more sharply. The aristocracy of old Ipswich was as definite and as haughty a body, it may be, as the aristocracy of London.

Nevertheless, the test of eligibility to full citizenship resided not in gentle birth, or in the possession of wealth or learning, or official station, but in Christian manhood, publicly professed by union with the Christian church. The poorest and most ignorant was not debarred from this privilege of church membership, and the right of franchise followed naturally from this. Complain as we may of the intolerance and narrowness of the political system of the time, we can not refuse our admiration to those devout Puritans, who knew no test of character, no outward evidence of manhood, no fitness for citizenship, but the simple living of a Christian life.

CHAPTER IX.

THE SABBATH AND THE MEETING HOUSE.

In the First General Letter of Instructions from the Massachusetts Bay Company to Endicott and his Council, it is specified "To the end the Sabbath may be celebrated in a religious manner, we appoint that all that inhabit the Plantation, both for the general and particular employments, may surcease their labor every Saturday throughout the year at 3 o'clock in the afternoon, and that they spend the rest of that day in catechising and preparation for the Sabbath as the ministers shall direct."¹

On Saturday, at three, therefore, we may imagine farmers returning from the fields, weavers stopping their looms, shopkeepers closing their doors, and all sound of toil ceasing. Within doors the busy Saturday toil was hurried to completion, the play of children hushed, and the solemnity of the Sabbath was well begun, with the assembling of the family for worship and the instruction of children and servants in the catechism which the reverend teacher, Mr. Norton, had prepared. There seems to have been some general assembling for catechism apart from the family instruction, as Thos. Scott, one of the substantial citizens, was fined ten shillings in 1650, "unless he learns Mr. Norton's catechism by next Court." But he valued ten shillings less than the trouble of burdening his memory and forfeited his fine.

The morning of the Sabbath found the household early astir, for a goodly service of home worship was always in order before the public meeting, and all must be ready at the appointed hour. Here, in old Ipswich, the summons to worship was given by a bell as early as 1640, and as Ralph Varnham woke the echoes with his ringing, the good people issued forth from every door. No option was left them as to attendance. The Assistants were clothed with power in 1635 to impose a fine

¹ Young's *Chronicles Mass. Bay*, p. 163.

or imprisonment at their discretion on deliberate neglectors. Only the sick and disabled were excused. They came afoot for the most part, in the earliest times. Under the law of 1635, no dwelling house might be built above half a mile from the meeting house, "except mill-houses and farm houses, of such as have their dwelling houses in the same town." As late as 1661, Henry Bachiler and wife were commended to the General Court by the local Court, for absenting themselves from Sabbath worship, and inquiry was made "whether the town of Ipswich might not dispose of him and his farme, so as he may live in the towne, and enjoy his estate, and ye public worship of God." The General Court authorized the lesser tribunal to settle the matter as its wisdom directed, but record fails us of the final event.¹

The meeting house was a very humble structure, I imagine. Built of round logs with chinks stopped with clay or moss, or, of logs, hewn square, and piled block-house fashion, it served the double purpose of sanctuary and citadel. Its roof was thatched, no doubt, like the meeting house in Winnisimmet.

At best it was some roughly boarded and shingled affair. More conspicuous than the meeting house was the fort built about it as a protection from Indian assaults. Fortunately, in our neighboring town of Boxford, specific record has been preserved of "the old Meeting House fort." It was a stone wall, five or six feet high, and three feet thick at the bottom, surrounding the house. On the south side it was twelve feet, on the other three sides, ten feet distant, and at the southeast corner, within this wall, a watch house ten feet square was built.²

Some such wall surrounded the Ipswich meeting house, as frequent allusion is made to it in the Town Records. It stood until 1702, when the rocks of which it was built were sold to buy a clock for the new edifice, erected at that time. A watch house, too, for the convenience of the night watch, was in the immediate vicinity.

As the groups of worshippers drew near, I suspect that many a shuddering glance was cast by the women and children, upon

¹ Mass. Records, vol. v, p. 2.

History of Boxford, Sidney Perley, p. 63.

the grim wolf heads, nailed upon the front of the sanctuary by every one who killed one of these dread foes, to secure the bounty promised by the Town.

If the weather permitted, all tarried at the door to read the notices posted thereon. Documents of many sorts found place there: town ordinances enacted at the last town meeting; the latest laws of the General Court relating to public debts, fixing the penalty for selling fire-arms to Indians, or ordering the inspection of pipe-staves; or some scandalous libel against the good name of some citizen; or Joseph Rolandson's humble retraction in his own handwriting before the Ipswich Court, which is still preserved in the Court papers in Salem. More than a passing look was given the law against Sabbath-breaking by parents and youth. A quaint interest attaches to one of these laws, which was published from the meeting house doors. It was enacted in June, 1653.

“Upon information of soundry abuses and misdemeanors, committed by soundry persons on the Lord's day, not only by children playing in the streets, and other places, but by youths, majds, and other persons, both straingers and others, uncivily walking the streetes and fields, travailing from towne to towne, going on shipboard, frequenting cōmon houses and other places, to drinck, sport and otherwise to mispend that pretjous tyme, which things tend much to the dishonor of God, the reproach of religion, greiving the souls of God's servants, and the prophanation of the holy Sabbath: Therefore, ordered that no children, youths, majds, or other persons shall transgresse in the like kind on penaltje of being reputed greate provokers of the highest displeasure of Almighty God, and further incurring the poenaltje hereafter expressed, namely, that the parents and governors of all children about seven years old (not that we aproove younger children in evill) for the first offence in that kind, shall be admonished, for a second offence shall pay as a fine 5^s, and for a third, 10^s. Youths and mayds above 14 years old shall first be admonished, for the second, 5^s etc.—”

“This to be understood of such offences as shall be committed during the daylight of the Lord's day. This law is to be transcribed by the constable of each towne, and posted uppon

the meeting howse doore, there to remajn the space of one month at least."

With minds duly impressed with the solemnity of the day and hour, with guilty remembrance of light and wanton conduct on other Sabbaths perhaps, no longer to be permitted by watchful constables, they entered. A middle aisle divided the interior into two equal parts. There were no pews, only benches, and the usage of the day required that the women should sit on one side and the men on the other.

The interior was bare and cheerless. No plaster nor paint relieved the roughness and rawness of walls and roof of that first meeting house, and even the pulpit, destitute of fine finish or coloring, we may presume, was furnished only with Bible and Psalm-book, and the hour-glass, which revealed the length of the sermon to the eye of every worshipper. Neither carpet nor cushion was there, but a floor of hewn timber not over smooth. No sweet-toned organ invited to worship. There were instead the rattle of scabbards, the clank of muskets. Every man above eighteen years of age, except the magistrates and ministers, by command of the General Court, came with his musket or other firearms, and duly equipped with match, powder and bullets. The fear of Indian invasion was always upon them, and sentinels fully armed paced their beat without.

There was semblance of an armed garrison rather than of peaceful worshippers. Nevertheless, great formality attended the gathering. Rude as the benches were, there might be no random choice of seats. In no stately edifice of modern days is there such rigidly aristocratic principle openly avowed. Official station, education, family connection, wealth, were carefully considered, and social rank was delicately adjusted. So we are sure that on those first benches sat Mrs. Winthrop, Mrs. Rogers, and Mrs. Norton, the wives of dominies, Dame Dudley and her daughters, Ann, the wife of Simon Bradstreet, and Patience, the wife of Daniel Denison, Madame Symonds, Saltonstall's young bride, Muriel, just from the motherland, and behind them, the wives and daughters of the lesser gentry and substantial yeomen. Last, of all were the poorer ones and maid-servants.

Across the aisle sat the men, John Winthrop and the good Governor, his father, now and then, Richard Saltonstall, Giles Firmin, the physician, and son-in-law of Nath. Ward, Symonds and Denison, the magistrates, gruff Dudley and gentle Bradstreet, the Appletons, and all the rest. It was a notable assembly, remarkable for fine learning, for high character, for wise statesmanship, for grand devotion. Not a few of them grew hoary-headed in high and honorable public station, as governors and magistrates, commissioners and soldiers, and guided the affairs of the infant Commonwealth so well that their names are written in gold.

In the pulpit, clad in black Geneva gown and skullcap and pure white bands sat the pastor, Thomas Parker, or Nathaniel Ward, or Nathaniel Rogers and John Norton, pastor and teacher, and below them, on a raised seat the deacons and ruling elders had their place of honor. Thomas Lechford, in his *Plaine Dealing*, describes the order of worship in Boston. It was substantially the same in old Ipswich, no doubt.

“Every Sabbath, or Lord’s day, they came together at Boston, by wringing of a bell, about nine of the clock or before. The Pastor begins with a solemn prayer continuing about a quarter of an houre. The Teacher then readeth and expoundeth a chapter, then a Psalm is sung, which every one of the ruling Elders dictates, after that the Pastor preacheth a sermon, and sometimes extempore exhorts. Then the Teacher concludes with prayer and a blessing.” Once a month the sacrament was administered, non-communicants withdrawing. About two in the afternoon a second service began, in which the Teacher had the sermon, and the Pastor conducted the other exercises. This was followed by the baptism of children, “by washing or sprinkling,” and then the contribution, after the preacher had earnestly exhorted to liberality.

“The magistrates and chief gentlemen first and then the Elders,” says Lechford, “and all the congregation of men and most of them that are not of the church, all single persons, widows and women in the absence of their husbands, come up one after another, one way, and bring their offerings to the Deacon at his seate, and put it into a box of wood for the purpose, if it be money or papers,—if it be any other chattle, then

set it or lay it down before the Deacons, and so passe another way to their seats again. I have seen a faire gilt cup with a cover offered there by one, which is still used at the Communion." After this, new members were admitted, matters of offence were heard, and sometimes it was very late before the benediction was pronounced. Happily, at snuset, the day was done, and Puritan boys and girls, to say naught of men and women, in their hearts rejoiced that the iron restraints of the Sabbath were broken.

Their psalm singing was curious, and wonderful. Their tunes for hymns were few—York, St. Ann's, Martyrs and the like. We make ourselves merry over the crudities and monstrosities that 20th century culture detects in praise and preaching.

Nevertheless, a sublime earnestness characterized it all. Stress of weather mattered little. Cold could not affright nor heat conquer, nor rain dishearten. That order adopted in 1642 "for the making and constant keeping of the meeting house tite" reveals the intrusion of the rain within to the discomfort of bared heads and the injury of Sabba-day clothing, but none might stay away. Only one suggestion of creature comfort relieves the utter desolation of the wintry Sabbath. It has been assumed as a universal truth that there were no fires, and it is beyond a doubt that later in the century, and down to the beginning of the nineteenth century, there were no means of warming save the footstoves. But the original contract, still preserved, between John Pickering and the Town of Salem in 1638, to build an addition to the meeting house, specifies "one catted chimney of 12 foot long and 4 foot in height above the top of the building, the back whereof is to be of brick or stone." If the Salem people had a chimney large enough for ample warmth in 1638, the Ipswich folk would soon have indulged in the same. What pity, that Puritan self abnegation frowned the fireplace out of countenance at the outset and compelled two centuries nearly of worship at risk of health and life!

Stern and forbidding that olden worship seems to us, but beneath all the sternness of Sabbath laws and usages, and the martyr-like torturing of the flesh, we catch sight of a rare

nobility of purpose. Simple, unswerving fidelity to Conscience and the Holy Book compelled those men to make their Sabbath what it was. We reverence them, and that bare hill-top is forever sanctified by their worship.

As years went on, the old meeting house became not only out of repair but too small in size. In 1643, the young men and youths had permission to set up a gallery. The doom of the old house was sealed in 1646, and it was sold to Thomas Firman for fifty shillings in December to be removed by the following September. Various records seem to indicate that the new house was built in much more leisurely fashion than was contemplated when this vote was passed. It was not till Feb. 13, 1651-2, that the Town agreed with George Norton "to ground-sell the Meeting House and to leave doors and walls both for clapboards and dabling," for which he was to receive 12^d a foot, the Town drawing the timber and underpinning it; and again in Oct., 1653, "to laye four gutters to the meeting house of large pyne trees,—and the house closed sufficiently—to cover the ground sells about the house, to make a sheet for the turret window and cover for the upper scuttell hole." Other allusions indicate that the new house was built in the prevailing style of the time, of which a fine example remains in the "Old Ship" church at Hingham. It was square, with a hip roof, and a turret or belfry at the apex, so that the bell-rope hung down in the center of the audience room. It was shingled and clap-boarded, with glass windows of small diamond panes, set in lead, and was furnished with galleries.

The matter of seating accommodation was frequently before the Town. In 1660, certain seats were ordered built and repaired in the galleries, also at the two corners of the meeting house and under the gallery for women. The question of greater and less dignity, carrying with it the question of higher or lower seat, became so sharp and vexing that, in 1663, the delicate and unenviable task of "seating the congregation" was laid upon the Selectmen. Yet more seats were ordered in the galleries in 1674, and in 1675 came a most startling innovation, even permission to Francis Wainwright, one of the most conspicuous citizens "to set up a pue six foot square or so much as amounts to it between the two seats and the stairs

on the North side." This vote was recognized as so revolutionary of ancient usage that the Town Record bears the entry:

"I consent to the setting up of a square pew in the place abovesaid to come out as far as the midst of the seate, wherein John Burnam's wife setts."

Daniel Denison.

Fortified thus by the approval of the Autocrat of the Town, the first pew in old Ipswich was forthwith erected, and the location against the wall of the meeting house, rather than in some central spot, continued to be fashionable for a century. The Wainwright family was no longer separated but sat in a cosy group in the grand new pew.

A few years afterward, Major Samuel Appleton received permission to erect a pew in the east corner "not exceeding two short seats in breadth, near the middle of the window in the length, at his own charge, relinquishing his right in his wives seat." At the next Town meeting, Feb., 1680-1, Doctor Dane, Nath. Treadwell, William Hodgkins, Sen., Andrew Dymond, Thomas Lull, Thomas Dennis, Thomas Hart and Samuel Hunt united in a petition for liberty to "raise the hindmost seate in the norwest syde of the Meeting House two foote higher than it now is, for there wives to sitt in," and it was granted. That lofty row of eight ladies of the second order of social rank was a conspicuous offset against the pretensions of the family pew.

The love of high seats reached the gallery as well, and Sargent ——— and his son, and others had liberty to raise the hindmost seat in the gallery, called the boys' gallery. Higher still, the soaring ambition of the good folk reached. Somewhere in the meeting house there had been a magazine to store the town's powder, well up among the beams it has been thought; and it was voted in 1681-2 that the Town would "build a seate between where the old Powder room was and the gallery." That lofty bird's nest against the wall was accounted so honorable that the Town proceeded to vote, that Mrs. Cobbet, wife of the minister "shall have a seate there if she please." John Harris and John Staniford had permission as well to put up some boards to break off the wind from the seat where their wives sat.

Pew by pew, encroachment was made upon the central space after the walls were lined, but a century elapsed before the transformation was complete, and the old benches completely disappeared. It is a curious illustration of the vagaries of fashion that the central floor space, originally the most select, fell into discredit when the pew system became popular, and became the resort of the poor and those of middle rank. In our own day, the wall has been altogether abandoned in its turn, and the central floor has regained its pristine honor.

Coincident with the building of the new and larger house of worship, new and peculiar trials began to appear, because of the disorderly behavior of the compulsory worshippers. The first hint of any disturbance is in connection with the family dogs. As early as 1641, the Prudential men of the Town ordered that no dog should come into the meeting house on Sabbath days or lecture days between twelve and three o'clock. Why they were so obnoxious during the afternoon service, and not in the morning, we are left to our wits to discover. Certain it is, that from very early times, the dog had been legislated against as an undesirable attendant. In old English towns, the dog-whipper was a regular functionary, and a curious old law of the time of Edgar quoted by Mr. Charles Francis Adams¹ specifies that "parish priests were to see to it that no dog should enter church, nor yet more a swine, if it could possibly be prevented." Shortly after we have a curious revelation of the weakness of the flesh among the Puritans themselves.

Mrs. Earle in her "Sabbath in Puritan New England" quotes from the Journal of one Obadiah Turner of Lynn:

"June 3:1646—Allen Bridges hath bin chose to wake ye sleepers in meeting. And being much proude of his place, must needs have a fox taile fixed to ye ende of a long staff wherewith he may brush ye faces of them yt will have napps in time of discourse, likewise a sharp thorne whereby he may prick such as be most sound. On ye last Lord his day, as hee strutted about ye meeting house, he did spy Mr. Tomlins sleeping with much comfort, hys head kept steadie by being in ye corner, and his hand grasping ye rail. And soe spying,

¹ Three Episodes, II, 744.

Allen did quickly thrust his staff behind Dame Ballard and give him a grievous prick upon ye hand. Whereupon Mr. Tomlins did spring vpp meh above ye floore, and with terrible force strike hys hand against ye wall: and also, to ye great wonder of all, prophanlie exclaim in a loud voice, curse ye woodchuck, he dreaming so it seemed yt a woodchuck had seized and bit his hand. But on coming to know where he was, and ye greate scandall he had committed, he seemed much abashed, but did not speak. And I think he will not soon again goe to sleepe in meeting."

Eventually, in some towns, the fox-tail and thorne were deemed insufficient, and a "cage" was built on the meeting-house Green, in which the persistent sleeper was ignominiously imprisoned, the object of public ridicule.

But there were worse disorders than the snoring of sleepers in the old meeting house on the hill. In 1654, Edward Brydges had a legal admonition for disorder in the meeting house, and in that same year disorderliness had become so general and so offensive that the General Court took the matter in hand, and gave liberty to the officers of the congregation and the Selectmen of Towns to appoint one or two persons, "to reform all such disordered persons, in the congregations or elsewhere about the meeting houses." Our Town proceeded, in 1657, to avail itself of the new statute, and appointed Thos. Burnam and Symon Tompson to keep a watchful eye upon the youth—and none too soon—for John Averill had been before the Ipswich Court in 1656 for striking Thomas Twigs in the meeting house "in the time of public ordinances on the Sabbath."

For many years there was a vigorous spirit of disorder that must have marred the solemnity of many Sabbaths. The grouping of all the young men and boys together was the prolific cause of constant disorder. Sometimes the disturbance was violent, as when Thomas Bragg and Edward Cogswell fought together in the meeting house "on the Lord's day, in time of exercise" in the year, 1670, for which they were fined 10^s apiece, or when Stephen Cross struck another worshipper. Two young misses, Elizabeth Hunt and Abigail Burnam, so disturbed public service one Sunday in 1674, that they were arraigned before the Court, and their fathers admonished to

reprove them becomingly, and Sam. Hunt Jr. was admonished and fined for his light behaviour.

Old Salem in 1676 wrestled with the unruliness of the boys in this fashion: "all ye boyes of ye towne, are and shall be appointed to sitt upon ye three pair of stairs in ye meeting house, on ye Lord's day, and Wm. Lord is appointed to look after ye boys yt sitte upn ye pulpit stairs. Reuben Guppy is to look and order soe many of ye boyes as may be convenient, and if any are unruly, to present their names as the law directs."

But "disorderly carriages" increased still to the sorrow of all godly worshippers, and, in 1677, in accordance with a precept from the General Court, a new office, that of tithingman, was created, and 24 men, good and true, including some of the most prominent citizens were chosen by the Selectmen.

The tithingman was a most important functionary. His business extended much beyond the meeting house and disorder therein. To each officer was assigned the oversight of ten families, hence the name, though the origin of the office itself is found in the Saxon times of Old England.

Within his special precinct, he was instructed by common agreement of the town officers in 1681, "to see that children and servants be taught to read and instructed in the capitall laws and Catechism as the Law p'vides, and that the Selectmen as they shall desire y^m goe with y^m to any persons to attend that dutye and where there is deficiency in any they are to inspect that the Laws be attended."

Furthermore, the law enjoined them "to inspect disorderly persons, and to p'sent the names of single persons that live out from under family government—to enter ordinaries and inspect them"—and "whatever else tends to irreligion."

They were to admonish all offenders, and if this proved ineffectual they were bound to make complaint to the Court. One tithingman, at least, pressed the law to the letter, as the Court Record bears witness under the date April 10, 1683:

"William Knowlton upon complaint of John Edwards, tithingman, against him for keeping a pack of gaming cards in his house, is sentenced according to law to pay a fine of 5^s." Upon his submission the Court ordered that upon "satisfying the informer his part as the law provides, and paying 20^s to the Treasurer and fees, the rest be respitted."

Two men of the united forces of selectmen, tithingmen and constables were "to look after the youth upon Sabbath dayes in their towns."

That business of "seating the congregation" was prolific of heart-burnings and constant disorder. Distracted by their trials, the Deacons complained to the Selectmen in 1681, of the disturbance of p'sns in the meeting house "in not sitting where placed, and others crowding into seats to hinder those placed in there places." To quell these outbreaks, 5^s a day was ordered as a fine for sitting in the wrong places.

The final establishment of the pew system proved the solvent of all difficulties. Families sat together, the children and youth were distributed and were under the eye of their parents and the burning issues of early days were at rest forever.

CHAPTER X.

THE EARLY MILITARY ANNALS.

Constant danger "from plots and conspiracies of the heathen amongst us," as the Indians were frequently styled, likelihood of rupture with the mother country at a very early date, and anticipations of trouble with the French, produced feverish anxiety throughout the Colony for many years, and our ancient town, in common with the other communities, must have seemed like a warlike camp rather than a peaceful settlement, undertaken for the sake of securing liberty of worship and religious belief.

One episode of the very earliest times convinces us that their anxiety was well grounded. Rev. Thomas Cobbet, the minister of Ipswich, in a paper entitled, "New England's Deliverances," relates, as follows: "About five or six yeares after (an intended attack upon 'Nahunkeick' by the Indians), in the first planting of Ipswich (as a credible man informs me, namely, Quartermaster Perkins) the Tarratines or Easterly Indians had a design to cut them off at the first, when they had but between 20 and 30 men, old and young belonging to the place (and that instant most of the men had gone into bay about their occasions, not hearing thereof). It was thus one Robin, a friendly Indian, came to this John Perkins, then a young man then living in a little hut upon his father's island on this side of Jeofrye's Neck, and told him that on such a Thursday morning early, there would come four Indians to draw him to goe down the Hill to the water side, to trick with them, which if he did, he and all neare him would be cut off; for there were 40 burchen canowes, would lie out of sight, in the brow of the Hill, full of Armed Indians for that purpose: of this he forthwith acquaints Mr. John Winthrop, who then lived there, in a house near the water, who advised him if such Indians came, to carry it ruggedly toward them, and when their backs were turned to strike up the drum he had with him beside his two muskets, and then

discharge them; that those six or eight young men, who were in the marshes hard by a mowing haveing their guns each of them ready charged by them, might take the Alarme and the Indians would perceiue theyr plot was discovered and haste away to sea againe; which was accordingly so acted and tooke like effect; for he told me that presently after he discovered 40 such canowes sheare off from under the Hill and make as fast as they could to sea. And no doubt many godly hearts were lifted up to heaven for deliverance, both in that deliverance at Salem, and this at Ipswich."¹

As a precaution against such surprise a constant watch was maintained at night by the constables. Every adult male of each family above the age of eighteen, including "sons, servants and sojourners," was liable to this service. From the last of March to the last of September the streets and all exposed localities were patrolled from half an hour after sunset to half an hour before sunrise.²

For the convenience of the night watch a watch house was built, about the year 1645, near the meeting house, in which a fire was kept. All who were abroad after ten o'clock at night were likely to be challenged by the watch, and summoned to explain where they were going and what their business was, and if they failed to satisfy the inquisitive night-guard, they were liable to arrest and detention at the watch house, or "courte of guard" till morning.³

An elaborate military organization was also provided for. The law of 1630 required training on every Saturday, but in 1634, the requirements were modified so that train bands met only once a month, with July and August excepted. The militia was organized, in 1636, into three regiments. The first included the men of Boston and vicinity, under Governor Winthrop as Colonel, and Thomas Dudley, Esq. as Lieut. Colonel. The second was composed of the train bands of Saugus, Salem, Ipswich and Newbury and was commanded by bluff John Endicott of Salem, and our patron, John Winthrop, Jr., as Lieut. Col.

More definite local organization was completed in 1645, when

¹ Perkins Family Genealogy, p. 8.

² Mass. Records, 1647, vol. II, p. 224.

³ Mass. Records, 1645, vol. II, p. 120; 1652, vol. III, p. 282.

Mr. Symon Bradstreet, Captain Denison, Ensign John Whittingham, and others, were allowed by the General Court to be called "ye military company of Ipswich, Newbury, Rowley, Salisbury, and Hampton,"¹ with liberty to assemble as often as they pleased, in Ipswich, Newbury and Rowley. The Rowley company, however, organized in 1646, and the Ipswich soldiers probably lost their eastern contingent at that time.

Denison, we presume, was head and front in this movement. Winthrop and Saltonstall both outranked him at the outset the former holding the rank of Lieut. Colonel, as we have mentioned and the latter, that of Sergeant-Major in Endicott's regiment. But, as early as 1634, Denison's skill in military affairs was recognized by his appointment in connection with Mr. Nicholas Easton and Mr. Dummer on the board of local overseers of powder, shot and all other ammunition.² Muskets, bandoleers, and rests lately arrived from England were held in charge by them as a common stock. He rose rapidly to the first place.

How much quaint and picturesque association attaches to the stated training days of the olden time! Our level South Common was the training field. Thither all the able-bodied men resorted with their arms and accoutrements, and every boy and many a Puritan maid, to see the fine display. The minister was there in gown and bands to open the training with prayer. The first citizens were in the ranks or among the officers. Denison was there as Captain of the host, Whittingham as Ensign, Thomas Howlett as one of the petty officers.

A motley company it must have been! Side by side, stood the lad of eighteen and the old graybeard, still obliged to train if the infirmities of age did not incapacitate him. "All Scotsmen, Negers and Indians inhabiting with or servants to English" were pressed into the ranks.³ There is no hint of uniforms, so they came probably in their leather doublets and breeches, or suits of linsey-woolsey, or in the smart attire of the wealthier folk, with hats or caps, long boots or shoes as circumstances or choice determined.

¹ Mass. Records, vol II, p. 111.

² Mass. Records, vol I, p. 125.

³ Mass. Records, 1652, vol. III, p. 268.

Nevertheless, the essentials of military effectiveness were minutely regarded. On every training day, in the forenoon and afternoon, the roll was called and every absence noted by the Clerk of the train band, and twice a year he inspected the equipments to see if every soldier had a pound of powder, 20 bullets, two fathom of slow match, with musket, sword, bandoleers and rest. Every man was required to have as well a priming wire, a worm and scourer.¹

The armament was motley and curious. Muskets or "bastard muskets" were the only firearm but they might vary in length from three feet nine inches to four feet three inches, and unless the short guns were duly apportioned to tall men and the long guns to short ones, the topmost line of battle was very undulating. Prior to the year 1645, it is likely that the long six foot fowling piece and the muskets with "4 foote barrell" which were sent over in the earliest shipments of arms also found place.

These firearms were all clumsy and inefficient. The ancient matchlock pattern was most common. A crooked iron lever occupied the place of the modern hammer, to the end of which a piece of slow match was fastened. By a pin-gear of simple nature, pressure on the trigger brought the match accurately down on the open powder pan, the lid of which had been previously thrown back by the hand. As the match burned rather freely, several yards were needed for extended service and it was wound round the musket and the body of the soldier. Rain extinguished the smoking match, and spoiled the powder; wind blew the powder from the pan. The matchlock musket was so long and heavy, that it could not be held to the shoulder, so a crooked stick called a rest was thrust into the ground to support it. Resting the barrel in the fork, the Puritan soldier took his deliberate aim, and when wind or rain did not prevent, discharged his weapon. The bastard or shorter-barreled muskets were many of them fitted with a snaphance lock a near approach to the flint-lock of Revolutionary days, and were a far better weapon.

Swords formed part of the equipment, probably of the dagger pattern, which might be attached to the musket, bayonet

¹ Mass. Records, vol. II, pp. 118 and 119.

fashion. Bandoleers, broad leather straps, to hold the ammunition, were worn over the shoulder. One third of the train band was permitted to carry pikes, instead of muskets. The pike was a long wooden staff, surmounted by a steel head with a variety of sharp edges, for wounding by thrusting and withdrawing, a weapon of no mean value, even against the clumsy and unreliable firearms.

Corslets or costlets, to protect the body, and helmets, were required to be worn by pikemen even at trainings, and in time of service, a buff coat of leather, thick enough to resist the slash of a sword, was worn under the armor. John Leigh of the Argilla road, the ancient owner of the field still known as "Leigh's meadow," owned such a coat. Corslets and head pieces are frequently mentioned in the inventories of this early period. Twenty suits of armor were sent over in the first ships, by the officers of the Company.

Each suit included "coslett, breast, back, culet, gorgett, tases, and hed piece, varnished all black, with leathers and buckles." The gorget was a crescent shaped plate, worn over the breast. The culet protected the throat. The tases were a series of narrow overlapping plates, that were attached to a lining of leather and covered the thighs. The low price of these suits, 17 shillings, indicates that they were of leather or thin metal or some other cheap material. Some of these full suits or scattered pieces may have found proud place in these festal training displays. Drum, flag and halberds for the sergeants completed the brave show, and thus equipped the ancient train band lined up against the old stone wall, marched and counter-marched up and down the Green, wheeled, filed, faced, loaded and fired for many hours.

Boys were sometimes pressed into line and formed a company by themselves. A statute of 1645 required that all boys between the ages of ten and sixteen, with the consent of their parents, should be instructed by some military officer or experienced soldier upon the usual training days, "in ye exercise of arms, as small guns, half-pikes and bows and arrows."

A horse troop was organized in the Colony in 1648, and a company of troopers was well established in our own town in 1655. Mr. John Appleton was its famous Captain and John

Whipple its Cornet in 1668. This was the culminating glory of the militia. It was an aristocratic body of great pretensions. None could be members, who did not pay tax on a hundred pounds of estate. Great must have been the display, when that choice troop of Ipswich nobility pranced and curvetted and invited public admiration by that gay, swaggering spirit, that ran easily to riot and disorder, and is easily discerned as the secret cause of the ordinance, forbidding that troopers and soldiers shall remain in arms and "vainly expend their time and powder by inordinate shooting, on the day or night after their release."¹

It is not strange that the citizen soldiery should have proved itself quite unsoldierlike not only in this, "inordinate shooting," but in neglect of training and sundry breaches of military etiquette. Some offences were punished by fine, and the fines were expended in buying an "ensign, or drum, or halberds, or candle or wood for their court of guard or powder and arms for the poorer sort." Neglect of training might be punished in ways various and fantastical, "by either ryding the wooden horse, or by bilboes, or lying neck and heels, or acknowledgment at the head of the company."² The last was the most frequent sentence, and one of these acknowledgments remains. Erasmus James of Marblehead brought suit against Richard Glass for defamation of character, and the Court ordered that "on the next training day at the head of the company, at such time as the Captain or Chief officer in the field shall permit, if any training day be within fourteen days at ye place, or else upon the next Lord's day following before ye congregation at Marblehead," Glass should offer the following:

"I, Richard Glass do hereby before God and his people here assembled owne and confesse that I have in my words, calling Erasmus James, cheating rogue, one dyde rogue, one dyde dog; sinned against God and wickedly abused the said James, of whom I had no reason to say, and do from my heart beg pardon of God, and of said James, whom I have justly offended in my words, hoping to be hereafter more watchfull over the rashness of my heart and tongue and action."

¹ Mass. Records, 1663, vol. IV, part 2, p. 97.

² Mass. Records, 1672, vol. IV, part 2, p. 511.

More than once, irrepressible Joseph Fowler was disrespectful to the haughty Denison, and for each offence in 1647 and in 1648, he was summoned to the head of the company, and then and there made humble acknowledgment in such terms as the Major required. Denison's wounded honor may have been avenged, but Fowler's roystering suffered no lasting check.

But let it not be thought that the soldiering of the early days began and ended in the training field. There was much serious business.

The honored Governor Winthrop came to town in June 1637 and the soldiers of Ipswich met him on the road from Salem, relieved that escort, and guarded him on his way, and on his return, "to show their respect to their governor, and also for his safety, in regard it was reported the Pequods were come in his way."¹ Those fierce and warlike Indians from Connecticut were greatly feared and the settlers were ever on the alert to prevent surprise. The military officers were ordered "to maintain watch and ward every day, to cause all men to bring their arms to the meeting house, and see that no person travelled above a mile from his dwelling, except where houses were near together, without some arms." At last the summons to arms came, and in April, 1637, seventeen young men marched away over the road to Salem to join the little army. Six more followed in May. Most of their names have been preserved:

William Whitred	Robert Filbrick
Andrew Story	John Andrews
John Burnam	Robert Castel
Robert Cross	Edward Lumas
Palmer Tingley	William Fuller, gunsmith
William Swyndon	John Wedgwood
Francis Wainwright	Thomas Sherman ²

Wainwright performed prodigies of valor. He pursued some of the Pequods until his ammunition was expended. Then they turned upon him and he clubbed his musket, and laid on so long and so well that he broke his gun, but slew two

¹ Winthrop's History of New England, vol. I, p. 271.

² Town Records.

of the enemy, whose heads he brought in triumph to the camp. Wedgwood was wounded and left a captive. Sherman also received a wound in the neck.

In October, the war was over, and a day of Thanksgiving was ordered for God's great mercy in subduing "the Pecoits" and bringing the soldiers in safety. For this campaign they were paid 20^s a month for privates, 30^s for sergeants, besides their rations.

In 1642, suspicion was raised against Passaconaway, the Sagamore of the Merrimac, as being partner to a general plot among the Indians to cut off the English. It was ordered by the General Court that public alarm should be given by distinctly discharging three muskets, or the continued beat of the drum, at night, or firing the beacon or discharging a piece of ordnance at night. All sentinels were immediately to go to all houses in their neighborhood, crying, Arm! Arm! and all women and children and the old and infirm were to hurry within the fort, where the ammunition was to be guarded.¹

More than once, perhaps, the drake which the Town had received, sent forth its warning note, sentinels hurried up and down, and a wild rush of pallid faced women and crying children was made to the meeting house, while the men seized their arms and sought the foe.

On a Saturday in the early September of 1642, intense excitement filled the town. A messenger arrived in hot haste with orders that the militia of Ipswich, Rowley, and Newbury march at once to disarm Passaconaway, and on the morning of the Sabbath, in a heavy rain, the Ipswich soldiers, twenty in number, started on the expedition against the wily foe. Happily no blood was shed and in due time he delivered up his guns.

The town settled with the soldiers who had served against the Indians on Dec. 4: 1643, paying "12^d a day (allowing for the Lord's day in respect of the extremity of the weather) and the officers dubble."

John Perkins 3s.

Sergeant Howlett 6s.

Robert Roberts 3s.

John Burnham 3s.

¹ Mass. Records, 1642, vol. II, p. 29.

Humphrey Gilbert 3s.

Thomas Perkins 3s.

Tho: Harris 3s.

Ralph Dix 3s.

Tho: Burnam 3s.

Jeremy Newlande 3s.

Nathaniel Boswell 3s.

/ Theop: Satchwell 3s.

Robert Tilbrick 3s.

Francis Wainwright 3s.

John Layton 3s.

Daniel Wood 3s.

William Miller 3s.

Richard Hutley 3s.

Jo: Wilds 3s.

Henry Green 3s.

On Dec. 25: 1643, the widow Lumpkin, who kept an ordinary was reimbursed for the provisions she had furnished the soldiers.

The general alarm revived again in 1645, on Dec. 19 of that year. Denison had become so valuable as a leader that the people of the town agreed to pay him every year, £24 7^s, to retain his services and he remained the local Captain, even when he had attained the exalted rank of Major General of the Colony. A double military watch, armed with pike and musket, was ordered, and a daily scout on the outskirt of each town.¹ Thirty soldiers out of every hundred were ordered to hold themselves ready to march with knapsacks packed at a half hour's warning.

Again in 1653, tales of a great assembly of thousands of Indians at Piscataqua affrighted the community and Denison, now Major General, ordered a scout of twenty-seven soldiers from Ipswich and Rowley to discover the facts in the case. They marched on Friday morning, returned on Monday night, and reported no cause for alarm.² Despite these frequent alarms more than twenty years elapsed before the dreaded Indian war burst upon the Colony.

¹ Mass. Records, 1645, vol. II, p. 122.

² Mass. Records, vol. III, p. 321.

CHAPTER XI.

THE CHARTER IN PERIL.

The year 1660, when Charles II came to the throne, ushered in a long period of gloom and struggle in New England. The vital matter of a free and independent existence by right of the original Charter, was now called in question in the most alarming fashion. From the very beginning, the enemies of the Colony of Massachusetts Bay had assailed its chartered rights. Before a year had passed, the Browns, Morton, Gardiner and others, who had been dealt with summarily by the authorities, backed by Gorges and Mason, who claimed prior grants of territory included in the patent, made complaint to the Privy Council, "accusing us" as Winthrop wrote, "to intend rebellion, to have cast off allegiance, and to be wholly separate from the Church and laws of England; that our ministers and people did continually rail against the State, Church and Bishops, etc." The alarming news soon came over the ocean that the Council planned to send a General Governor, and create a special commission for the management of all the Colonies, and for the revocation of their charters, with Laud, Archbishop of Canterbury, at its head. The Charter was formally demanded on April 10, 1634, and the Magistrates replied that they could do nothing without the direction of the General Court, which would not meet for two months.

When the General Court met, it decided that a General Governor could not be accepted, and with perfect understanding of the revolutionary nature of this decision, orders were given for the training of citizens in military tactics and the erecting of a castle on an island in Boston harbor. An immediate conflict was saved only by the chaotic condition of public affairs in England.

In 1638, another demand for the Charter called forth a calm and well-reasoned reply from Governor Winthrop, which main-

tained the cause of the Colonists. But plots against their liberties continued, constant misrepresentations of the arbitrary administration of government were made, and, in 1646, the scheme was conceived of sending Governor Winthrop and the Rev. John Norton of Ipswich, the most scholarly, and ablest of the ministers, to England to state the case fairly before the Commissioners. Eventually Edward Winslow of the Plymouth colony was sent, and he carried with him a formal declaration by the General Court.

"We conceive," the document declared, "that in point of government, we have, granted by patent, such full and ample power of choosing all officers that shall command and rule over us; of making all laws and rules of our obedience, and of a full and final determination of all cases in the administration of justice, that no appeal or other ways of interrupting our proceedings do lie against us."¹

Winslow was favorably received, and the growing unrest, culminating speedily in the execution of the King, diverted attention from the officers of a remote Colony. Puritanism was in the ascendancy during the Commonwealth, and there was no disposition to tamper with the Puritan Colony. Under the Charter signed by Charles I on March 4, 1629, the colonists had been granted liberty to elect their own officers; to make their own laws; to make war if necessary in their own defence, and to exercise all the privileges of English citizens.

When news that Charles the Second had been crowned King arrived, suspicion as to his attitude toward the Colony checked any effusive demonstrations of loyalty. No official proclamation of his sovereignty was made, nor oath of allegiance ordered. It was understood that the affairs of the Colony were under debate in the royal Councils, that the scheme of sending a General Governor had been revived, that petitions for the redress of grievances had been presented by the Quakers, and that the civil and religious liberty were likely to be impaired.²

The Navigation laws were applied rigorously to the Colonies, larger liberty for Quakers and those who were excluded

¹ Winthrop's History of New England, II, 278-283.

² Palfray's History of New England, II, 448.

from the franchise was ordered, and the relations between King and Colony were strained to such degree, that the peace of the people was sorely disturbed. The critical juncture of affairs was discussed in General Court, and it was ordered in June 1661: "For as much as the pr sent condition of our affaires in highest concernments call for a dilligent and speedy vse of the best meanes seriously to discusse and rightly to vnderstand our liberty and duty, thereby to begett vnity amongst ourselues in the due observance of obedjenc and fidelity vnto the authority of England and our ovne just priviledges, for the effecting whereof it is ordered by this Court that M^r Symon Bradstreete, M^r Samuell Symonds, Maj^r. Geñ. Denison, M^r Danforth, Majo^r W^m Hawthorne, Cap^t Th^o Savage, Cap^t Edward Johnson, Eliazer Leesher, M^r Mather, M^r Norton, M^r Cobbet, and M^r Mitchell be and hereby are appointed a comittee, imediately after the dissolution or adjournment of y^e Court, to meete together in Boston on second day next, at twelve of y^e clocke, to consider and debate such matter or thing of publicke concernment touching our patent, lawes, priviledges and duty to his maj^{ty} as they in their wisdome shall judge most expedient, and drawe vp the result of their apphensions, and present the same to the next session for consideration, and approbation, that so (if the will of God be) wee may speake and act the same thing, becomeing prudent, honest, conscientious and faithfull men."¹

The spirit that moved so mightily in Samuel Adams and Otis and Patrick Henry a century later is felt in these calm but determined words, and it breathes in every sentence of the Report of this Committee. They affirmed that, under their patent, the Governor and Company were a body politic, in fact and name, vested with power to make freemen, and that the freemen had power to choose their own Governor and other officials. They affirmed that the government thus established had full power to govern the people, in all ecclesiastical and civil affairs, and to defend itself by force of arms against any assault, and that any enactment, "prejudicial to the country, contrary to any just law of ours, not repugnant to the lawes

¹ Mass. Records, vol. IV, part II, p. 24.

of England, to be an infringement of our right." They declared they recognized the duty of allegiance to the King, but they affirmed it in very equivocal fashion.¹

The personnel of this Committee is of special interest. Mr. Symon Bradstreete, the Chairman, presumably, had been an Ipswich citizen from 1635 or 36 to 1644, and the two members whose names follow his, Mr. Samuëll Symonds and Maj. General Denison, were Ipswich men. They were both assistants of the Colony. Mr. Mather was a minister of Boston, and Mr. Norton, after twenty illustrious years in the Church at Ipswich, had removed to Boston only five years before to succeed the lamented Cotton. Mr. Cobbet was in the Ipswich ministry and Mr. Mitchell was Pastor at Cambridge.

Symonds and Denison were large figures already in public affairs. The elder of the two, Samuel Symonds, was now sixty-six years old; Daniel Denison was forty-nine. Both had been conspicuous for many years from family connections, and official station. Symonds married, for his second wife, Martha, widow of Daniel Epes, step-daughter of the famous Rev. Hugh Peter of Salem, and sister of the second wife of John Winthrop, Jr. In May, 1638, the year after he settled in Ipswich, he was chosen Deputy to the General Court, and in June, he was appointed a magistrate of the Ipswich Court,² and was reappointed in the three following years. In 1640, he was chosen to record sales, mortgages, etc., and was Town Clerk from 1639 to 1645. His life became busy with public interests of many kinds. He served the town as Selectman. He was one of the magistrates keeping court at Pascataquack, afterwards Dover; and, in 1643, attained the honor of election as an Assistant.

The Court of Assistants, as it was called, was composed of the Governor, Deputy Governor and seven magistrates at this time. Its function was to hear and determine all cases of appeal from the inferior courts, all cases of divorce, all capital and criminal cases, "extending to life, member, or banishment." It was the Supreme Court of that day. He was a member of many important committees; one, in 1648, "to consider the articles of confederation with the United Colonies, another in

¹ Mass. Records, vol. IV, part II, pp. 24, 25.

² Mass. Records, 1638, vol. I, p. 227.

1653, of which he was chairman, to consider the relations with the Dutch and Indians, and again, in 1654, he was Chairman of an important committee of three, "to examine, compare, reconcile and place together, in good order, all former lawes, both printed and written, and make fitt titles and tables for ready recourse to any particular contained in them." In the same year, he was on a committee to reply to a letter of Cromwell's. He held court at Salisbury, Hampton, Dover, and York, and assisted in settling the civil affairs at Kittery, and the Isle of Shoals. In 1658, he was one of the Commissioners to visit the country eastward, and receive the submission of the people at Black Point, Blue Point, Spurwick and Casco Bay, and extend the jurisdiction of Massachusetts over this region.

But better than any catalogue of official duties is the letter¹ he wrote to Governor John Winthrop in 1647, in which he discussed "what seemes to be God's ende in bringing his people hether."² He enumerated sundry particulars, to secure liberty in worship, "to afford a hiding place for some of his people that stood for the truth while the nation was exercised unto blood" and last of all, "to be hopefull instruments in God's hand to gaine these Indians to Christs Kingdome. Which mercy if attained in any considerable measure will make us goe singing to our graves . . . " A man of tender and sympathetic spirit, we judge him, of thoughtful and reverend mind, albeit as a magistrate he had to harden his heart against the wicked.

Denison, with his wife Patience, daughter of Governor Thomas Dudley, came to Ipswich in 1635, in the same year that Governor Dudley took up his residence here, and Bradstreet and Ann his wife, daughter of Dudley, as well, came shortly after. In the first year of his residence, he was honored with election as a Deputy to the General Court, and was reelected for two more consecutive terms, and repeatedly in later years. In 1637, he was numbered with the magistrates who tried Mrs. Hutchinson. He became actively interested in town affairs, serving it as Town Clerk in 1636, and as Selectman in many subsequent years, when the burden of manifold official duties pressed heavily upon him. His capacity in military affairs was recognized at once, and he was chosen Captain in 1636.²

¹ *Ancestry of Priscilla Baker*, by W. S. Appleton, p. 75.

² *Mass. Records*, 1636, vol. I, p. 191.

When a general alarm spread through the plantations from the report that a conspiracy had been formed among the Indian tribes, the General Court in May 1643 ordered that there should be a general training of troops, and provision of arms, and that Captain Denison, with five others should put the country into a posture of war.¹

His military skill was so highly esteemed by his townsmen, that £24 7s was voted by the Town on Dec. 19, 1648, "unto Major Denison, soe long as he shall be there leader, in way of Gratuity to encourage him in his military helpfulness unto them." This was raised by popular subscription, and the list bears the names of one hundred and sixty one men, headed by the worshipful magistrates and ministers.²

He attained the distinguished rank of Major General of the Colony in 1653, and was chosen again many times. Judicial talents, as well, were his. As early as 1636 he was appointed one of the Justices for the Quarterly Court held in Ipswich and became a Justice of the Inferior Court in 1647. In 1649, 1651, 1652, he was chosen Speaker by the Deputies in General Court, and in 1653, he became an Assistant and remained in that honorable body until death. Ipswich enjoyed the unique honor of furnishing two of the nine members of that high Court.

Special tasks of honor, that required tact and skill, industry and mental poise, were laid upon him.

Cromwell's suggestion that the men of Massachusetts might remove to Ireland and establish their commonwealth there, was replied to by a letter from Denison and four others asking for information and stating the terms on which they might be led to remove. When difficulties arose with the Dutch colony in New York, he was appointed on a committee to join with the Commissioners of the United Colonies, "to draw up the case respecting the Dutch and Indians."

Another delicate and responsible commission was given him in May, 1658, when the General Court voted, "that Major Gen'l Daniel Denison, diligently peruse, examine and weigh every law, and compare them with others of like nature; such as are plain and good, free from any just exception, to stand

¹ Mass. Records, vol. II, p. 39.

² Town Record.

without any animadversion as approved. Such as are repealed or fit to be repealed, to be so marked and the reasons given; such as are obscure, contradictory or seeming so, to be rectified and the emendations prepared. When there is two or more laws about one and the same thing, to prepare a draught of one law that may comprehend the same; to make a plain and easy table, and to prepare what else may present, in the perusing of them, to be necessary and useful, and make return at the next session of this Court." In a few months the work was done, and the volume was printed. Two copies, it is said, are still preserved.¹

Samuel Symonds and Daniel Denison, then, were a strong contribution to that patriotic committee of 1661. The business intrusted to them was of paramount importance, and was a theme of much popular discussion. Evidence of this and of the deep interest the citizens of Ipswich had in these critical affairs of State is afforded by the minute in the Record of the General Court, of the sessions which approved the report of this Committee: "The Court hauing read and considered of seuerall petitions presented and subscribed by sundry of our freemen and others from Ipswich, Newbury and Sudbury, referring to some things as haue binn vnder consideration about our compljance wth England &c., and as wee cannot but acknowledge theire care and approove of theire good intençons in most things w^{ch} haue been presented to our cognizance, so wee also must lett them vnderstand that this Court hath not binn altogether negligent to provide for theire and our owne safety, and to manifest our duty and alleagiance vnto his maj^{ty}, from whom wee haue had such a favorable auspect of late, doe therefore desire the petitioners will rest sattisfied in what is donne, assuring themselves this Court will not be wanting in the prosecution of such further wajes and meanes as may be most conduceable to our owne peace."²

Similar reply was given to the petition from Boston of like character. Evidently there was a conservative party in all these towns, which was averse to any action that might involve the colony in a conflict with the throne; and which regarded

¹ Sketch of Denison by Prof. D. D. Slade.

² Mass. Records, vol. IV, part II, p. 26.

the pronounced attitude of the General Court with alarm and disapproval. The love of liberty showed itself more and more decidedly as their liberties were threatened. In view of the delicacy of the situation, Mr. Bradstreet and the Rev. John Norton were sent to England to represent the Colony in the Council debates. They returned in September, 1662, bringing word that the King had confirmed their patent, but expected that the oath of allegiance should be taken by the Colonists, administration of justice should be in his name, that the privilege of Episcopal worship should be allowed, that all persons of good and honest lives should be admitted to the Lord's Supper, and that all of wisdom and integrity should have liberty of voting for Governor and Assistants. Norton was so much depressed by the popular blame that was heaped upon the Commission that he lived only until the following April, and his decease was thought to have been precipitated by this mental frame.

Answer to this letter was delayed and the King declared his purpose of sending over some Commissioners to see how the Charter was maintained, and to reconcile the differences between them. "The Clarendon Commissioners," as they are known, arrived in July 1664. The Governor and General Court received them coldly, and made a few conciliatory changes in the laws, but replied that the Book of Common Prayer could not be admitted, and that they held resolutely to their Charter. In some instances the Commission was openly defied. The King was informed, and he wrote by Secretary Morrice to Massachusetts that it was very evident to him, "that those who governed the Colony of Massachusetts . . . did, upon the matter, believe that His Majesty had no jurisdiction over them, but that all persons must acquiesce in their judgments and determinations, how unjust soever, and could not appeal to his Majesty." Accordingly he ordered agents to be sent to England.¹

When the General Court met on the 11th of September, 1666, to consider the King's letter, after Deputy Governor Willoughby had communicated the grounds of his assembling it,

¹ Hutchinson History, 1:466.

"Itt is ordered, that some of the reverend elders that are or may be in towne be desired to be present with the Generall Court on the morrow morning and to begin the Court, & spend the forenoone in prayer."¹

On the following day, the Court met, and in very solemn mood. It was an hour of critical significance, "an occasion, which seems one of the most interesting events in the history of New England."² The whole forenoon was spent in prayer. Mr. Wilson, Mr. Mather, Mr. Symmes, Mr. Whiting, Mr. Corbitt (Mr. Cobbet of Ipswich) and Mr. Mitchell prayed.

On the next day "the petitions from the ports were presented and a full debate took place."² A petition from Boston bearing twenty-six names was read, one from Salem with thirty-five names, one from Newbury with thirty-nine signatures, and, most imposing of all, the Ipswich petition with the names of seventy-three citizens.

These were almost identical, and the Ipswich petition alone needs special notice. It was as follows:

Your petitioners being informed that letters are lately come from His Majesty to the Council of this Colony, expressive of his ill-resentment of their proceedings in reference to the Commissioners lately sent hither, insomuch that his Majesty hath thereupon required some principall persons to be sent from here with command upon their allegiance to attend his majesties pleasure, in order to a finall determination of such differences and debates as have happened between his majestys said Commission and the Government here, which declaration of His Majestie they cannot but looke upon as a matter of such great importance, as it doth justly call for all manner of most serious consideration what is to be done in reference thereunto.

Wherefore Yo^r Petitioners that they might neither bee wanting to themselves in wth holding any due encouragem^t, w^{ch} their concurrence might afford, in so arduous a matter; nor to themselves and the Country in being involved by their silence, in the dangerous mistakes of persons (however otherwise welminded yet) inclining to unsafe if not disloyall principles, They desire they may have liberty without offence to propose some of their thoughts and feares, about the matter in hand, to yo^r serious deliberation.

¹ Mass. Records, vol. iv, part II, p. 314.

² Danforth Papers. Mass. Hist. Soc. Collections, 2nd series, vol. VIII, p. 98.

Yo^r Petitioners humbly conceive, that those who live in this age of y^e world are as much as any others concerned in that advice of the wise man to keep y^e King's comādm^t: because of y^e oath of God, and not to bee hasty to goe out of his sight, that doth whatsoever pleaseth him. Wherefore they desire that seeing his Maj^{tie} hath allready taken no little displeasure agst us for so seeming to disowne his jurisdiction over us, effectuell care may be taken least refusing to attend his m^jesties order for the cleering of our right in that particular, we should plunge ourselves into greater disfavor and danger. Our receiving our charter for the planting of this Colony from his Maj^{ties} royall Pleasure with y^e confirmation of y^e same, obtained by o^r late Adresse from his Royall Person, sufficiently declared this place to bee part of his dominions, and o^rselves his subjects, the w^{ch} allso is further testified unto by the first Govern^r M^r Mathew Cradock his being recorded Juratus ^{de} fide et obedientia before one of the Ma^{rs} of Chauncery, by which it is evident, that if any proceedings of o^{rs} have given occasion to his Maj^{tie} to app^hend that wee believe hee hath no jurisdiction over us: What speedy Course has need bee taken to free o^rselves from the appearance, of so dangerous an offence & to give his Maj^{tie} all due satisfaction in that Behalfe. Such an assertion yo^r Petitioners conceive would bee no lesse derogating from his Maj^{ties} hono^r then destructive to y^e welfare of this place. It were too much p^rsumption for Subjects to Lye wth their Prince upon the points of his Souveraignty & jurisdiction. The doubtfull interpretation of y^e words of a Patent (which there is no reason to hope, they sh^d ever bee construed to the divesting a Sovereigne Prince of his Royalle Power, over his naturall subjects and Liege People) they cannot but looke upon as too frayl a foundation to build such transcendent imunities and priviledges upon. Yo^r Petition^{ers} shall never bee unwilling to Acknowledge how much they are bound to yo^rselves, and others in yo^r capacity for yo^r abundant paines & travayle, for the upholding the Govern^t of this Colony and maynteyning the Liberties thereof. And they doe hereby expressly declare themselves ready to run any hazzards wth you in order to y^e regular defence and securing y^e same, and are most unwilling to reflect upon the p^{rs}ons of them, they so much honor & Respect, by any Vnnecessary manifesting theyr dissent from them, in things of another nature. But in a matter of so great insight & moment as is this of their duty & allegiance to their Prince wherein the hon^r of Allmighty God the credit of y^e Gospell as well as the interest of their owne Persons & istates are so much concerned they hope and earnestly desire that no party will so irresistably carry on any designs

of so dangerous consequence as to necessitate their Brethren Equally engaged wth them in y^e same undertaking to make their p^ticular Adresse to his Maj^{ty} and declaration to y^e world to cleare themselves from the imputation either of disloyalty to the person, or disaffection to the governm^t of their lawfull Prince & Sovereign.

Whereupon your Petitioners do humbly entreat that if any occasion hath bin given to his Maj^{ty} so to resent any of o^r former proceedings as in his lett^{rs} is held forth, that nothing of that nature be farther proceeded in, but on y^e contrary that seasonable application bee made to his Maj^{ty} by meet Persons, chosen & sent for that end to cleare o^rselves and o^r actings from any such construction least otherwise, that w^{ch} if duely improved might have bin as a cloud of the latter raine, bee turned into that which in the conclusion may prove more terrible then the roaring of a Lyon.

Thus craving yo^r fav^rable interpretation of what is here humbly p^resented Yo^r Petitioners shall ever bee Engaged to thankfulness etc.

John Appleton
William Norton
George Gittings
John Baker, Sen.
Francis Wainwright
Jeremiah Belcher
Jeremiah Jewet
John Newmarch
Henry Bennet
Will. Story
John Andrews
Tho. Wayt
John Safford
John Browne
Philip Fowler Sen.
Dan^l Warner
Walter Roper
George Smith
Ez. Woodward v
Will. Hodgkin
John Denison

Joseph Whipple
Theophilus Wilson
Thomas Knowlton
Samuel Adams
Freegrace Norton
Richard Kimball jun.
Joseph Browne
Andrew Peeters
Thomas Lovell
John Sparkes
Robert Whitman
Haniel Bosworth
John Norton
Samuell Lord
Thomas Kimball
John Kenricke
Thomas Clarke, jun.
Thomas Clarke, 3d.
Simond Tomson
John Roberts
Kaleb Kimball

Rich. Hubbard	Anthony Wood
John Perkins	John Lee
Jacob Perkins	Nathan ¹ Piper
Robert Lord, Sen.	Dan ¹ Davison
Nathan ¹¹ Rogers	Rich ^d Walker
Robert Lord, Jun.	John Whipple, jun.
Tho. Harris	Moses Pengrey
Tho. Low	John Gittings
Sam ¹¹ Ingalls	Sam ¹ Gittings
John Caldwell	Robert Colburn Sen.
Samuel Rogers	John Whipple, ³ tius
John Burr	Thos. Clark, Sen.
Robert Day	William Mover
Thomas Hart ¹	Thomas Newman
Ezekiel Rogers	John Woodham
John Payne	

Only seventy-two names appear on the copy, preserved in the Archives of Massachusetts, from which this list is made.²

In the debate that followed, the Ipswich magistrates took a prominent part. Denison siding with Bradstreet, stood for the kingly prerogative, and advised submission to the King. Governor Bellingham, Deputy Governor Willoughby, Mr. Symonds and Mr. Hathorne "stood stiffly for the chartered rights. They expressed the common sentiment, which did not require to be further urged by Danforth, Leverett and the others like-minded."³ A reply to Secretary Morrice's letter was finally adopted:

"We have in all humility given our reasons, why we could not submit to the Commissioners and their mandates the last year, which we understand lie before his majesty — the substance whereof we have not to add, and therefore cannot expect that the ablest persons among us could be in a capacity to declare our cause more fully."

¹ Inserted in a list in Danforth Papers.

² Mass. Archives, book 106, leaf 172.

³ Palfray's History of New England, II, p. 627, note. The abstract of the debate is in Danforth Papers. Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll., 2nd series, vol. VIII, p. 98-101.

"We must, therefore, commit this our great concernment unto Almighty God praying and hoping that his Majesty, (a prince of so great clemency) will consider the state and condition of his poor and afflicted subjects at such a time, being in imminent danger by the public enemies of our nation, and that in a wilderness far remote from relief."¹

Two days afterward, on the 19th of September, "Major Denison declared his dissent from the letter to be sent to Secretary Morrice as not being proportionate to the end desired and he hopes, intended, and desired it might be entered, viz., due satisfaction to his majesty, and the preservation of the peace and liberty of this Colony."¹ His strenuous attitude may explain the length of the Ipswich petition, and the earlier petition of 1661. The Court did not relish the tone of these petitions, and "finding that the petiçoners doe therein vnjustly charge, threaten & reflect vpon this Court, to the dishono^r of the members thereof,—"

"It is ordered, that Captaine William Gerrish of Newbery, Cap^t John Apleton of Ipswich, Mr. Edmond Batter of Salem," and four from Boston, "all of them principall persons in the say^d petitions . . . be by the secretary warned to attend this Court in October next to answer for the same."²

It was proposed to call each one of them singly, and take his answer in writing. A series of questions was drawn up, to be proposed to them, the last of which was "Who was the inditer or framer of these petitions, and what arguments were used to draw or fear men to subscribe?"

It was the evident intention of the Court to sift the matter to the bottom, and bring the guilty parties to justice. No further record of these proceedings has been preserved, but the fact that the parties appeared, and that there was warm discussion as to the propriety of their action is established incidentally in a very interesting way.

On October 17th, Captain John Appleton appeared before the General Court bearing the following document

¹ Danforth Papers.

² Mass. Records, vol. IV, part II, p. 318.

The Answer of us whose names are hearto Subscribed to what Is charged upon us by y^e honored Generall Court As by ther Summons Appeares.

(1) As to y^e Substance & purport of y^e petition for w^{ch} your petitioners are In question they must proffess they neyther doe nor can darecede from It. besides other obligations of contience & prudence Some of y^m have taken y^e oath of allegiance with many other y^e members of y^e honored General Corte Soe little while since cannot be forgotten by them nor can y^e be of noe Signification to y^m your petitioners can avouch y^t according to ther Contiens And best perswasion ther reall desire of y^e good of y^e Generall Court & every Member of it, of y^e whole Contry & Collony as of y^e Continuance of o^r Libertys Granted by his Majestie in o^r Charter was y^e Sole Reason why they have petitioned & upon y^e Same Grounds cannot recall it.

(2) Your petitioners doe most Seriously profess it to be contrary to their Judgem^{nt} & intent in ther petition to cast any aspersion upon y^e honored Generall Court or any member therof o^r to Express y^e least disrespect or disafection to y^e whole or any of it being sensible of y^e duty to Authority And therefore pleade not Guilty as to their dessighne in ther petition, yet being Serieuse: as to y^e matter of y^e petition and scoape therof as y^e Case Requires: your petitioners were more Carefull theraboutes then Curious as for Any Gramaticall Criticismes w^{ch} they might presume the Generall Court would not be most observant of at such a tyme & in such a Case, whearein y^e matt^r abundantly swallowes up any Circumstance and therefore pleade for y^e Candor of y^e Generall Court in over looking what your petitioners might not soe narrowly looke into upon y^e acco^t already given & that they would not Strein Expressions to Enfore a bad Construction from y^m nor yet would your petitioners be understood to acknowledge Guilt As to y^e Expressions more then in thir Intentions, they can but Guess at what maye be anything capable of harsh Interpretation & therefore shall give ther owne in all y^e passages which maye to any seeme Suspitiouse upon w^{ch} y^e Charge Contained in y^e Summons maye possibly Be Grounded.

(3) As to y^e Expressions following viz Being Involved by ther Silence In the dangerouse mistakes of p^{sons} otherwise well mynded Inclined to unsafe if not disloyall principalls &c^a And agayne desire y^t noe pty will soe Irresistably carry on any dessighne of soe dangerouse Consequence In Answer heareunto your petitioners Crave y^e mentioning of thos many petitions y^e Scoape wheareof y^e Generall Court Cannot forgett, presented In October 1664¹ besides y^e fame ther was of Croudes

¹ See printed Records of the Colony of Massachusetts, vol. IV, part II, pp. 136, 137.

of petitions then ready to be Exhibited to this Court of y^e same tenno^r with thos & your petitioners desire this honored Court to understand Thos passages mentioned or any of y^e like nature in y^e petition to have Reffrence unto such petitions or petioners whome although they honor & Respect yet they cannot concur with y^m in ther apprehension of y^e p^resent Case & not to y^e Generall Court; & that you maye be pleased with good Reason soe to understand your petitioners begg of y^e honored Court not to allow such an interpretation of y^e petition as should make it Controdict it selfe And to weigh with thos former this Expression Necessarily referring to y^e Courte viz That they would not be wanting in with holding any due Encouragem^t y^t their concurrence might afforde in soe arduouse A matter your petitioners Conceave a Concurrence w^{ch} y^e Generall Courte Intended is inconsistant wth A Charging of it or reflecting upon it. further your petitioners make their address to y^e Generall Courte as Supplicants & therefore it maye be improbable y^t should be Charged on y^m w^{ch} was sued unto by them.

[4] As to y^t in y^e petition upon w^{ch} y^e Charge of threatening must be Grounded namely necessitating their brethen & Equally Engaged wth them, &c Your petitioners answar Is y^t it is improp^r for thos y^t speake Supplications to Intend threatenings y^e Sollicitouseness in y^e petion to avoide inconveniency not desired but y^t maye in case be Judged necessary is noe Comination; faithfull advertisem^{nts} of danger argues noe will or purpose of procuring but preventing it; your petioners in those words doe butt suppose what necessity y^t highest of Lawes maye enforce & affirme what themselves are unbelieveing to w^{ch} can be noe threatening Your petioners with others need not have been at y^e trouble of troubling this honored Court but have waited y^e p^reedings of it, and accordingly have acted privately in such a waye as Is specified withoute y^e proposing of such a danger to y^e Consideration of y^e Courte w^{ch} their Ingenuity & respect to y^e publique good & Intrest of y^e whole would not allow for w^{ch} your petitioners presume they may not suffer.

17 October 1666.

Capt. Jno Apleton Gave in this as his p^ticular Ans. tho it be writt in the plurall number it being so Intended then but now he gives it in his singular Capacity and to that he he desires to stand unto. E. R. S.

The Court took no action, simply ordering the papers to be filed, but not recorded. The persons warned to attend were discharged. When the next General Court met on the 15th

of May 1667, Ipswich returned Captain John Appleton and Mr. Wm. Goodhue as her deputies. Appleton had been Deputy for several years prior to 1666, but had not been elected in the year the Petition was sent. The fact that he had headed the list of the Ipswich petitioners aroused the indignation of the Court, and it forthwith refused to receive him and sent word of its action to Ipswich.

May 16: 1667

The deputyes of the Gen^l Court finding Capt. John Appleton to be returned as a deputy for the Towne of Ipswich & that upon his presentation thereunto, some question is made of his capacitie for that service by reason of some expressions in the petition by him signed the tendency whereof hath manifestly breathed forth some unfaythfulness to the Government here established, as by the Generall Courts result on examination thereof may appeare, & that in the management thereof he hath not retracted the sd offensive expressions but Justified himself under p^tence of his good Intentions, nor hath he here in the debate thereof taken any blame to himselfe but rather Impute blame to this House, Justifying himselfe in all by his good Intentions, as afforesaid, the p^mises considered, the deputyes doe hereby declare the sd. Capt. Appleton to be no fitt Member of their body, and that the freemen of Ipswich may on a legall warninge proceed to the choyce of another, whereby the liberties of the freemen may not be Infringed nor the Priviledges of this house be Invaded.

Voted by the deputys by way of answer to the freemen of Ipswich

WILLIAM TORREY.

Cleric¹

Ipswich resented the affront to her dignity and straightway made reply to the Court:

"The humble Petition of the freemen of the Towne of Ipswich to the Hon. Gen^l Court now assembled at Boston.

May it please this hon^{ble} Court to understand that whereas according to the allowed priviledges and stated libertye and in attendance unto and pursuance of the laws specified. . .

Wee the freemen of Ipswich have orderly and formally elected Capt. John Appleton (for that hee hath allways approved himself unto us a Gentleman fully orthodox in his judgment as to matters of fayth and points of Religion professed amongst us, right good, honest pious and prudent in his conversation,

¹Mass. Archives, book 106, leaf 112.

true and firmly faithfull as to the interest of the Colony, and Government thereof); to negotiate for us in these publick affaires, wherein o'selves as others are concerned, as a member of y^e House of Deputyes and whereas ye sayd Capt. Appleton (although not forward yet) was pleased to Gratify us with the susception of the burthen of such service & trust, and accordingly to that end Repayred to the Hon^d Court and was there disaccepted and thence dismissed unto o^r great grief (if not to o^r damage by virtue of the second law) . . . especially so that we cannot understand what y^e reasons of such rejection were, nor that it was y^e act of the Co^{rt} entire according to w^t is intimated as requisite in the Law aforesayd

Your Petitioners are bold humbly to crave of this hon. Co^{rt} that y^e sd Capt. Appleton may yet have his admission as a member of the House of Deputyes for us, therein to discharge the trust committed to him by us. But if there bee cause to y^e contrary appearing to y^e honrd Co^{rt} to whose determination wee are bound to submit, yet to the end wee may not bee in any capacity of jealousye (which we would most religiouslye decline) of any disregard to us, partiality or non-attendance to ye Laws established anongst us, that we looke upon as o^r sanctuary of safety & a mutuall bond unto all, w^{ch} upon no pretext or interest . . . may be violate. We further therefore most humbly entreat of this honrd Co^{rt} that y^{ou} would be pleased to favo^r us with the information of the grounds of the procedure in this case, and y^r Petitioners shall be bound ever to pray etc.

Voted at a meeting of the freemen on the 27th of May, 1667, that this petition be sent unto the Gen^{ll} Ct.

as attest

ROBERT LORD Clerk.¹

To which, reply was made:

In Answ^r to this Petic^{ion}, The mag^{ts} App^rhend its meet that Cap^t Jno. Appleton be admitted or continued in his trust as a Deputy of this Court, in behalfe of the ffreemen of Ipswich, or that a just reason of his exclusion be rendred to the Court, that so there may be no just ground of dissatisfac^{ion} given by this court to the freemen of this Jurisdiceon. The magist^s have past this their brethren the deputy^s hereto consenting.

EDW. RAWSON, *Secret.*

The deputyes consent not hereto

28: 3^d 67.

WILLIAM TORREY *Cleric.*

¹ Mass. Archives, book 106, leaf 183.

However Capt. Appleton was elected a Deputy the next year, and no objection was made to him. Lord Clarendon soon fell from power. The annoying interferences of the King and his advisers ceased, and the sharp political discussions and anxious fears which prevailed in Ipswich and in the colony were put aside for a time.

The incident was thought of sufficient importance to be mentioned by Samuel Mavericke in a letter to Lord Arlington, Oct. 16, 1667. Writing of the session of the General Court, he says: "The first act they did was the expelling Captⁿ Appleton of Ipswich who was chosen Deputy for that towne; the crime laid to his charge was the subscription (to) that Loyall Petition presented to the last Court of which coppies have been sent to your Lord."¹

It is an interesting episode as well as evidence of the warm support that Denison had in Ipswich, in his loyalist attitude. Samuel Symonds was aggressive in his opposition to this conservative spirit. Many of his fellow citizens no doubt sided with him, and partisan feeling must have run high.

¹ The Loyal Petition of 1666, by W. S. Appleton, p. 10.

CHAPTER XII.

THE GRAMMAR SCHOOL AND HARVARD COLLEGE.

The ancient record book of the Grammar School contains the item, probably copied from some earlier source: "1636. A Grammar School is set up but does not succeed." The failure was but temporary, and an incentive to a more determined effort. Two lines of the Town Record chronicle the simple but impressive vote of the Town Meeting then assembled:

The First third day of the 9th 1642

It is granted that there shal be a free Schole.

Side by side with this luminous record, it should be written that, in the summer of that same year, William Hubbard of Ipswich, the son of William Hubbard, in his twenty-first year, "was one of that remarkable group of nine young men whom Harvard College sent forth in 1642, as the first specimens of high culture achieved in the woods of America."¹

How the young student had been fitted for the College is left to our conjecture, but we conceive that in the little community, which was adorned with five students of Emmanuel, and Winthrop of Trinity, there was no lack of guides and instructors. It may have been that the honor that came to Ipswich of having one of her sons in the first class that graduated from their beloved college, impelled her to the resolve to have a free school in her midst.

The preliminary vote of 1642 was followed by that of the third of October, 1643, that eleven pounds per year shall be raised, as the Committee shall determine. "And that there shal be seven free Schollars, or soe many as the Feoffees (to be chosen) from tyme to tyme shall order, soe as the numb. exceed not seven."

The school was established, and Lionel Chute, we presume

¹ M. C. Tyler: *History of American Literature*, vol. I, p. 133.

was the schoolmaster. He had purchased the house and land of William Bartholomew on East Street, "1st day 8th mo. called October, 1639",¹ and may have been practising his profession in some quiet way. He died in November, 1645,² leaving his house to his wife, Rose, and his books and other goods to his son James.³

The profound popular concern for the best educational opportunities is reflected in the vote passed by the General Court in 1644, requesting the Deputies and Elders in every town to use their influence so that every family allow one peck of corn or 12d. for the College. The value of the College was emphasized afresh to the good people of Ipswich by the graduation of James Ward, younger son of the Rev. Nathaniel Ward, in the class of 1645. One mischievous prank had brought upon him the censure of the college authorities. He was publicly whipped by the President, and suffered other penalties, but he saw the folly of his misdeed, was pardoned and became a man of honor and usefulness.⁴

Again in 1649, an Ipswich boy of eighteen took his degree at the College Commencement, perhaps the first of the graduates from the Ipswich free school, John Rogers, son of the pastor. A brilliant student he must have been, for he added at once to the linguistic attainments, that fitted for the ministry, a practical knowledge of medicine, and began a few years later, the double work in his native town, of preacher and physician. In his mature years, he was destined for the Presidency of the College, the first of her graduates to attain that high honor.

William Hubbard's second son, Richard, entered college the same year that young Rogers graduated, and Joseph Rowlandson, son of Thomas Rowlandson, the only graduate from Harvard in 1652, had finished his Freshman year. One episode of Rowlandson's college course remains. Being vexed by certain matters, he resorted to the device, not uncommon in his day, of posting on the Meeting House in Ipswich near the close of his Junior year, "a scandalous lybell",⁵ in which he

¹ Town Record.

² Felt's History of Ipswich, p. 157.

³ Ipswich Deeds, vol. I, p. 50.

⁴ Sibley's Harvard Graduates, vol. I, p. 121.

⁵ Reprinted in full in Sibley's Harvard Graduates, vol. I, pp. 311-316.

vented his spleen upon the individuals who had aggrieved him. He paid dearly for this deed of rashness. In his mature years, he became the minister of Lancaster. His house was burned by the Indians, and his wife carried into captivity. Her pathetic narrative¹ is a classic of the time.

The Ipswich Grammar School had become a pride to the Town, though the name of its master was never recorded. But, in the year 1650, the broadminded citizens, with noteworthy ambition, called to the position of schoolmaster, the most eminent teacher in New England, Ezekiel Cheever. He was born in London about 1615, had taken his degree at Emmanuel, and had taught with brilliant success at New Haven. His Latin Grammar, "The Accidence," is supposed to have been written at New Haven. President Josiah Quincy wrote of this famous book, "a work which was used for more than a century in the schools of New England, as the first elementary book for learners of the Latin language, which held its place in some of the most eminent of those schools nearly, if not quite, to the end of the last (the 18th) century, which has passed through at least twenty editions in this country; which was the subject of the successive labor and improvement of a man, who spent seventy years in the business of instruction, and whose fame is second to that of no schoolmaster New England has ever produced, requires no additional testimony to its worth or its merits."²

He came to Ipswich in December, 1650,³ and the Town was moved at once to generous provision for the School. All "that Neck beyond Chebacco River and the rest of the ground up to Gloucester line" was given to the School in 1650.⁴ It was leased forever to John Cogswell, Jr., his heirs and assigns, for £14 a year, £4 in butter and cheese, £5 in pork and beef, and £5 in corn at the current price.⁵

On Jan. 26, 1652, the Town voted "For the better aiding of the schoole and the affaires thereof, Mr. Samuel Symonds Mr. Nathaniel Rogers, Mr. Jonathan Norton, Major Daniel

¹ Narrative of Mrs. Mary Rowlandson.

² Historical and Genealogical Register, vol. XXXIII, p. 164.

³ Cotton Mather: Funeral Sermon.

⁴ Town Record.

⁵ Felt: p. 83, from Records of the Grammar School.

Dennison, Mr. Robert Paine, Mr. William Paine, Mr. William Hubbard, Dea. John Whipple and Mr. Wm. Bartholomew, weare chosen a committee to receive all such sums of money, as have and shall be given toward the building or maintaining of a Grammar schoole and schoole master, and to disburse and dispose such sums as are given to provide a schoole house and schoole master's house, either in buildings, or purchasing the same house with all convenient speed, and such sums of money parcels of land, rentes or annuities, as are or shall be given towards the maintenance of a schoole master, they shall receive and dispose of to the schoole master, that they shall call or choose to that office from time to time, towards his maintenance, which they shall have power to enlarge by appointing from yeare to yeare what each scholler shall yearly or quarterly pay or proportionably, who shall allso have full power to regulate all matters concerning the schoole master and schollers, as in their wisdome they think meet from time to time, who shall allso consider the best way to make provision for teaching to write and cast accounts."

Mr. Robert Payne proceeded at once to purchase a house and two acres of land of Richard Coy, attorney for Samuel Heifer, for the use of the school master.¹ This lot was bounded by the present County Road, Poplar St. and Argilla Road, including the present Payne St. and land occupied by the Cogswell School House, Mr. F. T. Goodhue's store, and other buildings.² In the succeeding year, Mr. Payne "att his own proper cost & charge" built an edifice for a grammar school, which was erected upon part of the land purchased. Various ancient deeds make it evident that it stood in the corner lot, bounded by County Road and Poplar St. Mr. Paine held title to this estate until 1683, when he conveyed it to the Feoffees.³

There Mr. Cheever made his home. Thither, as his wife and mother of his motherless children, he brought Ellen Lathrop sister of Captain Thomas Lathrop of Bloody Brook remembrance, and a daughter and three sons were born there.⁴

¹ Ipswich Deeds, vol. v, p. 269.

² Publications of the Ipswich Historical Society, No. IX, A History of the old Argilla Road, pp. 6 and 7.

³ Ipswich Deeds, vol. v, p. 263.

⁴ Historical and Genealogical Register, XXXIII, p. 185.

Cotton Mather was one of his pupils in his later years, and in his Funeral Sermon bore loving witness to "his piety and his care to infuse documents of piety into the scholars under his charge, that he might carry them with him to the heavenly world. He constantly prayed with us every day and catechised us every week, and let fall such holy counsels upon us: he took so many occasions to make speeches to us that should make us afraid of sin, and of incurring the fearful judgments of God for sin, that I do not propose him for emulation."

Rev. John Barnard of Marblehead was a pupil of his old age in the Boston Latin School. I "remember once," he said, "in making a piece of Latin, my master found fault with the syntax of one word, which was not so used by me heedlessly but designedly, and therefore I told him there was a plain grammar rule for it. He angrily replied there was no such rule. I took the grammar and showed the rule to him. Then he smilingly said, 'Thou art a brave boy, I had forgot it', and no wonder, for he was then above eighty years old."¹

"When Scholars had so far profited at the Grammar Schools, that they could Read any Classical Author into English, and readily make and speak true Latin, and Write it in Verse as well as Prose; and perfectly Decline the Paradigms of Nouns and Verbs in the Greek Tongue, they were judged capable of Admission in Harvard College."²

This was the substance, then, of the course of study in the Ipswich Grammar School, though room was made probably for the elementary studies in reading, writing and arithmetic. The School became famous, and many boys came for their preparation for College. So many Ipswich boys graduated from Harvard in those years, that we are sure of the names of some who were trained by Mr. Cheever.

Robert Paine, son of the Elder, who had dealt so generously with the School was graduated in the Harvard class of 1656. He was a preacher, and was the foreman of the grand jury that brought in some of the later indictments in the witchcraft trials. His classmate, John Emerson, son of Thomas Emerson, was for many years the minister at Gloucester.

¹ Historical and Genealogical Register, XXXIII, p. 181.

² Cotton Mather: Magnalia, Book IV, §4.

Four of his Ipswich scholars were of the Harvard class of 1659. Nathaniel Saltonstall, the oldest son of Richard and Muriel chose the ministry for his profession and was settled in Haverhill, where he married Elizabeth, the daughter of Rev. John Ward and granddaughter of Nathaniel Ward. His son was graduated from the College in due time, and from that day to this there has never been a break. "There is no family but the Saltonstall, which has sent seven successive generations, all in the male line, to Harvard University."¹ Ezekiel Rogers, son of the Rev. Nathaniel Rogers, died at the early age of thirty-six. Samuel Belcher, son of Jeremy, preached at the Isles of Shoals from 1660 to 1672, when ill health compelled his resignation. He resumed his ministry, settling with the First Church in West Newbury in 1698, and continued until 1711, when he returned to Ipswich. The fourth member of this class was his son Samuel Cheever, born at New Haven in 1639, who preached all his life at Marblehead.

In the class of 1660, were William Whittingham, son of the merchant John Whittingham of Boston, and Martha, daughter of W^m. Hubbard, and his brother Richard, who entered, but did not graduate, and both were probably fitted by the Ipswich schoolmaster. Simon Bradstreet, son of Simon and Ann Bradstreet, the minister of New London, of the same class, recorded in his Diary that upon his father's removal to Andover he was placed in Mr. Cheever's school.

Samuel Symonds, son of the Deputy Governor and Samuel Cobbet, son of the minister, Thomas Cobbet, were of the class of 1663, and scholars of the Grammar School. Both were intended for the ministry by their parents, but both refused and turned to secular employments. Samuel Bishop, son of Thomas, a merchant of the town, took his degree in 1665, and was the last, probably, of the Cheever pupils, as the schoolmaster removed to Charlestown, in November 1661. He taught there nine years, and was then called to the Latin school in Boston, where he taught till his death.

Shortly before Mr. Cheever's removal in the year 1660, the fund of the Grammar School was greatly enlarged through the

¹ Sibley: *Harvard Graduates*, vol. II, p. 1.

bequest by Mr. William Paine of Little Neck, which is still held by the Feoffees, and the income derived from it is still appropriated for the Manning school. Mr. Thomas Andrews was chosen as Mr. Cheever's successor and maintained the high reputation of the School until his death on Nov. 27, 1683, and the Grammar School boys came forth in honor from the College. In 1669, there were the brothers, Samuel and Daniel Epes, sons of Daniel and Elizabeth, the daughter of Deputy Governor Symonds, the latter of whom was a famous schoolmaster in Salem for many years. In 1671, William Adams, son of William Adams, completed his course. His Diary reveals a brave struggle with poverty, which cost him many pangs. Once he walked from Cambridge to Ipswich, and, returning on his uncle Daniel Epes's horse, he lost his way in Charlestown woods, and lay out all night completely bewildered. He became the Pastor at Dedham. In the same class was John Norton, son of William and nephew of Rev. John Norton, who was ordained colleague with Rev. Peter Hobart of Hingham, and preached in the meeting house known as the "Old Ship," which was opened for public worship on the 8th of January 1681-2.

Thus through the medium of the College, the Town was constantly sending the choicest of her youth into the ministry, and the Ipswich church was destined to share richly in the good fruit of her early and high regard for the best education.

Upon the death of Nathaniel Rogers, Thomas Cobbet was called from Lynn to occupy the vacant pulpit. He had been a student at Oxford, and he was the last of the English University men to fill the Ipswich pastorate. He was prominent in all ecclesiastical affairs, wrote many books and pamphlets of a controversial sort, and discharged his duty in all civil matters with zeal. As a preacher, he may not have excelled, if the judgment of one of his Lynn parish is to be credited, who was brought to the bar of the Quarter Sessions Court for affirming he had as lief hear a dog bark as Mr. Cobbet preach. But Cotton Mather extols his mastery of public prayer. He wrote "a Large, Nervous, Golden Discourse of Prayer." . . . "Of all the Books written by Mr. Cobbet none deserves more to be Read by the World, or to Live till the General Burning of the World, than that of Prayer. And indeed Prayer, the Subject

so Experimentally, and therefore Judiciously, therefore Profitably, therein handled, was not the least of those things, for which Mr. Cobbet was Remarkable. He was a very Praying Man, and his Prayers were not more observable throughout New England, for the Argumentative, the Importunate, and I had almost said, Filially Familiar, Strains of them, than for the wonderful Successes that attended them. . . . That Golden Chain one End whereof is tied unto the Tongue of Man, the other End unto the Ear of God (which is as Just, as Old, a Resembling of Prayer) our Cobbet was always pulling at, and he often pull'd unto such Marvellous purpose, that the Neighbours were almost ready to sing of him, as Claudian did upon the prosperous Prayers of Theodosius,

O Nimum Dilecte Deo."¹

At the beginning of his pastorate, Mr. Cobbet received as his colleague, William Hubbard, the Harvard graduate of 1642, the first in the line of Harvard men and of Ipswich men in the famous pulpit of the Ipswich church. Mr. Hubbard's homestead was on the sightly knoll now owned and occupied by Mr. Gustavus Kinsman.² He dwelt here we are sure in later years, until his involved financial condition compelled him to sell the paternal inheritance. His ministry was eminent for its literary fruitfulness. In 1677, he published a "Narrative of the Troubles with the Indians in New England," of which Prof. M. C. Tyler observes, "If, in the seventeenth century was produced in America any prose work which, for its almost universal diffusion among the people, deserves the name of an American classic, it is this work."³ It is still recognized as the best of the old chronicles of this period.

His "General History of New England from the Discovery to 1680" was left in manuscript and was first printed in 1815 by the Massachusetts Historical Society. He borrowed so largely from Morton's New England Memorial and Winthrop's Journal, that this work can scarcely be considered as more than

¹ A remarkable instance of answer to prayer, as it was regarded, occurred during King Philip's war, when his son was in captivity.

² Publications of the Ipswich Historical Society. No. IX, History of the Old Argilla Road, pp. 7-9.

³ History of American Literature, vol. I, p. 133.

a compilation. Nevertheless, Mr. Hubbard was a large figure in his day, far superior to Mr. Cobbet in gifts and attainments. One thoughtful critic has declared that he "certainly was for many years the most eminent minister in the county of Essex, equal to any in the province for learning and candour; and superior to all his contemporaries as a writer."¹

Mr. Hubbard invited his brother-in-law, the scholarly John Rogers, son of Rev. Nathaniel Rogers, of the Harvard class of 1649, to be his associate in the ministry. Mr. Rogers continued the practice of medicine with his pulpit work, and gained eminence for his literary attainments. This busy, many-sided man was reckoned far above the ordinary, and, in 1677, on the death of Leonard Hoar, he was chosen President of Harvard. He declined this honor and Urian Oakes was elected, but on the death of Mr. Oakes, he was elected again, and was solemnly inaugurated on the 12th of August, 1683. Commencement day of the next year fell on the first day of July, an occasion of special interest to Mr. Rogers, as the first Commencement of his Presidency, and the graduation day of his eldest son John, and the young John Denison, son of Rev. John Denison, and grandson of Major General Denison and Deputy Governor Symonds. He was taken sick suddenly at Commencement time and died on the following day, July 2, 1684, widely and sincerely lamented. He was laid in the old burying-ground in Cambridge, under the shadow of the College, and the high sounding Latin and Greek epitaph carved upon his headstone still recounts his virtues: "a treasury of benevolence, a storehouse of theologic learning, a library of the choicest literature, a living system of medicine, an embodiment of integrity, a repository of faith, a pattern of Christian sympathy, a garner of all virtues."

This scholarly man added to his scientific and theologic attainments a fine taste and capacity for poetry. It has already been remarked that Ann Bradstreet, during her residence in Ipswich, attained renown as the first poet of the New World. It is a singular and noteworthy fact that the two men of the following generation, whose poetry is worth recognition, were

¹ J. Eliot: Biographical Dictionary.

Ipswich men. President John Rogers was only a boy of fourteen when Ann Bradstreet removed to Andover, and could have received no direct personal impression from her genius. John Norton, the Hingham Pastor, was twenty years younger than Rogers. Both were admirers of her muse, and both were moved to poetry to voice their regret at her death.

Professor Tyler finds in Mr. Rogers's poem addressed to Anne Bradstreet, his only poem, "a monument of the keen enthusiasm which the writings of that admirable woman awakened among the bright, young scholars of New England during the latter part of her own life and for some years afterward."¹

"Though in one place the poem lapses into a conceit that is gross . . . upon the whole it is very noble: it is of high and sustained imaginative expression: it shows, likewise that this Puritan scholar, of our little college in the New England wilderness, had not only conversed to good purpose with the classics of pagan antiquity, but had even dared to overleap the barriers interposed by his own sect between themselves and the more dreadful Christian classics of the Elizabethan singers:

"Madam, twice through the Muses' grove I walked,
Under your blissful bowers I shrouding there.
It seemed with nymphs of Helicon I talked;
For there those sweet-lipped sisters sporting were;
Apollo with his sacred lute sate by;
On high they made their heavenly sonnets fly;
Posies around they strewed, of sweetest poesy.

Twice have I drunk the nectar of your lines,
Which high sublimed my mean-born fantasy,
Flushed with these streams of your Maronian wines,
Above myself rapt to an ecstasy,
Methought I was upon Mount Hybla's top.
There where I might those fragrant flowers lop,
Whence did sweet odors flow and honey-spangles drop."²

John Norton published only an election sermon in 1708 and in 1678 a poem occasioned by the death of Ann Bradstreet. "It is this poem, 'A Funeral Elogy upon that pattern and patron

¹ History of American Literature, vol. II, p. 13.

² For the whole poem, see the Works of Ann Bradstreet, edited by John Harvard Ellis.

of virtue.' that will preserve for him a high and permanent memory among the few real singers of our colonial time. We know not what else he did in verse, but certainly the force and beauty that are in this little poem could not have been caught at one grasp of the hand."¹

"Some do for anguish weep: for anger, I,
That Ignorance should live and Art should die,
Black, fatal, dismal, inauspicious day!

Be it the first of miseries to all,
Or last of life defamed for funeral,
When this day yearly comes, let every one
Cast in their urn the black and dismal stone,
Succeeding years, as they their circuit go,
Leap o'er this day, as a sad time of woe.

Virtue ne'er dies: time will a poet raise,
Born under better stars, shall sing thy praise.
Praise her who list, yet he shall be a debtor:
For Art ne'er feigned, nor Nature framed, a better.
Her virtues were so great, that they do raise,
A work to trouble fame, astonish praise.

Beneath her feet, pale Envy bites her chain,
And Poison-Malice whets her sting in vain.
Let every laurel, every myrtle-bough,
Be stript for leaves to adorn and load her brow:

Victorious wreaths, which 'cause they never fade,
Wise elder times for kings and poets made.
Let not her happy memory e'er lack
Its worth in Fame's eternal almanac,
Which none shall read, but straight their loss deplore,
And blame their fates they were not born before."²

Mr. Cobbet died in 1686, and Mr. Hubbard invited his nephew, John Rogers, son of the President, and John Denison, to assist him in the ministry, but Denison was frail in health, and

¹ M. C. Tyler: *History of American Literature*, vol. II, p. 9.

² The whole poem is in *The Works of Ann Bradstreet*, edited by John Harvard Ellis.

died in 1689, in the twenty-fourth year of his age, leaving a widow Elizabeth, only daughter of Nathaniel Saltonstall, and sister of his classmate, Gurdon Saltonstall, and a son John, who graduated from Harvard in the class of 1710. John Rogers continued in his ministry until his death in 1745 in his eightieth year, having as the associate of his later years, his son Nathaniel, a graduate in the Harvard class of 1721. Mr. Hubbard prolonged his service until 1703, when his colleague, Jabez Fitch, of the class of 1694 succeeded him, and died on Sept. 14, 1704, at the venerable age of eighty-three.

The good work of the Grammar School, carried on by Thomas Andrews until 1683, was continued by Noadiah Russell until 1687. Francis Wainwright, son of the merchant of the same name, and Daniel Rogers, son of the late President, took their Harvard degrees in 1686. Wainwright became a merchant, a Representative in General Court, and a Colonel in the Port Royal expedition. Rogers became the Teacher of his old school, and remained in it until 1716, fitting fifteen young men in that time for the College.¹ In after years, he became Justice of the Quarter Sessions Court and Register of Probate, and lost his life in tragic fashion on the Salisbury marshes² in 1722.

The third son of the President to take academic honors, Nathaniel, graduated in 1687, became minister at Portsmouth, where he died in 1723. Wm. Paine was among the graduates of 1689, Rev. John Wade in the class of 1693, Doctor John Perkins in the class of 1695, and Rev. Francis Goodhue, son of Capt. William, in the class of 1699, who died in 1707. Rev. Jeremiah Wise son of Rev. John Wise of Chebacco rounded out the century in the class of 1700.

Thus the Grammar School made liberal contribution to the ranks of broad-minded and scholarly men in the learned professions, and in business life, and the debt of gratitude that was due to Harvard College is abundantly recognized in the regular rates that were raised by taxation for the relief of the College.

Seven pounds six shillings and seven pence were appropriated in 1664 and in 1665. In 1677, the General Court sent a letter to our town, praying for a subscription for the new brick build-

¹ Sibley's *Harvard Graduates*, vol. III.

² *Publications of Ipswich Historical Society*, xi, p. 35.

ing, which lagged for want of funds, and in 1681, a committee was appointed to gather up what was behind for the College, and John Dutch's sloop was laden with seventy-eight and a half bushels of corn and thirty one and three quarters of malt, valued at £19 15s. for the College.¹

Grave complications in political affairs, the heavy financial burdens resulting from King Philip's war, the tense strain induced by the renewed attacks upon the Charter, the convulsed social condition of the Ursurpation period, were not allowed to cool the interest of Ipswich in the struggling College. Through all these troubled years, the School did its work, sending many up to the College, and many more into business and political life, and Ipswich had her reward in the high standard of her citizenship, her patriotic devotion to the noblest ideals, her prosperous and powerful place in the Colony.

¹ Felt's History of Ipswich, pp. 92, 93.

CHAPTER XIII.

KING PHILIP'S WAR.

Since the year 1653, there had been no fear of Indian assaults. The settlers went to work in the fields, or assembled for public worship, and journeys were made over the lonely roads through the forests without suspicion of danger. But, at last, there were signs of an approaching rupture in the peaceful relations between the English and the Indians. A chief of commanding influence, Metacun, the son of Massasoit, known commonly by his English name, Philip, dwelt at Mount Hope, near the present town of Bristol, Rhode Island. He had sold his tribal lands so extensively, that his people began to feel the pressure of civilization. The settlers had dealt unfairly in many instances in their traffic with the natives. They had deprived them of their arms, on pretence of treachery, and had occupied their lands without purchase. Brooding over his wrongs, Philip organized a plot for the extermination of his dangerous neighbors. It was discovered by a Christian Indian, who reported it to the authorities of Plymouth Colony. Philip condemned the informer to death, and he was slain in January, 1674. Three Indians were brought to trial for the crime and sentenced to death. Two of them were executed in June, 1675, and Philip began at once to plan for his revenge.

On the 24th of June, 1675, the first blow was struck. The town of Swansea in the Plymouth colony was attacked and eight or nine of the English were slain. A foot company under Captain Daniel Henchman and Captain Thomas Prentice with a troop of horse were dispatched from Boston toward Mount Hope on the 26th. The state of affairs was critical and with true Puritan reverence, the 29th of June was set apart as a day of humiliation and prayer. The troops met the enemy near Swansea and some lives were lost on both sides. It soon became evident that a general Indian uprising was imminent. On the

14th of July Mendon, about 36 miles from Boston and within the bounds of the Massachusetts Colony, was assailed and four or five of the settlers were killed, and on Aug. 2nd the full horrors of an Indian war were revealed in the bloody affair at Brookfield.

Captain Edward Hutchinson, accompanied by his troopers, and some of the men of Brookfield went to the place agreed on with the Indians for a conference, near the town of Brookfield, and not meeting them there, pushed on to find them. In a narrow defile, shut in by a rocky hill on one side and a swamp on the other, they were suddenly fired on, and in the short, sharp fight that followed eight were slain. Retreating to the town, they made their stand in the garrison house. The Indians assailed them hotly with loud yells. One young man, the son of William Pritchard, who had been slain in the morning, was killed while venturing away from the garrison. They cut off his head, tossed it about in plain sight of the beleaguered settlers, and then set it on a pole against the door of his father's house. The Indians endeavored repeatedly to burn the garrison house, and, after several unsuccessful attempts, were just completing a long cart filled with combustibles, and provided with poles, with which they could push it against the house. A providential shower wet the kindling-wood so thoroughly that it would not burn readily.

The news of this affair must have caused many a pang in Ipswich. A plantation six miles square, near Quabaug Ponds, had been granted by the General Court in 1660 to some persons of Ipswich, if twenty families and an approved minister be there in three years. In 1667, on the 15th of May, the Court voted that the time be extended for a year from the next midsummer, as only six or seven families had settled there. John Warner and William Pritchard removed from Ipswich to the new settlement in the year it was granted, and Captain John Ayres was a resident there in 1672.¹ Other Ipswich folk may have migrated thither, and the tale of the tragic death of Ayres and the Pritchards, and the sufferings of their families in the garrison house made the war vividly real and terrible.

In the year 1675, the Essex regiment was commanded by

¹ Felt's History of Ipswich, pp. 75, 76.

Major Denison. The Ipswich company had for its officers, Denison as Captain, Samuel Appleton as Lieutenant and Thomas Burnham as Ensign. The first Essex troop, recruited in Salem and vicinity, and the second Essex troop, which was composed of Ipswich and Newbury men, were also attached to this regiment.

Of Denison, it has already been said that his military skill was so highly esteemed, that he had been elected Major General of the Colony's forces. Lieutenant Samuel Appleton was brother of Captain John. Their father, Samuel, had emigrated from Little Waldingfield in England to Ipswich about 1636, and had taken a place of honor at once in his new home. He was chosen Deputy in 1637.

John, his elder son, born in 1622, began his public career in 1656, when he was chosen Deputy to the General Court. He was continued by successive yearly elections until 1664, and was elected again in 1665 and 1667, 1669 to 1671, and 1674 to 1678. Samuel, two years younger, attained public notice more slowly. He was forty-six years old when he was chosen Deputy for the first time, succeeding his brother. From 1669 to 1671, both brothers were members of the Court, and Samuel was again in office in 1673 and 1675. From this year to the end of his life, we shall find him a conspicuous figure in all affairs of the highest moment.

Another resident of Ipswich, the Reverend William Hubbard, is of great interest, as the Historian of the Indian wars. His intimate knowledge of all the events of King Philip's war, and his close personal friendship with Denison, Appleton, Whipple and all the soldiers of Ipswich, fitted him for his work in rare degree.

Upon the breaking out of the war, Denison had been appointed commander-in-chief of the Massachusetts troops. His commission is an interesting document, and the Instructions that were sent him are an admirable epitome of the spirit of the times, which insisted on the utmost regard for the offices of religion even under the most trying circumstances.¹

As the General was prevented by sickness from taking the field, Major Thomas Savage was appointed to the command of

¹Mass. Archives, book 67, leaves 206, 208.

the active operations.¹ Denison, however, directed the movements of the troops. In the latter part of July a levy of troops had been made in Essex County² and immediately after the disaster at Brookfield, Captain Lathrop of Salem was sent with a company from Salem and the neighboring towns, including some from Ipswich. Captain Beers also marched from Watertown with his command. The troops gathered at Brookfield and Hadley, but no body of Indians was discovered. Many towns were threatened and the soldiers were kept on the move.

With the beginning of September, the war was pressed most vigorously along the Connecticut River. On the first of that month, Deerfield was burned and one man killed. Two or three days later,³ the Indians attacked Squakeag, now Northfield, where they killed nine or ten of the people. The next day Captain Beers, with thirty-six men, marched to relieve the garrison at Squakeag, not hearing of the disaster of the day before, and was ambuscaded by a large number of Indians. He made a brave defence, but after a valiant fight, he and about twenty of his men were slain. Rev. William Hubbard, in his *History of the Indian Wars*, remarks, in this connection, "Here the barbarous Villians showed their insolent Rage and Cruelty, more than ever before, cutting off the Heads of some of the Slain, and fixing them upon Poles near the Highway; and not only so, but one (if no more) was found with a Chain hooked into his under Jaw, and so hung up on the Bow of a Tree ('tis feared he was hung up alive) by which Means they thought to daunt and discourage any that might come to their Relief, and also to terrifie those that should be Spectators with the Beholding so sad an object; insomuch that Major Treat with his Company, going up two days after, to fetch off the Residue of the Garrison, were solemnly affected with that doleful Sight, which made them make the more Haste to bring down the Garrison, not waiting for any Opportunity to take Revenge upon the Enemy, having but an hundred with him, too few for such a purpose. Captain Appleton going up after him, met him coming down, and would willingly have persuaded them, to have

¹ Mass. Archives, book 67, leaf 207.

² Bodge, *Soldiers of King Philip's War*, p. 128.

³ Bodge, *Soldiers of King Philip's War*, p. 32, says Sept. 2.

turned back, to see if they could have made any Spoil upon the Enemy; but the greatest Part advised to the Contrary, so that they were all forced to return with what they could carry away leaving the Rest for a Booty to the Enemy, who shall ere long pay a sad Reckoning for their Robberies and Cruelties, in the Time appointed."

This is the first mention of Captain Samuel Appleton in this neighborhood. He had taken the field with his company about the first of September, it is commonly thought, and he and his Ipswich soldiers had a grewsome beginning of their warfare, marching over the road lined with the dismembered bodies of their fellow soldiers, and the smoking ruins of the farms. It was a valiant beginning withal, of which we are proud, when Captain Appleton, amid these depressing surroundings, urged his superior officer to turn back and attack the enemy. Other counsels prevailed, and the troops were distributed as garrisons at Northampton, Hatfield, Deerfield and Hadley. Captain Appleton was stationed at Deerfield¹ and arrived there about the tenth of September.

On the 17th of August, Gen. Denison sent orders from Boston to Major Richard Waldron to proceed to Pennicook (Concord), "supposed to be the genall Randevous of ye enemy where you may expect to meet Capt. Mosely, who is ordered thither." He instructed him to take a chirurgion with him, and informed him that the main body of the soldiers was at Hadley.²

On Sunday the 12th of September, the soldiers and settlers at Deerfield gathered for worship in the stockade. Returning, the north garrison was ambuscaded, with the loss of one man captured. Appleton rallied his men and attacked them and drove them off, but the north fort had been plundered and set on fire, and much of the settlers' stock stolen. As he had not force enough to guard the forts and engage in offensive operations, the Indians still hung round insultingly and burned two more houses.

"Red tape and a storm prevented action that night, but the next night a party of volunteers, with a few from Hadley, and 'some of Lathrop's men' came up to the relief of our town.

¹ Sheldon, *History of Deerfield*, vol. I, p. 98.

² Mass. Archives, book 67, leaf 241.

On the morning of Tuesday, the 14th, the united forces under Appleton marched to Pine Hill. Spies had doubtless reported the arrival of reinforcements, and the Indians had all fled."¹

It was decided that Deerfield should be abandoned, and as there was a large amount of corn already threshed, it was loaded on carts and Captain Lathrop was detailed to guard the teams on their way to Hadley. No Indians were known to be in the neighborhood. Upon September 18th, Hubbard writes, "that most fatal Day, the Saddest that ever befel New England, as the Company were marching along with the Carts (it may be too securely) never apprehending Danger so near, were suddenly set upon, and almost all cut off (not above seven or eight escaping)." The ambuscade was cunningly placed at Muddy Brook, and while the line of march was strung out in crossing, the deadly attack was made. Captain Lathrop was wholly unsuspecting of danger, "which gross Mistake of his, was the Ruine of a choice Company of young Men, the very Flower of the County of Essex, all called out of the Towns belonging to that County, none of which were ashamed to speak with the enemy in the Gate; their dear Relations at Home mourning for them, like Rachel for her Children, and would not be comforted, not only because they were not, but because they were so miserably lost." The number of the slain, including Captain Lathrop, as reported by Rev. John Russell of Hadley in a letter written shortly afterward, was seventy-one. Only a few escaped. Among the dead, were several Ipswich men, Thomas Hobbs, Caleb Kimball, John Littlehale,² Thomas Manninge, Thomas Mentor, and Jacob Wainwright. They were all buried in a single grave near the place where they fell.

The Ipswich Historian, Rev. Mr. Hubbard, narrates, "As Captain Mosely came upon the Indians in the Morning, he found them stripping the Slain, amongst whom was one Robert Dutch of Ipswich, having been sorely wounded by a Bullet that rased to his Skull, and then mauled by the Indian Hatchets, was left for dead by the Salvages, and stript by them of all but his skin; yet when Captain Mosely came near, he almost miraculously,

¹ Sheldon, *History of Deerfield*, I, p. 100.

² In the Ipswich deeds, vol. IV, 54, "the Inventory of the estate of John Littlehale, being slane with Capt. Lathrop," is recorded in full.

as one raised from the Dead, came towards the English, to their no small Amazement, by whom being received and cloathed, he was carried off to the next Garrison, and is living and in perfect Health at this Day. May he be to the Friends and Relations of the Rest of the Slain an Emblem of their more perfect Resurrection at the last Day, to receive their Crowns among the Rest of the Martyrs that have laid down and ventured their Lives, as a Testimony to the Truth of their Religion, as well as Love to their Country."

Captain Appleton and his Ipswich company seem to have been stationed at Hadley, and his value as a military leader was becoming more and more evident to the Council of the Colony. Instructions were sent to Captain Wayte:

"The Council do order and appoint Captain John Wayte to conduct the 120 men appointed to rendezvooze at Marlborough the 28th day of this instant September & to deliver them unto the order of Maior John Pincheon, Commander in Cheefe in the County of Hampshire, & it is further ordered y^t in case Captain Samuel Appleton should be com away from those parts then the said Captain Wait is ordered to take the conduct and chardge of a Company of 100 men under Maior John Pincheon, but in case Captain Apleton do abide there then Captain Wait is forthwith to returne Backe unles Maior Pincheon see cause to returne him upon y^e service of the country.

past E. R. S. 24 Sept. 1675

It is ordered that there be a commission issued forth to Capt. Samuel Appleton to Command a foot Company of 100 men In the service of y^e country. But in case hee should be com away from those parts then that Capt. Waite is to have (a) like commission.

past 24 Sept. 1675

Ordered By y^e Council y^t y^e Commissary Jn^o Morse deliver Mr. Thomas Welden snaphant musket."¹

Capt. Appleton already held a local commission as Captain of the Ipswich company. He undoubtedly received the new commission, as he continued to act with Major Pyncheon.

¹ Mass. Archives, book 67, leaf 265.

On the 26th of September, the Indians appeared at Springfield and burned Major Pyncheon's barns and outbuildings. He was then at Hadley, and the report of these losses, following close upon the reverse at Bloody Brook, completely unnerved him. He wrote from Hadley to the Council on Sept. 30th, pleading for release from his command as he was so distracted about his home affairs and reporting that two of the settlers had been killed at Northampton. He added in a postscript "Capt. Appleton is a man y^t is desirous to doe something in this day of distress; being very sensible of y^e cause & people of God at stake: & is much to be comended & encouraged & upon y^t acct. to be p^rferred before many y^t dare not Jeopard there Lives in y^e high Places of y^e field."¹

Major Pyncheon's high regard for Captain Appleton may have been due to long acquaintance. The wife of the Major was Margaret, daughter of the Rev. Wm. Hubbard, and in an old deed of the Hubbard property, the seven acre field, from which the house had disappeared, is called "Pinchon's Close," and the name is remembered by one of our oldest residents in that neighborhood.²

On the 5th of October, Captain Mosely wrote from Hadley, "Major Pinchon is gone with Cap^{tn} Apleton and Cap^{tn} Sill wth a company of above 190 souldirs"³ They hurried to Springfield but found the town in flames, and the Indians already fled. Major Pyncheon's grist mills, Rev. Mr. Glover's Parsonage with his valuable library, and nearly all the buildings were destroyed. Rev. John Russell wrote a letter which described the disaster, and lamented that Hadley would be the next to drink the bitter cup. "Perhaps," he wrote, "the impowring of some man or men, as the Honored Major or Captain Appleton, or both to direct and order us fortifications might not be unusefull."⁴ Completely broken down by these disasters, Major Pyncheon wrote to Governor Leverett describing the pitiful condition of affairs, and praying that a more competent commander be chosen.

¹ Mass. Archives, book 67, leaves 273, 274.

² Publications of the Ipswich Historical Society, ix, p. 8.

³ Mass. Archives, book 67, leaf 281.

⁴ Mass. Archives, book 67, leaves 288, 289.

SPRINGFIELD, OCT. 8, 1675.

Honored Sr,

I desired Mr Russel to give you an acct of ye sore stroake upon Pore distressed Springfeild, w^{ch} I hope will excuse my late doeing of it. On ye 4th of Oct. or soldiers w^{ch} were at Springfeild, I had called all off, leaving none to secure ye Towne, ye comissioners order was so strict. That Night, word was sent to us that 500 Indians were about Springfeild, intending to destroy it; so y^t ye 5th of Oct. wth about 200 of or soldiers, I marched down to Springfeild where we found all in flames, about 30 dwelling houses burnt downe, & 24 or 25 Barnes, my Corn Mille, Sawmill & other Buildings. Generally, men's hay & corne is Burnt, & many men, whose houses stand, had their goods burnt in other houses w^{ch} they had caryed y^m too: Leift. Cooper & 2 more slayne, & 4 psons wounded, 2 of w^{ch} are doubtfull of their Recovery. The L^d hath made us to drink deepe of the cup of sorrow. I desire we may Consider ye opperation of his hand & what he speakes. Yet that ye Towne did not utterly perish is cause of grt Thankfulness.

As soone as or forces appeared, ye Indians all drew off so y^t wee saw none of y^m: — sent out scouts y^t Night & ye next day, but discovered none neither can we satisfye o^rselves w^{ch} way they are gon, their Tracts being many ways. We think they are gon downe ye River. Or last discovery was of a Considerable Tract upwards. Or indeavors here are to secure ye houses & Corne y^t is left. Providence hath obstructed or going out wth ye Army & w^t can be done I am at a great loss: Or People are under grt discouragement, Talk of Leaving ye Place; we need y^r orders & direction about it. If it be deserted, how wofully doe we yield & incourage or insolent enmy, & how doth it make way for ye giving up of all ye Towns above: If it be held it must be by strength & many soldiers, and how to have provision, I meane bread for want of a Mille, is difficult: ye Soldiers here already complaine on y^t acct, although we have flesh enough; & this very trouble, I meane noe Mille, will drive many or Inhabitants away, especially those y^t have noe corne, & many of them noe houses, w^{ch} fills & throngs up every Roome of those y^t have to go there wth ye soldiers (w^{ch} yet we cannot be wthout) now increasing or Numbers: so y^t indeed it is very uncomfortable living here & for my owne pticular it were far better for me to goe away, than bee here where I have not anything left, I meane noe corne, neither Indian nor English, and noe means to keepe one beast here, nor can I have Reliefe in this Towne, because so many are destitute. But I resolve to attend what God calls me to, & to stick to it as long as I can, & though I have such grt loss of my comforts, yet to doe what

I can for defending y^e Place. I hope G^d will make up in himself what is wanting in y^e creature, to mee & to us all.

This day a Post is sent up from Hartford, to call off Major Treat wth a p^t of his soldiers, from Intelligence they have of a p^{ty} of Indians lying ag^t Wethersfeld on y^e East side of y^e River. So y^t matters of action here doe linger exceedingly, w^{ch} makes me wonder what y^e L^d intends with his People; Strange Providences diverting us in all o^r hopefull designes; & y^e L^d giving opportunity to y^e Enmy to do us mischief, & then hiding of y^m and answering all o^r Prayers by Terrible things in righteousness.

S^r, I am not capable of holding any Comand, being more & more unfit & almost confounded in my understanding: the L^d direct y^r Pitch on a meeter pson than ever I was: according to Liberty from y^e Councill, I shall devolve all upon Cap^t Appleton, unless Major Treat return againe, when y^{ou} shall give yo^r orders as shall be most meete to yo^r selves.

To speake my thoughts, all these Townes ought to be Gar- risoned, as I have formerly hinted, and had I bin left to my- selfe, should, I think, have done y^t, w^{ch} possibly might have prevented this damage. But y^e express order to doe as I did was by y^e wise directing hand of God, who knew it best for us, & herein we must acquiesce.

And truly to goe out after y^e Indians in y^e swamps & thickets is to hassard all o^r men, unless we knew where they keepe, w^{ch} is altogether unknowne to us, & God hides from us, for ends best known to himself.

I have many tymes thought y^t y^e winter were y^e tyme to fall on y^m, but there are such difficultys y^t I shall leave it, yet suggest it to consideration. I will not further trouble y^{ou} at p^r sent, but earnestly crave y^r prayers for y^e L^{ds} undertaking for us, & sanctifying all his stroakes to us.

I remain, y^r unworthy serv^t

JOHN PYNCHON.

We are in gr^t hassard if we doe but stir out, for fear to be shot downe by some skulking Indians. Mr. Glover had all his Bookes Burnt, not so much as a Bible saved; a gr^t loss, for he had some choise Bookes & many.¹

The Council had already replied on October 4th, very courteously and sympathetically, to his earlier request, relieving him of his command and commissioning Captain Appleton in his place.

¹Mass. Archives, book 67, leaves 286, 287.

Honoured Sir¹

Your letter dat Sept. 29 wee received and although wee could have desired your continuance in that trust committed to you as comander over o^r forces in y^r p^{ts}, yet considering your great importunity y^e reasons alledged wee cann but greatly simpathize with you in y^e present dispensation of Divine Providence towards your family in your absence and have ordered Capt. Apelton to take the charge as Comander in Cheife over the united forces whiles in o^r Colony, and uppon a removall of the seat of Warr the Comanders to take place according to (the) appoyntment of y^e Commissioners.

Inclosed in this letter to Major Pynchon was Captain Appleton's commission as Commander-in-chief.

THE COUNCIL OF MASSACHUSETTS TO CAPTAIN SAMUEL APPLETON.

Capt. Appleton,

The Council have seriously considered the earnest desires of major Pynchon & the great affliction upon him & his family, & have at last consented to his request to dismiss him from the cheefe comānd over the Army in those parts, and have thought meet, upon mature thoughts, to comitt the cheefe comānd unto yourselfe, beeing perswaded that God hath endeowed you with a spirit and ability to manage that affayre; & for the Better inabling you to yo^r imploy, we have sent the Councill's order Inclosed to Major Pynchon to bee given you; and wee reffer you to the Instructions given him for yo^r direction ordering you from time to time to give us advise of all occurrences, & if you need any further orders & instructions, they shall be given you as y^e matter shall require. So comitting you to the Lord, desiring his presence with you and blessing upon you, wee remaine:

Your friends and servants.

BOSTON, 4th of October,
1675.

Captain Samuel Appleton,
Commander in chiefe at the head quarters at Hadley.

The position to which he was called was full of difficulty. The Indians had ravaged the country so sorely and had inflicted such terrible losses upon the forces sent against them, that a general feeling of discouragement prevailed. The authority

¹ Mass. Archives, book 67, leaf 280.

vested in him was not supreme. The Connecticut Colony sent soldiers into the field, under Major Treat, who looked for his direction to the Joint Commissioners of the three Colonies, or the Council of Connecticut. Friction between the two officers was inevitable under such a system. The choice of Captain Appleton under these circumstances reveals the confidence of the Council in his prudence, skill and courage. He had carried himself so bravely in the campaign, that all turned to him as the man for the hour.

His first letter to Governor Leverett is of special interest, as revealing his modest sense of incapacity for the momentous requirements of his office, and his dissent from the order of the Council that the soldiers be not used for garrison duty in the neighboring towns. Major Treat's absence was a great embarrassment to him.

CAPT. APPLETON TO GOVERNOR LEVERETT.¹

OCT. 12, 1675.

Right Worps^d

Yors by Leift. Upham I received; as alsoe that of Octobr 9th from yors: together wth the order from y^e Commission^{rs}, concerning the number & order of managem^t of the forces in these parts. In reference whereto, I humbly p^rsent two things to yo^r consideration; first, as to the ordering the chiefe comānd to one of such an inferior capacity, the very thoughts of it were and are to me such matter of trouble & humiliation, as that I know not how to induce my spirit to any Compliance therewth, lest it should prove matter of detriment and not help to the publike, ffrom w^{ch} nothingshould have moved me but y^e Consideration of y^e p^rsent exigence, together wth the remembrance of that duty I owe to yors: and the comōn concerns; unto w^{ch} the Honored Major having added his sorrowfull complaints, for w^{ch} there was such abundant & manefest cause. It was indeede an hart breaking thinge to me, & forced me against my own spirit to yeild to y^e improvem^t to y^e whole of my small talent in yo^r service, untill I might send to yo^rselves (w^{ch} now I doe) to intreate that there may be speedily an appointm^t of some other more able to y^e worke, and likely to obtain y^e desired end. I humbly intreate yo^r most serious consideration and help herin.

¹ Mass. Archives, book 68, leaf 3.

Secondly, my humble request is that you would be pleased to revise that part of yo^r own and the Hono^rd Commission^{rs} order, w^{ch} doth strictly prohibite the fixeing of any of o^r souldiers in garrison. I doubt not but y^e reasons inducing hereto were weighty; which notwthstanding, we finde the attendance here extreemly hazzardous to y^e losse of o^r Towns (w^{ch} is y^e loss of all) as appears both by y^e lamentable experience we have had at Springfield, as also by what is obvious to the eye of each man's reason. The thoughts hereof putt us to great straights. Most willingly would we attend y^e expresse letter of yo^r order, & yet cannot but tremble at the thoughts of exposing the Towns to ruine. Be pleased, as seasonably as may be, to give us yo^r resolve herin.

As to the state of poor desolate Springfeild, to whose releife we came (tho wth a march that had putt all o^r men into a most violent sweate, and was more than they could well bear) too late, their conditione is indeede most afflicted, there being about thirty three houses and twenty-five barns burnt, and about fiftene houses left unburnt. The people are full of fear & staggering in their thoughts, as to their keeping or leaving of the place. They whose houses & provisons are consumed incline to leave the place, as thinking they can better labor for a liveing in places of lesse danger then that where now they are; hence seeme unwilling to stay, except they might freely share in the Corn & provision w^{ch} is remaining and preserved by the sword. I cannot but think it conduciue to the publike (& for ought I see, to the private) interest y^t the place be kept; there being corn and provision enough and to spare for the sustenance of the persons whose number is Considerable and cannot be maintained elsewhere wth out more than almost any place can afford to their releife. The worth of the place is also Considerable, and the holding of it will give much incouragement and help to others; and the quitting of it great discouragem^t to others, and hazzard to o^r passage from one place to another; it being so vast a distance from Hadley to any other Town on this side the River.

I have, in regard of p^rsent distresse of y^e poor people, adventured to leave Capt Sill there, to be ordered by the Hono^red Major untill further orders be received. What hazzard I run I am not insensible, but do rather chuse to adventure hazzard to myselfe than to y^e publike, and so draw myselfe to yo^r worps: mercy in so doing.

We are at p^rsent in a broken posture, uncapable of any great action, by reason of Major Treat his absence; who upon a report of Indians lower down the River about Hartford, was (while I was absent) recalled by y^e Councill of Connecticut, upon the eighth of this instant, & is not yet returned, nor doe I know how it is wth him nor when he is like to return. We

have sent to y^e Councill of Connecticutt signifying y^t or Colony having bin mindful to compleate their numbers, we do earnestly intreate and expect his speedy returne, and y^t y^e Amunition now at Hartford & needed by us may be brought up under their guard. Hereto we have not yet received answer.

In the account of Springfield houses we only p^resented y^e number of them on the East side of the River & y^t in the Town platt; ffor in all on the West side & in the outskirts on y^e East side, there are about sixty houses standing, and much Corn in & about them, w^{ch} coming into the Indian hands will yield great support to them. We have bin considering y^e making of a boate or boats, & finde it not adviseable; first, because the River is not Navigable, & so none made here can be had up; Secondly, should we make any above the falls, there must be an army to guard the workmen in the worke; Thirdly, we finde exceeding hard, by any provision, to secure or men in the boats, by reason y^t y^e high banks of y^e River give y^e enemy so great advantage of shooting downward upon us; And lastly, as we must follow the enemy where he will goe, we must either leave a very strong guard upon or boats or lose them perhaps as soon as made. There being now come in sixty men under Capt. Poole and Lieft. Upham, and we needing Comanders, especially part of or men being now at Springfield & we not daring to send all thither, we have retained Capt. Poole to comānd these sixty men untill further orders be given.

We are but this evening come up from Springfield, and are applying o^rselves p^resently to y^e sending out scouts for y^e discovery of the enemy, y^t so the Lord assisting, we may wth these forces that we have, be making some onsett upon him, to do some things for y^e glory of God and reliefe of his distressed people: the sence of w^{ch} is so much upon my hart, y^t I count not my life too dear to venture in any motion wherein I can perswade myselfe I may be in a way of his Providence, and expect his gracious p^resence, w^{thout} w^{ch} all or indeavours are vaine. We confide, we shall not, cannot faile of y^e steady & continued lifting up of y^e hands and harts of all God's precious ones, y^t so or Israel may in his time prevail against this cursed Amaleck; against whom I beleeve the Lord will have war forever untill he have destroyed them. With him I desire to leave o^rs: & all y^e concern and so doing to remain

Yo^r servant obliged to duty,

SAMUEL APPLETON.

I communicated thoughts wth Major Pynchon, about y^e garrison placing at Brookfeild; And alth^o we judge it would be some reliefe & comfort to or messengers going Post, yet con-

sidering the great charge w^{ch} must necessarily be expended upon it, and that they have no winter provision there for the keeping of horses, w^{thout} much use of w^{ch} we see not how they can subsist, we have not seene cause to order any garrison thither, nor (for ought yet appears) shall doe, except we have some special direction from yo^{rs}: for it.

We also finde y^t these three Towns being but small, and having sustained much losse in their crop by reason of y^e war, and had much expense of what hath bin gathered here, both by the souldiers and by those come into them from the places that are already deserted, are like to finde the work of sustaining y^e army too hard for y^m; and therefore we app^hend it will be adviseable and necessary to send to Connectiutt to afford some help as may be needed from some of their Plantations.

Capt Mosely makes p^tsentm^t of his humble services to yo^r worp: whereto the scribe also desires to subjoin the tender of his own.

These ffor the Worship^{ll} John Leverett, Esq.,
Governor of the Massachusetts at Boston.

Captain Appleton's letter to the Council of Connecticut, to which he refers, has not been preserved but the reply of that body is on record:

THE COUNCIL OF CONNECTICUT TO SAMUEL APPLETON.¹

HARTFORD, OCTOB^R 12TH 1675.

Honord Sr:

Upon the occasion of the tidings of the enimyes movinge down towards our quarters, and report made of Trecks neer Hartford, & Intimation of some scoutinge Indians seen about us: It being a time & place not onely of the Councell, but also of the General Court's sitting heer: We could doe noe less than call hither Major Treat with a guard with him; for better securinge these Towns, while they are now makeing some flankers &c: as is done above in your Towns, that soe we might not lye altogether naked at home, when soe many of our men are or may be abroad in pursuit of the warr: yet are all those soldiers heer kept ready to move when and where there may be opportunity to doe God and y^e countrey best services, in conjunction with a sufficient force sent from the Massachusetts and Plymoth such as may be competent to grapple wth the enemy in his rapacity; and to assault him in his head quarters

¹ Appleton Memorial, p. 111.

or where they may meet with his force abroad. Besides guarding these Towns, we have heer in like readiness about one hundred Moheags & Pequots, which we keep uppon charge at Major Pyncheon's desire to attend the like service: but we see not cause to send them further upwards to charg those Towns, or be a cumber to them untill there be thorow preparation for some immediate expedition to be attempted. Yet have we noe assurance to keep them heer longe under noe improvement, neither are they willinge to move farther without some of our English to conduct and direct their motion: ffor which end we have brought hither Captⁿ Jn^o: Mason in whome they take greatest content: These things we thought good to communicate to yourselves previously wayting for a speedy return of what is adviseable by you heerin, or anything else respecting the state of these affayres, and what is understood of the enimes place or motion, and how many English are come or cominge. Now the good Lord y^e God of armyes apear in his own time for salvation to his people: which in the doe use of means with christian courage and fedulity seasonably aplied is yet hoped for.

Gentⁿ; By your affectionate
ffreinds & servants the Councill
of Conecticott; pr their order,
Signed, JOHN ALLYN, Secr'y.

Vera copia.

This letter did not reach Captain Appleton until the 16th as appears from the letter of that date. Meanwhile, he had written again, on October 14th, declaring the "obstructive difficultyes," which necessitated his repeated appeals.

CAPT. APPLETON TO THE COUNCIL OF CONNECTICUT.¹

HADLEY, OCTOBER Y^E 14TH 1675.

Right Worship^{ll}

Having received comission and orders from our Councill, together with y^e order of the Comissioners of the united collonies respectinge the management of y^e joynt forces raised & united for the prosecutinge the war against the barbarous enemy in the westerly plantations uppon Conecticott: and having, after the sad diversion given us by the mischiefe done at Springfield, been aplying ourselves to the pursuit of the enemy: we have mett with some obstructive difficultyes heerin which occasions

¹ Mass. Archives, book 68, leaf 10.

and necessitates our present application to yourselves. The matter of difficulty is, first, the absence of our honored friend and assistant, Major Treat with his Company: whose being called of without any order from the Commissioners, or agreement of the Council upon the place, we know not how to reconcile with your order of the Commissioners for the prosecuting the war.

Secondly, having this morning (upon our resolve of a motion), summoned Leift. Seely with his whole company to appear at our head quarters forthwith to attend the publick service of the country, we failed thereof; for the said Leift. appearing himself without his company, excused there non-appearance by his doubting or commission to bear him out: Thereby it comes to pass that we being here with your full numbers required to the proportion belonging to our Colony, find our way as to any regular motion obstructed. Our application to yourselves is to Intreat & call upon you for the removal of the said obstruction, with all possible speed, both by the sending up the honored Major Treat forthwith, & by removing all matter of difficulty that is or may be with those that are here for the service.

We have received Intelligence of a supply of ammunition, clothing and other necessaries for our army, sent to Hartford; we Intreat your help for the conveyance of the same hither, there being the opportunity of a guard by Major Treat his company's coming up, and our necessity calling for the same with your first year may be.

We trust we need not provoke you to use the utmost expedition herein, yourselves knowing the vast expenses of the whole, together with your daily hazards, and the difficulty of the season which may soon render all action unfeasible.

We beg your candid acceptance and Improvement thereof, so as may be to the promoting of the publick Interest; whereto adding our hearty prayers, & the presentment of most cordial respects & humble service to your Worships: and all of you respectively, I take leave & remain

Your Worships most humble servant,
Vera copia. SAMUEL APPLETON, Comdr in Chiefe.

This for the Worshipfull William Leet, Esq., Deputy Governor at Connecticut, or to your worshipfull John Allyn, Esq., to be communicated to your council at Hartford.

Deprived of the cooperation of Major Treat, with another Connecticut officer insubordinate, in need of the stores of ammunition, clothing and other necessaries for his army, which

were detained at Hartford, Captain Appleton's impetuous spirit was chafed and fretted. A swift post bore his letter to Hartford and the next day a reply came from the Council of Connecticut.

THE COUNCIL OF CONNECTICUT TO SAMUEL APPLETON.¹

HARTFORD, OCT. 15TH: 1675.

Yours of October y^e 14th came to us this day, who doe well resent the courage and readiness therin manifested to be in action agaynst the enemy, and doe thither refer the urgent invitations to have our forces joyned to yours, according to the Commissioner's order, and doe refer you to the long lyinge of our full number of our forces with you before yours were ready, as a demonstration of our forwardness in this good cause; but further to sattisfy all scruples, you may please to understand that our Councel's calling for Major Treat (from the place where he lay in garrison) hither with y^e party that came with him, was the apearance of the enemy in these parts as was reported, unreadiness of your full number and Major Pynchon's permission therof, and some other occasions we had with the Major not convenient heer to mention, and sine his cominge we have received intelligence from the Reverend Mr. James Fitch of Norwich that Phillip with four hundred men, had determined this day to fall uppon Norwich, with Importunate request of some ayd to prevent it; where uppon we could not but comply so far as to send forty of those men, who marched away the last night before your letter came, and y^e Pequott and Moheage Indians who were heer ready with ours to come to you, returned home to defend their own Interest, which indeavour is soe consonant to y^e grand design as we think, you will not be unsattisfied therein. We have ordered their speedy return unless the enemy be there, and expect them at the beginning of the next week; onely this we further advise you that by a letter from Mr. Stanton, he sayth he hath Intelligenc that Phillip intends to fall uppon the Moheags & Pequots, and that the Narragansetts make great preparation for warr, and other matters that have a looke as If troble were next like to fall in these southern parts. Now if your Intelligenc concurr and lead you to march southwards, and you signify the same, and save our forces their March upwards, they will be ready to Joyn with you in the most convenient place; but if you have Intelligenc of the enemyes continuanc in those parts, and by your scouts doe make a full discovery of him, and will resolve to march with

¹ Mass. Archives, book 68, leaf 11.

your whole number of thre hundred forth, we desire you will speedily signify the same to us, that so we may comply with you therin. We have not to ad but our respects to you, & our prayers to God for his presenc with you, and that we are

St your affectionate friends,

The Generall Court of Conecticott,

p^r their order; signed, JOHN ALLYN, Secr'y.

postscrip: The ammunition & part of the cloathes you desire, were taken hence by Major Pynchon's order, yesterday to Springfield.

It was a tart and discouraging retort to his earnest appeal for Major Treat and his soldiers, but Captain Appleton replied with fine dignity, giving the alarming reports of the presence of the Indians very near him, and repeating his request for reenforcement and for the supplies at Hartford.

SAMUEL APPLETON TO THE GENERAL COURT OF CONNECTICUT.¹

Octo: 16: 1675.

Worshipfull S^{rs}:

This day I received yours of Octobr: 12 signifying y^e reason of Major Treat being called off: as alsoe y^e readiness he is in to be sent upon the publick service agayn. Before the receipt heerof, I signified to you, by a letter bearing date Octobr: 15th our desire and need of Major Treat his return with your whole number of men belonging to your Colony. Heer are from our Colony the full of the proportion belonging to us, & to y^e makeing up of the 500 men, so y^t heer is the reality of things done, tho we heer know not y^e reason of Plimouth's not bearing a share in it. You, we doubt not, also understand y^e order of the Comissioners of the United Collonies, for y^e management of the forces joyntly raised which we looke at as y^e rule of our procedure; however, in y^e exigency, by reason of the desolation at Springfield, and in the absenc of Major Treat with your forces, (wherby we are incapacitated from attending y^e publick orders) there hath been some digression till y^e return of your forces.

By scouts sent forth last night, we understand that the enemy is very neer us; many of them at Deerfield, and many on this side within a few miles of Hatfield: wherby we have been alarumed once & again, & are in constant danger. I was this

¹ Mass. Archives, book 68, leaf 19.

day preparing to send to Springfield for the ammunition, but by a sudden alarm diverted: And the neer approach of the enemy makes us apprehensive of the Inconvenience of sending any of our forces (especially in the absenc of yours) far off; which occasions me again to Intreat y^e speedy return of the Honor^d Major Treat with his forces, as also to request your help in this time of need, that Major Treat his company may help us up with what they can possible of the necessaryes for our souldiers, which we hear are at Hartford; and also with y^e ammunition or some considerable part of it, which is at Springfield. We, by reason of the strait we are in, deferr our sendinge till we see how far you can grattify us heerin. I Intreat your answer, with all possible speed.

Since the writing heerof, our post is come with yours of the 15th of octo^{br} presenting new & further matter of humiliation & fear. Oh that it might be a provocation & incitement to strengthen faith, and cause us to flee to y^e rock y^t is higher yⁿ ourselves. The Lord our God is a present help in time of trouble; now is the time of our Jacob's trouble. O that faith may say he shall be saved from It. We have most certayn Information that y^e Indians are this evening discovered within a mile of Hatfield, which we expect to have assaulted, either this night or in the morninge, and therefore are now in the night hasting over to Hatfield to their defenc. We greatly need the company & help of all our forces now. And I trust should the forces be brought together, I shall be as ready to attend the Commissioners orders, as your officers or any others shall; it being my concern, both with respect to the publick Interest & my own. Our hast will not pmitt us to Inlarg. We commend you with ourselves to y^e great keeper of Israel, whose everlasting armes are underneath his distressed ones in their most low estate, & in him remaine

S^{rs}: Your worship^s most
assured ffreind & serv^t
SAMUEL APPLETON.

Vera copia.

About the same time, the Council of Massachusetts wrote, giving him larger liberty in the use of his troops, and recommending that he forbid Major Treat to withdraw again. There is a touch of the grotesque in their order to this trained soldier that he beware of massing his troops in a "huddle."

THE COUNCIL OF MASSACHUSETTS TO SAMUEL APPLETON.¹

BOSTON: OCTOBER. 15: 1675.

Capt. Appleton,

Yor last came to us the 14th instant, wherby we are well satisfy^d with yo^r acceptance of the charge comitted to you, not doubting of yo^r care and dilligence therin, and therefore for the present you must not expect any alteration. We are apt to think our orders are not rightly understood, as that you instance in, about fixing of garrisons. It was judged here that having furnished a body of 500 men, a considerable Stretch, and a very great charge for the defence of one part of the country (other parts being not only in danger, but actually assaulted and spoyled and Suffering the Same calamities that they should (especially the season favoring) be employed in feild service, to witt, in prosecuting the enemy to their quarters, and not to expect him at the townes only, wherin we know very well that our forces must, at times, have their quarters, which if you call garrisons, you mistake us, we never expecting our soldiers should continually keep the feild. We know they must have their recruits and relaxations, but intended not nor consider^d there could be a necessity of keeping fixed garrisons to the particular townes; for while such a number of soldiers are abroad, we would hope (if prudently employed) the inhabitants might be a sufficient guard to their respective Towns, and this was the utmost intent of the order. We cannot but further intimate that in case your soldiers living in their quarters, and you see cause to make any expedition, there is noe reason to draw all your forces to one towne, but that the most convenient place be appoynted for the Rendevouze of yo^r forces, whether in town or feild, Wee are very sensible of the great losse sustained at Springfield and are of the same oppinion with you, that it is not advisable to have it deserted, and would hope that the inhabitants of almost 100 houses might be able to defend the maine of the remainder, while the Army is employed abroad. We must leave much to yo^r prudence with the councill of yo^r chief comandars, without attendance to popular insinuations; and you must attend yo^r orders so as never to practice contrary theronto; but you may and ought, according to right reason, to interpritt and understand all orders in the largest and most extensive signification, for the welfare and security of those under yo^r comand and care. We have taken notice of Major Treat's Retreat, upon the order of the Councill of Conecticote, of which we are very sensible, and have represented the same to Conecticote, and

¹ Mass. Archives, book 68, leaves 13, 14.

doe advise you, if he return, to lett him or any others know they may not depart, nor withdraw from under yo^r command, whilst in our jurisdiction, without express orders from the Commissioners of the United Collonys, or yo^r particular licence, with consent of yo^r chief officers.

Wee are satisfyed in your deserting Quabague, and supposed the order taken by the Commissioners for supply of victuals from Hartford will be effectuell. We desire and hope wee shall not be wanting to second yo^r endeavors by our hearty supplications to our God, the father of mercyes, to pitty, pardon, heale and help us, in this our distressed estate.

Remaining, Sir,

Yo^r assured friends,

ED. RAWSON, Secretary,

by order of the Council.

We cannot but advise you in yo^r marches, to keep good distance between your partyes of men, that you be not surprised in a huddle, and that in bushy places (if you fear not by such discovery to loose yo^r design) that you fire the woods before you.

Captain Appleton wrote again to Governor Leverett, narrating in detail the distracting condition of affairs, the insubordination of a Connecticut officer, his correspondence with the Connecticut authorities and his own unwearied and courageous exertions in the field.

CAPT. APPLETON TO GOVERNOR LEVERETT.¹

HADLEY, OCTO: 17, 1675.

Right Worpf^{ll}

I thought it convenient and necessary to give you a p^rsent account of o^r state & posture, that so yo^rs: might thereby be the better capacitated both to send orders to us, & to know how to act towards others, as the case doth require.

On Tuesday, Octo: 12, we left Springfeild & came y^t night to Hadley, neer 30 mile. On y^e 13th & 14th we used all diligence to make discovery of y^e enemy by Scouts, but by reason of y^e distance of the way from hence to Squakeheage,² & y^e timorousnesse of y^e scouts, it turned to little account; thereupon I found it very difficult to know what to doe. Major Treat was gone

¹ Mass. Archives, book 68, leaves 22, 23.

² Northfield.

from us, and when like to return, we knew not. Our orders were to leave no men in garrison, but keepe all for a feild armye, w^{ch} was to expose the Towns to manifest hazzard. To sitt still and do nothings is to tire o^{rs}: and spoyle o^r souldiers, and to ruin y^e country by y^e insupportable burden and charge. All things layd together, I thought it best to goe forth after the enemy wth o^r p^rsent forces. This once resolved, I sent forth warrants on y^e 14th instant early in the morning to Capt. Mosely, & Capt. (as he is called) Seely at Hatfeild and Northampton to repair forthwth to y^e head-quarters, y^t we might be ready for service. Capt. Mosely was accordingly wth us, wth his whole company very speedily. Capt. Seely¹, after a Considerable time, came w^{thout} his company, excused their absence by his want of Comission. His comission he produced, & upon debate about it, seemed satisfyed; expressing y^t his purpose was to attend any ord^r y^t should be given; I wrote another warrant and gave into his hand, to appear wth his company w^{ch} are about 50 men, the next morning; but in y^e night he sent a messenger to me, wth a note about intillegence from Major Treat to stay till further orders &c. I p^rsently posted away letters to y^e Councill at Hartford, declaring to y^m how the worke was obstructed by absence of Major Treat, (whose company indeede I much desired, he approving himselfe while wth us a worthy gentleman, and a discreete and incouraging Comander) & by absence (indeede) of Capt. Seely, and those few that were wth him. The copy of my letter to y^e Councill & of my warrants to Capt. Seely, and his returns to me, I send you here all of them inclosed.

This morning, Octo: 16: I received a letter sent first to Major Pynchon & from Springfeild hither, from y^e Councill at Hartford, dated Octo: 12: w^{ch} I also send y^e copy of wherby you will perceive y^t they seem to make some excuse, and sticke at y^e want of forces here from Plimouth, wherein I am not so fitted to return y^m an answer as perhaps I might be, for want of understanding the specialties of agreement between the Honor^d Comission^{rs} of the United Colonies; only thus much seemes evident, that they all agreed th^r number should be 500; the w^{ch} is made up by o^r Colony and Connecticute though there be none from Plimouth, so y^t we see the reallity of the thinge is done, though we know not the reason of Plimouth their not bearing a share in it.

By a letter from Major Pynchon, we understand y^t the Amⁿition is come up to Springfeild, w^{ch} I am p^rsently sending for. This likewise informs of an old Indian Squaw taken at Spring-

¹ Capt. Seely was stationed at Northampton with a company of Connecticut troops.

field, who tells y^t the Indians who burnt y^t town lodged about six miles off y^e Town; some men went forth, found 24 fires and some plunder. Shee saith there came of y^e enemy 270; that the enemy in all are 600. The place where they keepe is at Coassit (as is supposed) about 50 miles above Hadley.

After y^e sending my letters to Hartford, I drew forth o^r own men, all but Capt. Seely's (who are neer sixty) intending to march up to Squakheage. We had not marched above a mile or two, ere we received intelligence by post y^t y^e enemy was by his track discovered to be in great numbers on y^e West side of the River. We p^rsently changed o^r course, and hasted over the River. It was after sunsett ere we gote out of Hatfield. We marched some miles, and in y^e darke saw a gun fired, and heard its report & o^r scouts saw and heard this gun. Some also sd they heard a noise of Indians. My purpose was now to march to Deerfield, but upon what we discovered, o^r officers, especially Capt. Mosely, were very app^rhensive of danger to the Towns here if we should march up. This being often p^rssd and I alone for proceeding, none of the Connecticut men wth us, nor any left in the Towns of Hadley and Hatfield, & night threatening rain and tempest, I yeilded, against my own inclination to return to o^r quarters, w^{ch} we did late in the night. This morning we und^rstand by scouts that there is certainly a great number of y^e enemy at Deerfield and some of them much neerer.

This evening we have received a letter from y^e Gen^rall Court at Hartford, wherby I perceive its very uncertain when we are like to have their forces again. In very truth, I am in straites on every side. To leave y^e Towns without any help, is to leave y^m to apparent ruine. To supply wth any except now in y^e absenc of Connecticut, is hardly reconcilable with y^e order of y^e Co^missioners. This evening late, I am assaulted wth a most vehement and affectionate request from Northampton, (who have already wth them about 50 of Capt. Seely's men) y^t I would afford y^m a little more help, they fearing to be assaulted p^rsently. And at y^e same time while these are speaking, Capt. Mosely informs y^t y^e enemy is this evening discovered wthin a mile of Hatfield, and that he verily expects to be assaulted there to-morrow; w^{ch} I am so sensible of y^t I account it my duty p^rsently to repair thither, now at 10 or 11 of y^e clocke in the night, some of the forces having already passed the River. Nor are we wthout app^rhension of Hatfield's & Hadley's danger at the same time, where, wth respect to the wounded men & y^e Town, I strive wth myselfe to leave about twenty men or but few more, tho y^e Indians were yesterday discovered within five or six miles; and we are necessitated to send so many of them for Posts (on w^{ch} account six are at this p^rsent) and other occasions,

as makes y^m less than their little selves. I desire in all, to approve mysef to the Lord, and faithfully to his people's interest, so as I perswade mys: would most reach and take yo^r harts were you p^rsent.

I crave yo^r candid acceptance of what comes from a hart devoted to yo^r service; & yo^r speedy, seasonable return to what I have written, w^{ch} waiting for, I leave the whole matter wth the wise ordering, and remaine

Yo^r Worps: most humble serv^t

SAMUEL APPLETON.

Hoping for y^e Return of o^r Post from yo^rs: and y^t o^r going forth last night might p^roduce something of Consequence, we delayed the sending away this letter a day. But Providence hath denyed o^r expectation & desires in both. Our Post is not come in, and we have wearied o^rs: wth a tedious night and morning's march, wthout making any discovery of y^e enemy. Thus y^e Lord orders all things wisely, holily and well. May we but see and close wth the goodnesse of his will, and waite for the working of all things together. It shall be peace at y^e latter end, to all y^t love God y^t are perfect ones, ffor w^{ch} praying & waiting, I am yo^r servant as above.

S. A.

Octo: 17: afternoone.

These for the Worp^l John Leverett, Esq.,
Governor of the Massachusett in Boston.
Hast — Hast — Post-Hast.

Two days later, the apprehensions of Indian assault were realized. On the 19th of October, an attack was made upon Hatfield, but Appleton had foreseen the danger and provided for it. Mr. Hubbard gives a vivid narrative of the fight:

"But according to the good Providence of Almighty God Major Treat was newly returned to Northampton, Captain Mosely and Captain Poole were then garrisoning the said Hatfield, and Captain Appleton for the like End quartering at Hadly, when on the sudden seven or eight hundred of the Enemy came upon the Town in all Quarters, having first killed or taken two or three Scouts belonging to the Town, and seven more belonging to Captain Mosely his company: But they were so well entertained on all Hands where they attempted to break in upon the Town, that they found it too hot for them. Major

Appleton with great Courage defending one End of the Town, and Captain Mosely as stoutly maintaining the Middle, and Captain Pool the other end; that they were by the Resolution of the English instantly beaten off, without doing much harm. Captain Appleton's Sergeant¹ was mortally wounded just by his side, another Bullet passing through his own Hair, by that Whisper telling him that Death was very near but did no other harm."

This was the first decisive defeat inflicted upon the Indians. Major Appleton's official report would be a valuable document. Unfortunately it has not been preserved.

Winter was now near at hand, and a letter from the Council of Massachusetts, dated Oct. 23, intimated that he might expect orders to return with his troops at an early date. A second letter from the Council, dated November 1st, informed him that a speedy decision would be made with reference to his continuance in the field, and re-affirmed his authority, which seems to have been constantly called in question by the leaders of the confederate forces.

THE COUNCIL OF MASSACHUSETTS TO SAMUEL APPLETON.²

BOSTON, NOV^r. 1st 1675.

Capt. Appleton,

Yours of October 29 is newly come to our hands, & renews our exercising thoughts whilst wee peruse that relation of the present posture of matters wth you, which you send us, wherein wee desire to owne the souvraigne hand of God, & to ly low before him. Tomorrow, y^e Comission^{rs} of the Colonies are to meete againe, & the General Court of this Colony the day after. Wee shall not faile to hasten such resolves as to yourself, and the forces & plantations with you, as the Lord may Graciously guide unto. In the meantime, that wee may not occasion your further feares, wee send back your Post wth all speede. If Connecticut will be under no order but what they please to give themselves, wee thinke it will be to little purpose to depend long upon theire motions, or at all to solicit their assistance at that rate they now offer the same; Only you are by no means, by any act of yours, to wave the order of the Comissioners

¹ Freegrace Norton. He died at Hadley soon after.

² Appleton Memorial, p. 121.

but to Assert your Authority thereby, it being fully & cleerey founded upon their last act, whereby they leave it to each Colony to appoint the Comander in chiefe of theire own forces, who is expressly to be in comānd over the joint forces of all the Colonies, where their service is appointed in the same Colony. If Major Treat doe again withdraw, then our advice and order is, that if no aparent & notable advantage offer itself of Going forth to seeke or set upon the enemy, you cheifely mannage the forces under your comānd as may be best for the p^rsent securing of those Towns untill you heare from us againe: Wee are very sensible that the season passeth swiftly away, and are therefore resolved to put no long delays upon you, so that you may expect speedy orders from us. Supplies for the souldiers shall be forthwith sent. You write that you had constituted cornet Poole, to be Captain of that Company whereof Leiften^t Upham is Leiften^t. Wee would put you in minde that you will find yo^r comission doth not Impower you to constitute officers as a Generall; only in Case superior officers fall in the warr, the next officer may succeed in course untill further order: And when you see cause to recomend any meet person to have a comission, wee shall have a due regard thereunto.

Wth our respects to you, and comēding you to the speciall Guidance & blessing of the Almighty, who only is able to furnish you wth wisdom & courage to Goe in & out, carrying you through & above all the difficulties you may meet, wee remayne,
Sir,

Yor very loving ffrinds,
The Gen^{ll} Court of y^e Massachusetts,
by their order,
EDWARD RAWSON, Secretary.

These for Captain Samuel Appleton, Commander in cheife, at his head quarters, at Hadley or Elsewhere. Haste — Post-haste.

The Commissioners of the United Colonies, Massachusetts, Connecticut, and Plymouth, met in Boston on Nov. 2, 1675, and chose the Hon. Josiah Winslow, Esq. Governor of Plymouth Colony, commander-in-chief over the united forces to be raised at once for an attack upon the Narragansett Indians, and it was agreed that the second in command should be appointed by the General Court or Council of Connecticut while the forces were in their colony. Major Appleton might, with reason, have resented the appointment of one who had taken no active part

in the war, to the chief command, especially since the Commissioners departed from their own precedent in selecting a Plymouth colony man, though the seat of war was to be in Connecticut. We may detect the cause of this action in the ill-concealed jealousy of Appleton on the part of the Connecticut Council. He was not informed, apparently, of this action, and waited impatiently their decision. On November 10th he wrote again to Governor Leverett. His letter gives a moving picture of the loneliness and hardness of his position, and his sense of utter discouragement. The camp was full of bickering and jealousy. The Council had not dealt fairly with him. Winter was at hand.

SAMUEL APPLETON TO GOVERNOR LEVERETT.¹

HADLEY, NOV. 10TH 1675.

Right Worpsth,

By the receipt of yo^{rs} bearing date Nov. 1st, it is given me to understand y^t I am speedily to expect further orders from yo^{rs}: wh^{ch} I am dayly looking for, and shall, a^cc: to my capacity endeavor attendance to. Hereto you are pleased to adde yo^r reproofe of my going beyond Com^{mi}ssiō in constituting Cornet Poole, Captaine. I humbly crave yo^r pardon for what of transgression is therein, wh^{ch} had I looked at as such, I should by no means have adventured on. But as y^e state of ths: was wth me, I looked at it as my worke, and y^t wh^{ch} I was in a sort necessitated to; ffor to all my men have I had but one captⁿ, nor no orders from yo^{rs} how I should obtain any; yet yo^r expresse orders & com^{ms} to me were to advise wth my Captains, wh^{ch} I ought not to interprett so as to imply a contradiction, if in any rationall way I might reconcile them; and I saw no other but this, wh^{ch} likewise I saw him that comanded in chiefe before me practise. You may please to consider the hard and discouraging state of yo^r:servant, upon whom you have cast y^t heavy work, y^t others more able have groaned so hard under as to occasion y^r Excellency to grant them a release. And to me, the difficulties in regard of the enemy are increased; the intanglements in o^r treaty of o^r Confederates (who are furnished wth a Councill of 11 or 12, chosen by their Gen^l Court, among whom are two ministers, men of abilities & learning) are such as are too intricate for me to be alone in, besides the dayly emergencies y^t neede Counsell. Now for me to be in such

¹ Mass. Archives, book 68, leaves 51-52.

straites, & have no counsell, or to be ordered to consult my captains, & have no Captains nor liberty to make any, is y^t wh^{ch} is beyond my ability wth best advantages; but much more too hard being thus left alone & my hands weakned by being under yo^r frown. You expresse y^t should I reco^mend any meete person to yo^rs: you should have a due regard thereto. Be pleased to remind y^t in my last, (if I mistake not) I did by an expresse to yo^rs: comend y^e said person as the most meete man acc: to what judgment I could make, for yo^r & y^e countrys service; yet yo^rs: neither approve him, nor give reason against him, nor appoint any other. I intreate yo^r serious & tender consideration of the p^rmisses, and yo^r putting forth yo^r helping hand to the support of yo^r servant so sensible of y^e weight of y^e worke & y^e discouraging difficulties therin y^t had not y^e fear of God w^t y^e tender sence of duty to yo^rs: and to y^e publike overawed me, I had, instead of this apology, acquainted you wth my sinking under y^e burthen too heavy for me. But I would not do any thinge y^t might be greivous to yo^rs: or discouraging to others in such a day of distresse. I therfore hold on & go forward tho but heavily. I have p^rsented to yo^r Worps: the whole of this case respecting Capt. Poole, to whom I have given a comission under my hand. I intreate yo^r favorable Resolve therin, yet whatever is from yo^rs: shall, I trust, silence all concerned in the p^rmisses.

As to o^r motions since my last to you, you may please to und^rstand y^t having bin alarmed to Northampton, Octo 29th, upon y^e Indians surprizing two men & a boy, of wh^{ch} I then wrote you word, on the 30th we Resolved to march to Hatfield y^e evening after sabbath, Octo 31st, & so y^t night to go up to Deerfield. But on y^e 30th at night, I was called out of bed by messengers from Hatfeild, informing y^t their scouts had just then upon a sandy hill, wthin a mile of y^e Town, discovered manye tracts of Indians. and neer y^e same place they heard Indians speaking one to another; Not long after another messenger informing y^t their cattell came violently running into Town, so y^t they feared a p^rsent assault. Imediately I gathered my men wth all silence, and passed the River, abode there y^e sabbath, & sixty of Major Treat's men came to me. In the evening after the sabbath, the Major was coming to me by Hadley; but while he was at Hadley, about midnight there was an alarum at Northampton wh^{ch} recalled him thither. On Monday Nov. 1st, went about ten or twelve miles into the woods, searching the chesnutt mountains where the enemy was thought to be, but found him not. Tuesday I visited Major Treat, & we agreed on Wednesday night to march to Deerfield, o^r scouts informing us of many fires seen that way: accordingly we went up by night, but could make no discovery of the enemy y^t night,

nor in or ranging all the next day; we came home late in y^e night. Next morning, Nov. 5th, we had news from Northampton y^t y^e enemy had almost taken a man & boy at plowin Northampton Meadow. We p^resently repaired thither and spent that day and the next in searching those woods, but wthout discovering the enemy. These two days last past have not bin fitt for action, by reason of the unseasonable weather. Nov. 6th, Major Treat desired my consent to draw off his men to seeke the enemy in their parts, and y^t I would take order to garrison Westfeild. We appointed a meeting of or Councill on Monday, at w^{ch} y^e s^d Major declared y^t he did desire y^t their men at Westfeild might be called off thence, for that he could not quiet them any longer, nor would his orders bear their continuance there; it being also against the order of the Comission^{rs}. He also pleaded y^t his men y^t were at Northampton, might be by me ordered, or at least permitted, to remove thence, y^t they might discover the enemy elsewhere, perhaps in their coasts. My answer was, y^t for y^e men at Westfeild, they were placed there by order. I had called them off when I saw neede of them, & they would not obey and now at this p^resent time, there was no occasion to draw out all or forces into the ffield, and therefore I did not see cause at p^resent to call them off, nor could either order or permitt the others to remove, having no evidence y^t y^e enemy was removed, much lesse whither. At last I gave my answer in writing, w^{ch} I send you here inclosed. We enquired whether we were all one army or no. To this the answer was dubious; but their major answered we were all one according to y^e order of y^e Comission^{rs}, to which they seemed generally to consent; but hereby we know not whether we be one or two; ffor how shall we know when they judge us to be according to y^e ord^r of y^e Comission^{rs} & when not, and so when we be one and when two. It seems uncouth y^t their judging or actions to be, or not to be, according to such an order, should alter or Being. Such things may argue us a faulty or faultlesse army, guilty or guiltlesse, but not make us one or two. But upon such doubtful terms we stand. In or discourse this was much turned, that it appeared not y^t it was y^e Comission^{rs} act, y^t each Colony might chuse their comander in cheife, & there being no Copy of such order sent up, But y^e plea insisted on is, that tho each Colony have power to chuse the Commander in Cheife while in their Colony, yet it appears not that they have power, when one is chosen or appointed by the Comission^{rs} (as Major Pynchon was) to lay aside him and chuse another in his room, while he is in being and capable of the service. This seems to be an abiding doubt & not easily removeable.

To what they objected of my keeping men in garrison at Westfeild and Springfield being against y^e act of y^e Comis-

sion^{rs}, my answer was that I did not place them there; Secondly, I called y^m off, and they refused to obey; Thirdly, Major Treat and all his, upon their last appearance, have declared wth one consent y^t they did not account o^r whole 500 men, they all together, a sufficient strength then (tho formerly it was) to pursue the enemy on both sides of the River: and also y^t they judged we had not sufficient strength wth out them at Springfield, & Westfeild and Major Treat plainly declared y^t it was against his conscience to draw off those men from Westfeild, whereby the people should be exposed to such apparent and almost inevitable ruine. Hereupon, I forebore to call them off, yet declaring once and again y^t I was ready to call them at a day's warning, whenever the service called for it, and would doe it p^rsently, did they judge y^t wee stood in neede of them, or if y^e want of y^m wth us would be improved as an objection against us, for not attending the order. Hence I pleade they were not fixed in garrison, contrary to the true meaning & intent of the order. We wait wth expectation for orders how to behave o^rselves. The enemy is not discovered of late here, nor do wee know y^t he is removed, tho many guesse so; some think to Ausitimock, a place upon Stratford River, where we hear much corn was planted this Springe, & w^{ch} lies wth advantage to make incursions thence upon many towns in Connecticut; others thinke they are drawn off to Narragansett, and that there the nest of them is, and thence they have had their supplies of provision & a^mmunition; others apprehend them yet lurking neer at hand, and waiting an opportunity to surprize us unawares, remembering how a little before the assault at Hatfeild, they disappeared so long y^t some then concluded and strongly pleaded they were removed.

Winter comes fast upon us, & we find y^t however we be disposed of, yet there will be a necessity of sending home many of o^r horses, or else the Towns here will be undone; the war hath so hindered their getting of hay & so many cattell are come in from the places y^t are desolated, y^t many are like to perish. One cow is already offred for wintring another. I trust y^t if we be called off hence, yo^{rs}: will order what forces shall be left in each of these Towns for their preservation, and y^t such officers may be left over y^m as may keepe them under due government. My thoughts have bin y^t it might be most convenient y^t Connecticut men garrison Springfield & Westfeild, as being neer to them & so their men may more easily be supplied wth necessaries, w^{ch} can hardly be sent from these three Towns, being already so much exhausted wth y^e entertainment of the souldiers.

I have wth the Posts sent down Capt: Poole, who is able to make a more particular & full relation of things w^{ch} he hath

scene and heard, than I can send by writing. Should you order my continuance here, I shall neede his Company and help, and his men are not easily satisfied wth his absence from them. I leave the matter wholly to yo^r wisdome.

I have expelled out of y^e army David Bennet, chirurgion, for his quarrelsome & rebellious Carriage, but so y^t (seeing o^r Court Martiall, by reason of Connecticute men's not being one wth us, is weak & lyable to some question) I have left y^e ratifying or disannulling y^e main part of his sentence to yo^rs: I have not further to adde but y^e comending yo^rs: and all yo^r Counsell to y^e blessing of y^e most High; and so doing remain

St yo^r Worps: most humble servant,

SAMUEL APPLETON.

Our p^rsent Posts are Sergeant James Johnson, and Nathaniel Warner of Hadley, and Sergeant John Throp.

These ffor the Worpth John Leverett, Esq., Governor of the Massachusetts at Boston.

The "further orders" which he awaited from the Governor and Council were not forthcoming, and Major Appleton proceeded at last on his own responsibility to issue the following Proclamation.

PROCLAMATION.¹

To y^e Inhabitants of Springfield, Westfield, Northampton, Hadley, & Hatfield, & to all y^e Indwellers, & soejourners in all & each of them I, Samuel Appleton, being betrusted with y^e conduct of y^e Army heer, and alsoe with y^e care of fortifyinge & securing these Townes, doe declare,

That whereas in this time of trouble & danger, y^e Honord^d Generall Court & y^e whole Countrey have expressed great care & naturall tenderness towards these plantations, for securinge & preserving of them as parts and members of the whole from the rage of the cruel enemy, and doe still manifest y^e same in continuing forces heer for y^e defene thereof: It would be too unequall, Irrationall, and unnaturall y^t Inhabitants & Indwellers who have been willing in times of peace, to suck y^e sweet of that blessing poured out upon the whole and each particular, should now desert y^e whole & y^e parts: It is therefore heerby ordered that noe person shall remove from or desert any of these Towns, soe long as forces are continued heer for

¹ Mass. Archives, book 68, leaf 54.

their defence, without liberty under y^e hand of y^e Command^r in Chiefe; nor shall any goe out of the Townes without a pass under y^e hand of y^e Command^r in Chiefe: Heerof noe man is to fayl uppon hazzard of the displeasure of the Gennerall Court, & such penalty as they or y^e Councill shall Impose: And If any be attemptinge or preparinge to depart otherwise, all officers civill & Millitary are heerby Impowered & required to prohibit their departure, and alsoe to secure them & their estates, and bring them to y^e Chief Officers. I doe further declare, that whatever officer or officers shall draw off any forces out of this Jurisdiction without order from the Commissioners, or y^e Joynt Councell of the chiefe officers, & license of y^e Command^r in Chiefe of the Army; their soe doing is a breach of the Articles of Confederation of y^e united Collonyes.

Given at My head quarters at Hadley, y^e 12th of Novembr 1675.

Pr SAMUEL APPLETON,
Com in Chief.

Undoubted reference is made in the last sentence of this Proclamation to the restiveness of the Connecticut troops under Major Treat. The Council of Connecticut was informed at once of this action of the Commander-in-chief and made its resentment manifest in the following letter, curt in its address and bitter in its tone:

THE COUNCIL OF CONNECTICUT TO SAMUEL APPLETON.¹

HARTFORD, NOV^r: 15: 1675.

S^r,

It is noe small greife of heart to us, that in this hour of distress, wherein God seems to frown upon us, (this among the rest being none of the smallest) that instead of a candid complyanee & setting our selves as one man agaynst y^e common enemy, studying all wayes of loveing & amicable complyanee, we find little less than a tendency in your actions to render us contemptible; we doe not judge it a time to stand soe much upon punctilioes of honour & supream command, & that soe absolutely taken on yourselfe that our officers are not worthy to be of your Councill in these affayres, but rejected & only serve to wayte your positive commands, without being lovingly Informed of your power soe to command, & y^e rationality of your motions: Your soe highly Insistinge uppon the acts of y^e Commissioners,

¹ Mass. Archives, book 68, leaf 56.

& studying to lay y^e breach of articles upon us, shall not deter us from solicitous attending what may be for y^e good of y^e whole, not doubting but our actions will be found as consonant to y^e acts and true Intent of y^e Commissioners as yours; for it was never Intended by their acts that our souldiers should be kept meerly (or indeed not at all) to garrison your Towns, (that belongs properly to your Collonye) but to be in a vigorous pursuit of y^e enemy, & soe, as a confederate army, to be kept together in Joynt Councill & motion: soe far as this is attended, we have ordered our forces to attend you as chiefe in that Collonye; but if onely or maynly garrisoning be y^e worke you will attend, we have reserved our forces to be at our disposall, & you will find that in one of y^e last acts of y^e Commissioners, the management is left to y^e respective Councils of the Collonyes. We have great complaints from our soldiers, how weary they are of lying still, & how burthensome they are to y^e people, and like to loose most of their horses, If not themselves too, and doe serve to noe other end than to distress their freinds & undoe themselves; & you have soe managed your matters in such a separate way as breeds such animosities as will be (if not speedily prevented) much to God's dishonor & the publick prejudice; we thought meet therefore, to advise you to a more candid complyance & consult with our officers, In whome we repose great trust, that if indeed any real service for God & his people in pursuit of the enemy appears, you may agree to attend it, and Indeavor utmost amicable complyance therin: but if nothing, or little else than garrisoninge those Towns be y^e worke, then having enough of your own to doe, that you grant your loveinge complyance for their return, as Judging their worke as necessary at home; but if you refuse, and noe further order from the Commissioners come suddenly, we shall take y^e boldness to come to such resolves as we Judg most conduceable to common safety, & that notwithstanding your strict proclamations; and yet shall not doubt but to show ourselves faithfull as to our confederation. We shall not further ad at present, but commending you to god, remain

Your affectionate ffreinds,

y^e Councill of Connecticot,
p^r their order,

Vera copia.

JOHN ALLYN, Sec^y.

Superscribed.

These ffor Capt. Sam^l Appleton, at his head quarters in Hadley.

Major Appleton smarted under the lash, but replied in a letter of extraordinary calmness, and dignity, answering the

charges made against him with fairness and pleading for a charitable construction of his acts. Great nobility of character is revealed in every word from first to last.

SAMUEL APPLETON TO THE COUNCIL OF CONNECTICUT.¹

HADLEY, NOVEMBER 17: 1675.

Honrd S^{rs}:

It was no small comfort to me in reading your Lines of Nov: 15: to think I was nothing conscious to myself of any wilfull transgression or gross error, nor doe I fear that any will be able to demonstrate me soe: I have not stood uppon punctilios & honours, nor acted with a studious tendency to render you contemptible; and therefore to represent me as soe doinge seemes not charitable: I profess otherwise, & if my profession be not sincere, I am soe much a stranger to my heart & actions: To make a true narrative of the state of things & all momentous occurrents, is soe plain a duty of those y^t are betrust with publick concerns, that I doubt not you expect it from those to whome you have committed y^e command of your forces: And therfore for soe doinge, I hope you will not looke at me as Culpable: And of other crimes, I know not that you can justly accuse me: That your officers are not worthy to be of my counsell but rejected, and onely to waite my positive Commands &c. is far from my thoughts or Intentionall actings. I desire to honour their persons & worthy Indowments where apearance, and have given testimony thereto: True, where y^e question hath been who are of my Councill, I have with due respects & honor to the persons of men of worth, asserted my orders; yet I may say there hath been carriage among them not tending to their honour, but might have exposed them (if not tenderly dealt with) to more suffering than a little: My studious Indeavour to respect & attend y^e orders of y^e Commissioners, is my special duty, and y^e more your actions are consonant heerto, y^e more commendations I shall Indeavour to give them: yet to my plainness its ever more acceptable to see the thing done. It is not to be expected but that people, where y^e seat of war is, should be distressed. I wish none of yours may give occasion to think that they are willing to ad to distresses. As to y^e return of your men, I should gladly comply with your desire therein, might I doe it with discharge of my trust; but not knowing y^t y^e enemy is gone nor whither, and haveing apprehensions from your Information & our own, that y^e enemy is Likely to be at

¹ Mass. Archives, book 68, leaf 63.

Narragansett, where also we have reason to think the warr may suddenly break out, I may not (without most weighty ground) doe anything that, should we be presently called thither, may render us more unready for y^e speedy answering of such a call. Your advice to a more candid compliacee & consult with your officers, I am willing to take in the best part, and trust that it will apcar that I have been far from acting in a separate way, or aproving any such acting: whatever is represented to you otherwise, I hope, when you have heard with both ears, you will perceive to be misrepresented. I have not fixed your nor our men in Garrisons. I called them forth upon the first opportunity to field service, & am ready soe to doe as occasion shall present: And may I find a litle of that loveing & amicable compliacee you speake of: I am willing to offer any of my proclamations (tho called strict) to a fair and open examination & judgment: A little time I hope will show us plainly our way; meanwhile let us rather waite than stumble in y^e darke. or goe backward when it is not soe easy to return.

S^{rs}:

I am not without feelinge some smart in your Lines, tho I would not be over tender, or ready to complain: I beg your charitable construction of what may seem to your wisdome to apcar otherwise than I have been able to discern, professing myself to be one studious of action, & of uniting therein for y^e common good: The Lord grant us all (if it be his will) to think, speak, & doe the same things for y^e advance of his glory, & y^e attainment of his peoples safety, which is y^e serious prayer & endeavor of him who is, with due respects to you all,

S^{rs}:

Your assured ffreind & servant,

SAMUEL APPLETON.

Postscript.

Honrd S^{rs}:

Some of yours heer have, out of a Letter, acquainted me with some reports & suspitions of Indian enimyes to y^e westward: but its not of soe much weight to me, because I understand that y^e Letter hath been with yours: and in yours to me, I perceive not that you take any notice of it.

Superscribed,

These ffor y^e Worp^{ll} William Leete, Esq., Dep^y. Gov^r.

Or to y^e Worp^{ll} John Allyn, Esq^r.

To be communicated to y^e Councill at Hartford.

Vera copia.

Harassed by the constant importunities of the Connecticut soldiers, and the Council of that Colony, a Council of War was

held at Northampton on the very day he wrote this letter. Major Appleton still refused to give permission to any to withdraw without the order of the Council. But as all those who met in Council were against him, he was obliged to yield, and he issued a reluctant permission to Major Treat to move with his forces downward on the next Friday morning, as the enemy had probably moved that way.

He wrote to Governor Leverett on November 19th, that he had received no instructions since November 1st. He narrated the exigences of the situation, due to the approach of winter, and his final decision to dismiss Major Treat.

SAMUEL APPLETON TO GOVERNOR LEVERETT.¹

HADLEY, NOV. 19: 1675.

Right Worps^{ll}:

In yor last to me bearing date Nov. 1st, yor doubled assurance of speedy ord^{rs} to me have kept me in a constant and now tedious and thoughtful expectation thereof. Full fourteen days are now past since the arrival of our last Post, and yet we have no word nor signification from you. Winter is upon us. Necessity (w^{ch} knows no law) enforceth us to dispose of ourselves. If we stay here and our horses remain in y^e field, they will be fitt for no service, yea, I fear how we shall gett them home. If we take them to dry meate, we undo the inhabitants, hay being so very scarce, their cattell will perish. And we have in expectation of ord^{rs}, already stayd to extremity. Since o^r last we can discover no enemy, nor hear whither he is gone. Connecticut men have been beyond measure impatient of being stayed here sometimes pleading for liberty to be gone, sometimes seeming as if they would be gone w^{thout} it. Nothing but unquietness and discontent at their stay, striving by all means to gain my consent for their removall which I still withhold expecting to hear from yors: About y^e 12th instant they informed me y^t they had intelligence from Owenquo, Uncas his son, y^t Philip boasted he was a 1000d strong, intended to send 600 against the Massachusetts, and 400 against those in Connecticut, but wth all signifying y^t if I should desire them to move toward Mendon, they were expressly forbidden to goe wth me, except we had certain intelligence that the whole body of the enemy was there, and except I would march wth my full 300. I told their Major

¹ Appleton Memorial, p. 132.

they did but instruct me how to answer them, should they call me to their parts. There is talk of a great festival meeting of Indians at a place neer Stratford. What they are, or whether they may be counted or pursued as enemies, we know not. The people in these Towns, especially ye younger sort, have showed themselves soe ready to desert the Towns, some already gone others talking of and p^rparing for it, so as I counted mys: necessitated to prohibit them by a proclimation, till I might hear from yo^rs: it being so cross to the safety and good of the whole, y^t ye plantations should have their own inhabitants desert them, and ye Country be necessitated to send men to guard them, or else expose them to ruine. I therein ventured to the utmost extent of your order. I beseech your pardon in, and orders about it, as also how to behave ourselves; whom to leave here and under what command.

Together with the proclimation I thought mete, acc: to your orders, to declare to Major Treat that his drawing off his forces was against the articles of confederation. A copy of this and their declaration upon it, I send you here inclosed. I delayed them as long as possibly I could; But, at a Councill Nov. 17th, they pressed so hard and the people complaining so sadly of the burthen of their stay, and those I had with me to Counsel being all against me, I was forced to permit their going, except some orders from ye Comission^{rs} or yo^rs: came by the 19th in the morning: so y^t tomorrow morning they are preparing to goe homeward by permission, on the terms expressed in ye writing here inclosed. As also I herewith send a copy of the letter I received from the Council of Connecticute, wth the answer I returned thereto. However they are pleased to expresse, my great trouble hath bin their acting in a separate way, concerning w^{ch} I have much more to say than I can now write. I humbly intreate yo^r speeding away a post to us without any delay; we are wholly at a losse till then. I have not further to adde, but p^rsn^t of humble service to yo^r Worp: and the rest respectively, and so to remain

Yo^r Worps: ever to be commanded

SAMUEL APPLETON.

The posts sent down are Thomas Hovey and Robert Simson.

On the same day that he wrote, he began the distribution of the Massachusetts troops among the exposed towns. Twenty-nine soldiers under Captain Aaron Cooke were stationed at Westfield. Twenty-nine were sent to Springfield under command of Major Pynchon.¹ Leift. Clarke and twenty-six men

¹ Mass. Archives, book 68, leaf 66.

were left at Northampton, thirty at Hadley commanded by Captain Jonathan Poole, and thirty-six at Hatfield, with Leift. Allice.

Having made this provision for the defence of the frontier towns, Major Appleton marched home, probably about November 24th. A feeling of comfortable security filled the town, when the Major and his soldiers returned. A few weeks before, the Indians had appeared at Salisbury, and General Denison marched thither with his troops. The outposts at Topsfield and Andover were greatly alarmed at seeing Indians, as they supposed. "It is hardly imaginable," Denison wrote from Ipswich on the 28th of October, "the panick fear that is upon our upland plantations, and scattered places, respecting their habitations."¹ The General Court on October 13th had ordered a guard of two men, appointed by General Denison or the chief commander of the town of Ipswich, to keep watch at Deputy Governor Symonds's Argilla farm, as it was "so remote from neighbours, and he so much necessitated to be on the country's service."

No doubt the distracted people slept more soundly, and gathered hope and strength. But the interval of calm was short. Scarcely had Appleton and his men returned from their campaign, when they were summoned into the field for a united assault upon the Narragansett Indians in their stronghold. Though his distinguished services would seem to us sufficient reason for his appointment to the chief command of the army of a thousand men, that was now raised from the colonies of Massachusetts, Plymouth, and Connecticut, he readily accepted a subordinate position.

The Massachusetts complement of soldiers was 527, and Major Appleton was appointed to command this regiment, as well as his own company.² A fresh impressment was necessary, and it is not strange that the hardships of military service in mid-winter and the peculiar dangers and horrors of the war with the Indians, should have terrified many of the colonists. Many, who were impressed, hid away and it was with no small difficulty that the full quota was secured. Especial interest

¹ Mass. Archives, book 68, leaf 30.

² Mass. Archives, book 68, leaf 91.

attaches to the following letter, written by General Denison, which reveals the strain put upon our own Town to meet the heavy demands of the War.

Sr^t

In obedience to your late order for the impressing of 185 souldiers wee have listed the persons underwritten who are fitted with arms, ammunition & cloaths as the order directes only you may please to understand y^t some of the persons now returned have withdrawn themselves, Although warning hath been left at the places of their abode & their parents required to be ready to go in their steads if their sons should faile. Wee have also (lest the services should be neglected) warned other men to make up the number of 28 which is our town's proportion, if any of these now returned should faile.

Moses Pengry	Jonathan Fantum
John Denison	Sam ^{ll} Hunt Jun ^r
John Perkins	John Thomas
Sam ^{ll} Perkins	Abram Fitz
Abram Knolton	Richard Bidford
Thomas Faussee	Thomas Killom
Lewis Zachariah	Isaac Cumins
John Lovel	Richard Pasmore
Sam ^{ll} Peirce	Richard Prior
Sam ^{ll} Smith	George Timpson
Andrew Burley	Peter Lurvey
Thomas Dow	Benjamin Newman
Thomas French	Will ^m Hodgskin
John Knolton	Samuel Taylor

These three last very Lusty young men were under a late press & not discharged but required to attend when called, have by the artifice of their parents absconded for the present though their parents have beene required to bring them foorth or be ready themselves to march. Wee have not 3 abler, lustier young fellows in our towne and few exceeding them in the country nor may be better spared. I have not further to trouble you but presenting my services to yourselves & the rest of the magistrates.

rest

Y^r humble servant

Salem, Novem. 30: 1675.

DANIEL DENISON.

These three eventually appeared and acquitted themselves with honor, and one of them, Samuel Taylor, fell in the

assault upon the Indian stronghold. Many a home must have been saddened by the voluntary enlistment or the impressment of the young men, and great honor is due to the parents, who willingly gave up their sons, and to the seasoned veterans, and the new soldiers, who went with them to receive their baptism of fire.

Major Appleton marched away on the eighth of December probably, as the whole Massachusetts force mustered on Dedham Plain on the ninth. There were five companies, commanded by Captains Mosely, Gardner, Davenport, Oliver and Johnson, beside the company of which Major Appleton was Captain.

A list of Major Appleton's company, of which Jeremiah Swain was Lieutenant, is preserved in the state Archives, and is transcribed in full.¹ It included soldiers from many towns, but the place of residence is not given.

Sergt Ezek. Woodward	Robert Leach
Sergt John Whiteher	Samuel Hubbard
Sergt Francis Young	Anthonie Williams
Sergt Daniel Ringe	Steven Buttler
Corp. John Pengillie	Samuel Verry
Corp. James Brarley	William Wainwright
Clark Philemon Deane	Samuel Foster
Trump. John Wheeler	Robert Simson
Josiah Bridges	Israell Thorne
Thomas Wayte	Samuel Ferson
Thomas Sparks	John Newhall
Abiell Saddler	Timothie Breed
Gershon Browne	Samuel Pipin
Israel Henricks	Phillip Matoon
Thomas Tennie	Nath Wood
Thomas Hazon	Robert Sibbly
Robert Dounes	Will Webb
Richard Briar	Joseph Eaton
Joseph Richardson	Roger Vicar
Thomas Chase	Arthur Neale
William Williams	Isaack Ellirie
Thomas Abbey	Ben Chadwell
John Rayment	John Davis

¹ Mass. Archives, book 68, leaf 97.

Samuel Brabrook
 Isaach Ilsley
 Roger Markes
 Ben Leingdon
 John Reylie
 Steven Gulliver
 Daniell Hall
 Solomon Watts
 Eliezer Flagg
 John Warner
 Thomas Firman
 Will Knowlton
 Nath Masters
 Michale Parrich
 Thomas Davis
 Caleb Richardson
 John Boyenton
 Seth Story
 Ben Webbster
 Edward Ardaway
 Samuel Russ
 Silvester Haz
 Will Russel
 Sam Peirce
 Sam Buttrick
 Ephraim Cutter
 George Stedman
 Edmond Sheffield
 Roger Joans

Those y^t are wanting

John Ford
 Thomas Parloe
 John Davis
 Robert Peas

The men y^t are now listed

Moses Pengrie
 John Denison
 John Perkins
 Abraham Knowlton
 Lewis Zachriah
 John Lovwell
 Sam Peirce¹
 George Stimson
 Thomas Dow
 Thomas French
 Sam Hunt
 John Thomas
 Abraham Fitts
 Richard Bedford
 Thomas Killam
 Isaach Cummins
 Richard Partsmore
 Richard Priar
 Ben Newman
 Will Hodgkins
 Sam Taylor
 Amos Goddin
 Samuel Perkins
 Peter Emons
 Nath Emerson
 Symond¹ Adams
 Zacheus Newmarsh
 John Hobkins
 John Sticknie
 Joseph Jewet
 Joshua Boyenton
 John Leyton
 John Jackson
 Will Browne

¹ Occurs in list of old soldiers.

Caleb Jackson	Christopher Kenniston
Sam Tyler	Christopher Cole
Thomas Palmer	John Straton
Joseph Bigsby	John Harvey
Symond Gowin	George Maier
Daniel Somersby	Nicolaz Rollings
Samuell Lovewell	Thomas Roggers
Steven Sweet	Cornelius Davis
Israh Ross	Jonathan Clarke
Sam Poore	Will Sayward
Henry Poore	William Warrin
Christopher Bartlet	John Shepard
Edmond Browne	John Guylie
Jonathan Emerie	Morgain Joanes

61 new men

75 old souldiers

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Many Ipswich men were in that little army beside the group of newly impressed, whose names have been given. Moses Pengry, son of the salt-maker, whose house still stands at the foot of Summer street, John Denison, John Andrews and Abiel Saddler had been with Lathrop in the slaughter at Bloody Brook. Sergt. Daniel Ringe was a survivor of that fatal day. Philemon Deane, Clerk of the Company, had been in the fall campaign, and many familiar names appear in the roll of the "old soldiers."

Major Appleton led his force on that winter's day, December 9th, a long march of twenty-seven miles to "Woodecks", now Attleboro, and another day brought them to Seaconck. On December 14th, as his scouts had brought in some Indians, he led his troops, foot and horse, on a detour into the Indian country, and burned a hundred and fifty wigwams, killed seven of the enemy and brought in eight prisoners.¹

As the army advanced, several of the soldiers, straggling from their companies, were slain by roving bands of Indians. To prevent this, Major Appleton stationed some of the companies three miles from headquarters, to guard all approaches.

¹ Capt. Oliver's Narrative.

The Ipswich company was located thus, on the 15th of December, when an attack was made and several of the soldiers killed.¹

By the 18th of December, the Connecticut and Plymouth soldiers had joined the Massachusetts regiment, and as provisions were scarce and the cold was sharp, an advance was made at once. A heavy snowstorm came on. There was no shelter for officers or common soldiers, and after a long and trying march, they lay down in the snow, "finding no other Defense all that Night, save the open Air, nor other covering than a cold and moist fleece of snow." At daylight the march was resumed, and Rev. Mr. Hubbard, recording the substance of many conversations no doubt, with the Major and his men, informs us that "they marched from the break of the next day, December 19th, till one of the Clock in the Afternoon, without either Fire to warm them, or Respite to take any Food save what they could chew on their March." They wallowed through snow, two or three feet deep, with many frostbitten in their hands and feet, fourteen or fifteen miles to the edge of a swamp, where their Indian guides affirmed the Narragansetts had their stronghold. Captain Mosely and Captain Davenport led the van, Captain Gardner and Captain Johnson followed, Major Appleton and Captain Oliver brought up the rear of the Massachusetts force. The Plymouth soldiers with General Winslow marched in the centre, and the Connecticut men under Major Treat formed the rear guard of the little army.

Notwithstanding the hardships of their march, the soldiers rushed impetuously into the swamp, without waiting the word of command, and pursued the Indians, who had shown themselves, to the fort, which had been built on an island, and strongly defended with an impassable palisado of logs, stuck upright, and a dense hedge. At one corner only there was a gap, where a single tree, placed horizontally formed the only defence, but a kind of blockhouse had been built over against this, for its defence. A rush was made at this point, but it was met with a deadly fire from the block-house. Captain Johnson fell dead at the entrance, and Captain Davenport, a few steps within. Retreating a little, all fell on their faces that the hot fire might

¹ Capt. Oliver's Narrative.

spend itself a little. Our Ipswich historian, Mr. Hubbard, says that at this crisis, "two companies being brought up besides the four that first marched up, they animated one another to make another assault, one of the Commanders crying out, "They run! they run!" which did so encourage the Soldiers that they presently entered a main." These two companies, undoubtedly, were those led by Major Appleton and Captain Oliver, and an old record remains that John Raymond of Middleborough, who is credited to Major Appleton's company, was the first to enter the fort. The Indians held their ground with great determination, but after several hours of sharp fighting, their wigwams were set on fire, and they were put to rout with great slaughter.

It was a dearly bought victory. Three of the six Massachusetts Captains, Davenport, Gardner and Johnson, and three Connecticut captains lay dead, and many officers and men were wounded. All had behaved with the greatest gallantry, but Hubbard singles out the Major of the Massachusetts regiment and Captain Mosely for special commendation. The short winter day was spent before the battle was done, and as the Indian fort was deemed an unsafe camp, the desperate alternative remained of marching back to the nearest settlement, full fifteen or sixteen miles, after night had fallen. Bearing the dead, and helping the wounded, the survivors struggled back. The horrors of that night march pass imagination. Many of the wounded perished by the way, and the strongest were completely spent before a safe shelter was reached. Four of Major Appleton's soldiers were killed, Samuel Taylor of Ipswich, Isaac Ellery of Gloucester, Daniel Rolfe of Newbury and Samuel Tyler of Rowley. Eighteen were wounded, including John Denison, George Timson, and Thomas Dow of Ipswich.¹

Provisionally the battle was fought and the retreat made on the 19th of December. A great snowstorm set in on the day following, succeeded by a great thaw. While they remained in camp, fresh impressments of troops were made, and on January 10th, "Fresh Supplies of Soldiers came up from Boston, wading through a sharp Storm of Snow that bit some of them by the Heels with the Frost." A contemporary writer records

¹ Mass. Archives book 68, leaf 104.

that eleven were frozen to death.¹ A second body of recruits was sent to Major Appleton a little later, and among them was James Foord of Ipswich, a soldier in the company of Captain Samuel Brocklebank of Rowley who had taken the field early in January.¹ By the latter part of the month, the weather grew milder and the pursuit of the Indians began. It continued as far as Quabaug, but no decisive action was possible with the wily foe. Provisions were scant, and men and horses were sorely pinched with hunger. Many of the horses were killed and eaten and the campaign was long remembered as the Hungry March. The soldiers arrived home early in February, and Major Appleton seems to have retired from active service.

Within a week after their return, the weary soldiers, scarcely recruited from the exhausting ordeal of the Hungry March, were again in the field. Alarming reports had come of the disaster at Lancaster. The minister of the town, Joseph Rowlandson, was an Ipswich man, whose father's house was near the meeting house on Meeting House Hill. The older folk of Ipswich remembered him well, and the tale of the assault upon his home in his absence, the massacre of many gathered there, and the capture of his wife and children, added fresh horror to the war. Mrs. Rowlandson was finally released, and her Narrative of her captivity reveals a most pathetic and dreadful experience.

Medfield was soon burned, and on February 25th, Weymouth was partly destroyed. In March, Groton was surprised and burnt, and the inhabitants fled in terror, abandoning the settlement. Wrentham was abandoned in similar fashion. The Indians moved rapidly from point to point; small parties appeared suddenly in the most unexpected localities, killing a man or two, and then disappearing, "skulking up and down in swamps and Holes, to assault any that occasionally looked never so little into the woods."² The towns in the Connecticut valley were panic-struck.

A new army was immediately ordered, and fresh levies of foot and horse soldiers were ordered by the General Court on the 21st of February. Cornet John Whipple of Ipswich, who

¹ Bodge, *Soldiers of King Philip's War*, p. 201.

² Hubbard, *Indian Wars*.

had already served with honor in the earlier campaigns, was made Captain of the new troop of horse, and Major General Denison was ordered to Marlborough to dispose the soldiers gathered there under the several captains, and take charge of the campaign.¹ Captain Brocklebank, of Rowley, was placed in command of the Marlborough garrison.

Alarming reports were soon brought to Ipswich of the approach of marauding bands. General Denison was at home, and his letter of the 19th of March to Secretary Rawson, reveals a time of alarm and nervous apprehension of an attack, in which his presence must have been a source of great comfort to the community.²

Mr. Secretary:—

I received your intelligence, the substance whereof I had 2 hours before by ye way of Billerica and Andover together with certaine intelligence, that the enemy is passed Merrimack, their tracks found yesterday at Wamesit and 2 of their scouts, this morning at Andover, who by 2 posts one in the night & again this day about 2 of the clocke importune for help, as doth Haveril & Major Pike for Norfolk. I am wth great difficulty sending up 60 men this night under Capt. Appleton to Andover, who will also take this opportunity if not prevented, to attend the Council order for survey of the townes of this county who are sufficiently alarmed. Did not I judge my presence here more necessary than anything I could contribute there, I would most willingly embrace the opportunity, were it but for ease.

I suppose this will excuse me to the Council, whatever it will to ye people. I hope my brother Bradstreet will publish my excuse, had he writ I might have ordered some of his best things to have been brought of from Andover. I am in extremity of hast at sun-sett despatching the souldiers to the great dissatisfaction of the towne. Let God arise and our enemies shall be scattered.

Y^r Humble Servant, DANIEL DENISON.

Ips. March 19, at six at night, 1675.

if Capt. Appleton returne wth
good news, & it be necessary for
me to come, if I understand
it I shall attend, tho: our Court
should be next weeke.

¹ Mass. Records, vol. v, p. 75.

² Mass. Archives, Book 68, Leaf 165.

pray my Brother Bradstreet to comend to the Council that many of our towne souljers that are now under Capt. Cook, intended for Capt. Sill to be a guard for myself & the Commissioners will be extremely wronged if they be kept out, hoping they should have had favor for a speedy returne, some of their occasions & families will extreamely suffer, as Samuel Ingols a farmer with a great family, Mr. The Wade & divers others indeed the most of Ipswich and one of Rowley, Leiftenant Mihil.

The arrival of the two galloping post riders, the hasty assembling of troops, their march at sunset, the discontent of the town in being left defenceless, made the day memorable. Captain John Appleton is undoubtedly the Captain Appleton mentioned, as he had been appointed Chairman of the Committee on Defence for the County. His sixty men were probably the train band of the Town, and there must have been great distress through that long March night in many homes. The regular night watch was kept with redoubled diligence, and at early dawn the scouts and pickets were sent out. A few hours would suffice to bring the dreaded foe from Andover or Haverhill, and at any moment the war whoop might sound and the assault be made. But the hours wore on, no alarm was given, and gradually confidence returned to the distressed town.

Instant care was now given to fortifying the eastern towns. The Quixotic scheme of building a line of fence or stockado or stone fort was seriously proposed. It was to be eight feet high and extend from Charles River, where it was navigable, to Concord River in Billerica, about twelve miles, reaching from pond to pond, and ending at Merrimack River. It was ordered by the Council that "the several towns that fall within this tract, viz., Salem, Charlestown, Cambridge, Watertown, Ipswich, Newbury, Wooburne, Maldon, Billerekey, Gloster, Beverly, Wenham, Manchester, Bradford, Meadford . . . each choose one able & fitt man to meet at Cambridge on last day of March at 8 o'clock in the morning, & thence proceed to survey the line & how it should be built, maintained & defended."¹

The men of Topsfield questioned the wisdom of this order and recommended that as they were already divided into four garrisons and four companies, it would be best for some man

¹ Mass. Archives, book 68, leaf 172.

or men to be assigned to order each company. The citizens of Rowley apprehended that the cost would be very great, and hoped that they would not be compelled to send out men to garrison towns beyond the line.¹ The action of Ipswich coincided in spirit, but is expressed curiously and wonderfully.²

Ipswich, March 23, 1675/6

At a meeting of the Selekt men of Ipswich March 23^d 75/76.

We having taken Into Considderation what the Honored Counsell dede propounde unto us as to the fortyfing from Meramacke River and so to Charles River our answer is this thing being altogether darke to us (as to the feasableness of it for the end propounded) wee leave it to the Consideration of thoos that are wiser then ourselves and also we thinke the difficultry of ataning it to be doune at such a time as this is to be soo great and as to fensing or fortinge doe thinke it will moste conduce to our publike safty to have a sufficient company that may Range backward and forward as the Honored Counsell shall think meatte.

GEORGE GIDDINGS
JOHN DANE
JOHN DENISON
NATHANIEL WELLS
SIMON STACE

Beverly had already planned four fortifications, three of which were built, "at or near all which fortifications we have watches kept and have apointed to each garrison or fortification a competent number of our inhabitants, into which in case of alarm or invasion they are to repair for the security of themselves and families."³ Salem had established general garrisons in exposed places, and had begun a substantial wall to reach from river to river.⁴

The Committee for Essex County to view the towns and report their measures for defence, included many interesting items in their report.⁵

¹ Mass. Archives, book 68, leaf 175.

² Mass. Archives, book 68, leaf 176.

³ Mass. Archives, book 68, leaf 178.

⁴ Mass. Archives, book 68, leaf 182.

⁵ Mass. Archives, book 68, leaf 184.

"At Newberry wee find seavrall of y^e remoat houses fortified & y^e towne In a way of fortification as appears from their return."

"Att Rowley, Wee finde soo many Garrisons allreddy made w^{ch} wth o^t they have farther orde^r will bee sufficient for y^e Secureing of all y^e Inhabitants"

"Att Ipswich Wee find y^t there are Soe many Garrisons as may Secure all y^e out houses, and for y^e Towne a Generall fortification w^{ch} is allmost compleated."

Signed. Salem
29th March 1675-6.

JOHN APPLETON
JOHN PUTNAM
THOMAS CHANDLER

The fortification, we know, was around the meeting house, and a family tradition locates one of the garrison houses near the River not far from the residence of Mr. George E. Barnard. The same provision for keeping watch and ward, and for defence in case of attack, was doubtless made as in other towns. Every able-bodied man was trained and disciplined. Every family was anxious. Meanwhile the men at the front were eager for release. Captain Brocklebank had written from Marlborough to General Denison, and the General's letter to the Secretary, under the date of March 27th, reveals the reasonable complaint of the excellent Captain. He had written that he and his company had been in the country's service ever since the first of January at Narragansett, and "within one weeke after their return were sent out againe having neither time nor money(save a fortnights pay upon their march) to recruite themselves." "I am therefore sollicitous," the General concludes, "for many of them that out of a respect to myself went willingly hoping for a speedy returne to their families." Spring was at hand and the planting of their fields required their presence.¹

On the 28th of March, Captain Brocklebank wrote again, reporting an attack on Marlborough, and the burning of many houses and barns.² He was not relieved, however, and remained at his post in command of the garrison.

On the first of April, Major Savage, in a letter of instructions, remarked, "touching that rebuke of God upon Captain Whipple & y^e poore people at Springfield, it is matter of great shame

¹ Mass. Archives, book 63, leaf 179.

² Mass. Archives, book 68, leaf 180.

and humbling to us."¹ Evidently our trooper was held responsible for the reverse in that quarter. Soon after, he began the homeward march. At Quabaug (Brookfield), the order from the Council to make an attack upon the Indians at Wachusett was discussed in a council of war. It was decided to be impossible under the circumstances, and Captain Whipple seems justified in his stand against it, as he reported that half of his troop was not able to march, and the other half had but one day's provision for six days' march.² Sixteen men under Lieutenant Flood petitioned for leave to go home and plant for the support of their families, as their poor horses were nearly worn out. Two of the Ipswich troopers, Thomas Numan and Nathaniell Adams, were of this group.³

Captain Brocklebank remained at Marlborough, which was assailed and set on fire a second time, and on April 21st, the neighboring town of Sudbury was surprised. Captain Wadsworth was sent from Boston with fifty soldiers to relieve the Marlborough garrison. They made a hurried march of twenty-five miles, reaching Marlborough at night. Finding that the enemy was at Sudbury ten miles away, without allowing themselves time for rest, they hastened thither, Captain Brocklebank and some of the garrison, accompanying them. Near Sudbury, they met a small body of Indians, who withdrew at their approach and lured them into the woods. There a great body assailed them. The weary soldiers made a brave defence, but they were hopelessly outnumbered. Captain Wadsworth fell, and Captain Brocklebank, whom Mr. Hubbard characterizes as "a choice spirited Man, much lamented by the Town of Rowley, to which he belonged." More than thirty soldiers, it is believed, were slain, as they were making their retreat from the hilltop, where they had made a brave stand for four hours. This was the last great tragedy of the War. Later operations against the Indians were uniformly successful. On August 12, 1676, Philip was slain at Mount Hope.

Exultation over the death of the dreaded chief had hardly

¹ Mass. Archives, book 68, leaf 192.

² Mass. Archives, book 68, leaf 235.

³ Mass. Archives, book 68, leaf 246.

spent itself when hostilities began at the Eastward. Many of the Indians, who had been scattered by the successful tactics on the Connecticut, made their way to the Indian tribes in the neighborhood of Casco Bay, and incited them to rise against the white men. Hostilities began there in September, 1676, and attacks were soon made on Oyster River and Durham, N. H., and Exeter. An old man was shot down on the road to Hampton. York suffered on the 26th of September, and the whole country about the Piscataqua was in alarm. Men, women and little children were killed and scalped, houses and barns burned, and cattle driven away.

General Denison was commander-in-chief, and Major Hathorne led the forces in the field. Again Ipswich became the centre of activity. One of Denison's letters, directed to some officer at the front, indicates the constant alarms, which disturbed the Town.

Sir—

Yours of the 27 instant came to my hands about 10 at night being then in Bed & very ill yet notwithstanding by break of day I got up, though then in a feverish distemper to . . . the contents thereof to the deputy & Major Hathorne, but by reason of their distant lodgings could not understand their minds till they judged it impossible for them to reach Boston till late at night.

Ipswich, Sept. 28 at 9 mor.

Mr. Hubbard gives a distressing account of the outrages committed by the Indians in the neighborhood of the Kennebeck river. The whole country was a scene of desolation, houses burned, crops destroyed, and many lives lost. Early in October, the alarming tidings came that the settlement at Cape Neddick had been burned. The smoke from the burning might have been seen perhaps from our Town Hill or Castle Hill. The hearts of our Ipswich people might well have failed them.

Major Hathorne had hurried away from Ipswich to defend the settlements at York and further Eastward. His letter of Oct. 2, 1676, brought word of the disaster at Cape Neddick, and, on the next day, General Denison wrote that he was send-

ing forward ammunition and supplies for his troops.¹ The trains of creaking wagons, laden with these supplies, guarded by soldiery, dragging through our Town, the arrival and departure of troops, the galloping haste of post-riders with dispatches to the commander-in-chief, must have disturbed the peace of the community constantly. Major Appleton was drawn once more into the public service and dispatched to the Eastward under orders, dated October 19th, to take charge of all the forces.² He seems to have declined this responsibility however, as the order was rescinded.

A vigorous march was made to Ossipee, where it was reported there was a great gathering of Indians. It was a fruitless move in its direct result, but indirectly it may have been the impelling cause that led Mugg, one of the Indian chiefs, to desire peace. He demanded and received a "Letter of safe conduct" from Governor Leverett, and started for Boston. General Denison was at Portsmouth and met the Indian, but declined the responsibility of making terms with him and sent him on by land to Boston. He stopped in Ipswich and paid his respects to the minister, Mr. Thomas Cobbet, whose son was then in captivity among the Indians at the Eastward. Mr. Hubbard, who was associated with Mr. Cobbet in the ministry, very likely saw the famous chief, and perhaps conversed with him for he had been much with the English and was well acquainted with the language.

The monotonous chronicles of his History might have been marvelously enlivened, if he had but recorded in detail that picturesque event, when the Indian, who was held responsible for the horrors of the Eastern war, whose name was a watchword of fear and hate, appeared in the Town, and went his way down High street, to Mr. Cobbet's home. No visitor to Ipswich, we may well believe, was ever the object of greater curiosity and awe. To Mr. Cobbet, it was an occasion of tragic interest. His son, Thomas, had been captured by the Indians, in October, but had not been injured, and tidings of his capture had been sent his friends, with demand for a ransom. Not

¹ Mass. Archives, book 69, leaves 66, 67.

² Mass. Archives, book 69, leaf 70.

relying upon schemes for release, the Pastor, "all the Time of his Son's Captivity, together with his Friends, wrestled with God, in their daily Prayers for his Release."¹ The coming of Mugg must have seemed providential, and great pressure must have been brought to bear upon the chief to secure his release.

He made fair promises and went his way to Boston, where he made a formal Covenant and Agreement with the Governor in the name of Madockawando and Chebartina, Sachems of Penobscot. He bound himself, in return for favors promised by the Governor, to secure the release of all the English captives, and pledged that he would remain as a hostage until the captives were delivered.

Having been sent to the Maine coast on a vessel, he arrived at the Penobscot early in December. There, by a happy circumstance, he met Thomas Cobbet. Taking the young man by his hand and calling him by name, Mugg told him he had been at his father's house ("which was November the first or second before, as he passed through Ipswich to Boston") and had promised to send him home as soon as he returned. The Sachem demanded a ransom, "not understanding before that his Father was a great Preachman as they used to call it." Whereupon he was shown a fine coat, and he then consented to his release. He arrived in Boston on Christmas Day, and was soon at home.

Mr. Hubbard heard from his own lips undoubtedly the stirring narrative which his History preserves. "Amongst all the Prisoners at that Time taken," he observes, "the said Thomas Cobbit seemed to have had the hardest Portion: For besides the desperate Dangers that he escaped before he was taken, First, by a Bullet, shot through his Wast-coat, Secondly, by a drunken Indian, who had a knife at his Throat to cut it, when his hands were bound: When the Indians came to share the Prisoners amongst them, he fell into the Hands of one of the ruggedest Fellows, by whom within a few days after his surprisal, he was carryed first from Black-point to Shippscot River in the Ketch, which the Indians made them to sayl for them into the said River, from thence he was forced to travel with his Pateroon four or five Miles overland to Damariscotta,

¹ Hubbard, *Indian Wars*.

where he was compelled to row, or paddle in a Canoo about fifty-five Miles farther to Penobscot, and there taking leave of all his English Friends and Acquaintance at least for the Winter, he was put to paddle a Canoo up fifty or sixty Miles farther Eastward to an Island called Mount Desart, where his Pater-oon used to keep his Winter Station, and to appoint his hunting Voyages: and in that Desart-like Condition was the poor young Man forced to continue nine Weeks in the service of a Salvage Miscreant, who sometimes would tyranize over him, because he could not understand his Language and, for Want thereof, might occasion him to miss of his Game, or the like. Whatever Sickness he was obnoxious unto, by Change of Dyet, or other Account, he could expect no other Allowance than the wigwam will afford. If Joseph be in the Prison so long as God is with him there, he shall be preserved, and in due time remembered."

At the end of the nine weeks the Indian had spent all his ammunition, and sent young Cobbet down the Penobscot to get a fresh supply, and he happened there just in time to meet Mugg. Once while traveling in Mount Desert, Mr. Cobbet's senses had been suddenly benumbed and he fell helpless upon the snow, but the Indians fortunately missed him in time, and went back and carried him to a wigwam. "At another Time, the Salvage Villain, whose Prisoner he was so long as he had strong Liquor, for five Days together was so drunk that he was like a furious mad Beast, so as none durst come near him, his Squaws he almost brained in one of those drunken Fits."

"The said Thomas was forced to get out of his Sight into the Woods all that Night for Fear of being mischiefed by him: where making a Fire he kept himself alive. The Squaws being by God's special Providence so inclined to Pity that they came to him daily with Victuals, by which Means he was at that Time also preserved. All which put together makes his Deliverance the more remarkable, as an Answer of Prayer."

Rev. Mr. Cobbet was so impressed with the evident answer to his prayers, that he wrote a Narrative, detailing the dangers and deliverances of his son,¹ and many a pious heart in the

¹ New England Hist. and Gen. Register VII, pp. 216, 217.

Ipswich Church was strengthened to new faith in God in those dark and troublous times, by the sight of the young man, safe and sound among them.

Notwithstanding this Covenant between Mugg and the Governor, signed on November 6, 1676, the war was not ended. No further active operations were undertaken however, as the winter was close at hand. This policy of delay was very irritating to the worthy Deputy Governor, Mr. Samuel Symonds, and a vigorous letter of his, written to some official, dated at Ipswich, January 22, 1676, summoned to instant action. He urged immediate operations at the East before spring came, when the leaves would render ambuscades easy, and the canoes could move readily with the Indians. "If it cost £1000 now, it would cost £10,000 in the end to repair damages," he declared.

"The desire and expectation of the Townes hereabout is for it, for some of Rowley, Haverhill, Newbury, having had occasion to be with me have expressed as much, & scarce a man of another mind (that I can p'ceive)"

"From Salem to the East will count themselves unsafe (at present) if they be left alone till the Spring."¹

The Deputy Governor seems to have voiced the public sentiment. An expedition was dispatched to the East under Major Walderne early in February, but it accomplished little and arrived back in Boston on the 11th of March. The Indians resumed hostilities in April. Again came the call for soldiers and again the dauntless men of Ipswich had their place in the little army that was hurried to the front. The enemy was close at hand in Wells, York, and Portsmouth, but the decisive event of the campaign happened at Black Point, where Captain Lovett's company was led into an ambuscade and he and about forty of his command were slain. Dr. Barton of Salem, the surgeon, reported among the casualties of this engagement probably, Israel Hunewell of Ipswich wounded in the leg and shoulder, and among the slain were four Ipswich men, James Burbee, Sam^l Pooler, In^e Poland and Thomas Burns.²

Major Robert Pike of Salisbury wrote on the 8th of July, 1677, that Simon a notorious Indian leader in many cruel at-

¹ Mass. Archives, book 69, leaf 99.

² Mass. Archives, book 69, leaf 137.

tacks was in the neighborhood. Captain Garish had come over with Captain Appleton, and "Captain Whiple showed me a commition in Captain Apleton's hand to bring over a parte of horse & foott to join with ours." "Captain Apleton mad som dout how the whole party would comodiously pceed in our woods the foot not able to keep to the pace of the horse, nor y^e horse willing to y^e slow motion of y^e foott."

The danger line came no nearer, however. Peace settled gradually upon the community wearied and worn with so many alarms. The strain upon the life of the Colony had been intense. The financial burden of equipping troops, maintaining them in the field, and meeting losses occasioned by the burning of houses and of whole towns was most oppressive. The drain upon the young life was exhausting. Scarcely a family could have escaped the anxiety due to the presence of some member in the field, or the grief over his death. In Newbury, the first impressment was made on August 5, 1675, of nine men and fourteen days' provisions. On August 6th, seven more were impressed and fourteen days' provisions, and an equal number on August 27th, with fourteen days' provisions and twenty three horses, saddles and bridles. Two men and two days' provisions, on September 23rd, five men, ten days' provisions, and twenty-three horses, saddles and bridles, on September 27th, and a single man on September 29th, completed another month's impressments. In December, for the Narragansett campaign, twenty-four men were impressed, making a total of forty-eight men and forty-six horses¹ for the year. Ipswich was obliged to bear an equal burden at least. The expectation of assault was constant and distressing.

The tone of moral sentiment became morbid and abnormal. Recognizing in the calamities that were heaped upon them, the chastisement of a wise and holy God, the General Court, assembled in November, 1675, enacted a series of laws, full of minute and painful requisitions.

Children were to be watched over and catechised more carefully by the elders. The wearing of long hair by men, and women's vain habit of cutting and curling their hair were forbidden. Excessive elegance of male and female apparel was put

¹ Coffin: Hist. of Newbury, p. 117.

under the ban. Quakers were visited with fresh restrictions. The turning of the backs of worshippers upon the minister before the service was fully ended was condemned, and more strict watch was to be kept over children and youth in the meeting house. The sin of idleness was dealt with and excessive prices for merchandise or for labor were restrained. All the freshness and playfulness of childhood and youth were viewed with abhorrence by these Puritan legislators. The Sabbath day and every day was made irksome. Even the camp of the soldiers was put under minute supervision. We have already recalled the extraordinary regulations issued at the beginning of the war. They were rigorously observed. Jonathan Atherton, a soldier under Captain Henchman, was sentenced to lose a fortnight's pay for profanation of the Sabbath at Concord. He testified that as his shoes were too big from constantly being in water and dew, he cut a piece out of an old hat to put in them; and as the cartridges in his bag had become worn with travel so that they lost their powder, he emptied them.¹ This was the whole offence for which he was fined so heavily.

But in the treatment of the Indians, there was an excess of virulent hate that is painful, though not surprising. Allowance must be made for the natural hatred roused by the craft and cruelties of the Indians, and their ingratitude for kind treatment, yet a fair minded man like Major Gookin found much to blame in the unrighteous dealings of the English with this inferior race. Two hundred were captured by craft at Dover, though no crime was proved against them, and sold into slavery. King Philip's son, a lad of tender years was sent to Barbadoes as a slave. Twenty shillings bounty was offered for every Indian scalp and forty shillings for every prisoner, in the Eastern campaign².

Captain Mosely captured an Indian woman early in the war, and in the postscript of his letter to the Governor, he wrote: "This aforesaid Indian was ordered to be torn in peeces by Doggs and she was soe dealt withall."³ Mr. Drake, in his Notes to

¹ Mass. Archives, book 69, leaf 29.

² Mass. Archives, book 69, leaf 129.

³ Bodge: Soldiers in King Philip's War, p. 69.

Hubbard's History, quotes from a deposition of Robert Roules of Marblehead, that some Indians captured a ketch near Cape Sable and obliged the crew to sail it for them. Rising suddenly against their captors they bound them and sailed for Marblehead. On taking their prisoners on shore the whole Town flocked about them, especially the women. They soon overpowered their keepers, "got the Indians into their own Hands, and with Stones and Billets, and what not else, made an end of them."¹

Such shocking cruelties were probably too frequent. The Indian captives were apportioned among the soldiery as the spoils of war. Captain John Whipple's estate was inventoried in 1683, and among the items, we find "Lawrence ye Indian, at £4." He was undoubtedly a slave, captured in this campaign,² and it is likely there were others, brought home by officers from the war. Major Appleton bought three captives, and Samuel Symonds, Esq, paid £5 for an Indian boy and girl.³

The contribution of Ipswich to the army was notable. General Denison was the commander-in-chief of all the forces of the Colony. Major Appleton brought the first campaign to a victorious close, and by his decisive repulse of the Indians at Hatfield and elsewhere saved not only the Connecticut towns from destruction, but delivered the Colony from their invasions. His services in the Narragansett winter campaign were of great value. Mr. Bodge, in his "Soldiers in King Philip's War" quotes the judgment of a critic whose name is not mentioned: "Of all the military commanders of this war I must consider Major Appleton the ablest, and the tide of warfare in the western towns turned towards safe and successful methods from the time of his appointment to the command. I should place Major Treat of Connecticut, next to him, and perhaps in the same position he would have been equal." Captain John Whipple was a prominent officer in the first company of troopers that took the field, and was assigned to the command of another company in the following spring. Captain John Appleton, brother of Samuel, while not in the army, was undoubtedly

¹ Hubbard, Indian Wars, II, p. 237.

² Publications of Ipswich Hist. Soc., x, p. 29.

³ Bodge, Soldiers of King Philip's War, p. 480.

conspicuous in garrison service and in short dashes to points of danger.

The list of soldiers cannot be determined with assurance of perfect accuracy. No enlistment rolls are preserved in the Archives of the State, and the Town Records make no mention of impressments and give no names of soldiers.

In the Massachusetts Archives, the Roll of Major Appleton's Company is preserved and Denison's letter, with a list of those impressed on Nov. 30, 1675. Chief reliance is placed, however, on the invaluable work of Rev. George M. Bodge, entitled "Soldiers in King Philip's War." He has incorporated in this work a minute and admirable compilation of the account books of Mr. John Hull, Treasurer-at-war of Massachusetts Colony from 1675 to 1678. The record of payments for military service here preserved has made it possible for a list of soldiers to be constructed, and this great work has been accomplished by Mr. Bodge with painstaking care.

Careful comparison has been made of the list of soldiers in various companies with the list of the men of Ipswich, who took the oath of allegiance to Charles the Second in 1678, and the following list of names has been compiled, which may be presumed to be substantially correct. The similarity of certain family names in many towns, and the absence of middle names render absolute identification in every case, impossible. Rev. Joseph B. Felt, in his History of Ipswich, Essex, and Hamilton, published in 1834, and his appendix to Edward Everett's oration at Bloody Brook, claims some for Ipswich, who cannot be vouched for by any authority now known, and in some instances he seems to have been in error. When these names have been inserted they have been credited to him.

Nathaniel Adams,	Trooper under Lieut. Flood or Floyd. Captain Henchman's Company, campaign of spring of 1676, near Connecticut river.
Simon Adams,	Major Appleton's Company, Narragansett winter campaign. Captain Brocklebank's Company.
Alexander Alhor,	Assignment of wages to Ipswich. Credited at garrison at Quabaug, July 24, 1676.
John Andrews,	Credited in Captain Lathrop's Company, Feb. 29, 1675-6. Trooper, in Major Appleton's Company. Narragansett winter campaign.

Thomas Andrews,	Trooper, in Captain Whipple's Company. Credited Aug. 24; 1676.
Richard Bidford,	Impressed Nov. 30, 1675. Major Appleton's Company, Narragansett winter campaign.
Job Bishop,	Wages assigned to Ipswich Feb. 24, 1676-7. No service specified.
Samuel Bishop,	Trooper, in Captain Willard's Company. Credited July 24; 1676.
Christopher Bolles,	Wages assigned to Ipswich. No service specified.
Thomas Bray,	Wages assigned to Ipswich. No service specified.
Richard Briar,	Captain Appleton's Company, Narragansett winter campaign.
Josiah Briggs,	Wages assigned to Ipswich. Captain Lathrop's Company, at Bloody Brook.
John Browne,	Wages assigned to Ipswich. No service specified.
James Burbee,	Killed at Black Point.
Andrew Burley,	Impressed Nov. 30, 1675. Major Appleton's Company, Narragansett winter campaign.
James Burnam,	Trooper, in Major Appleton's Company, Narragansett winter campaign.
Thomas Burns,	Killed at Black Point.
Samuel Chapman,	Trooper, in Captain Whipple's Company. Credited June 24, 1676; Aug. 24, 1676.
John Chub,	Credited at garrison at Hadley, June 24, 1676.
Josiah Clark,	Captain Brocklebank's Company. Credited at Marlboro garrison, June 24, 1676.
Isaac Cumins,	Impressed Nov. 30, 1675. Major Appleton's Company, Narragansett winter campaign.
Philemon Deane,	Clerk, Major Appleton's Company, Narragansett winter campaign.
John Denison,	Captain Lathrop's Company at Bloody Brook. Impressed Nov. 30, 1675. Major Appleton's Company, Narragansett winter campaign. Wounded in the battle.
Thomas Dennis,	Credited at Marlboro garrison, June 24, 1676.
Thomas Dow,	Impressed Nov. 30, 1675. Major Appleton's Company, Narragansett winter campaign. Wounded in the battle.
Robert Dutch,	Captain Lathrop's Company at Bloody Brook. Wounded and left for dead. Major Appleton's Company. Credited Dec. 10, 1675.
John Edwards,	Wages assigned to Ipswich, Nov. 24, 1676. No service specified.

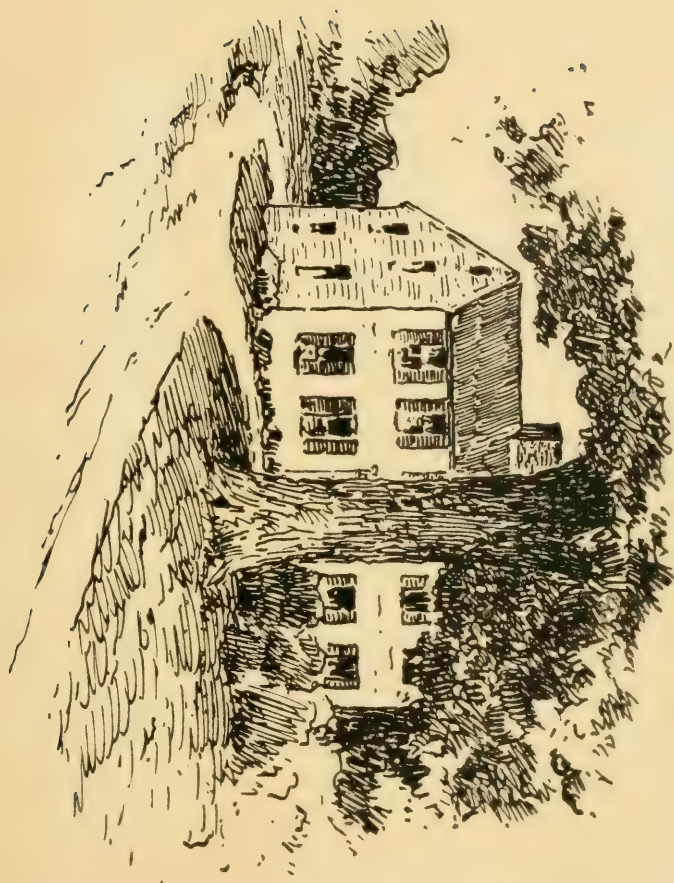
Nathaniel Emerson,	Major Appleton's Company, Narragansett winter campaign.
Peter Emons,	Major Appleton's Company, Narragansett winter campaign. Captain Gardiner's Company. Credited Feb. 16, 1675-6.
Jonathan Fantum,	Impressed Nov. 30, 1675. Major Appleton's Company, Narragansett winter campaign. Captain Brocklebank's Company.
Thomas Faussee,	Impressed Nov. 30, 1675. Major Appleton's Company, Narragansett winter campaign.
Ephraim Fellows,	Trooper, in Captain Paige's Company; credited Sept. 3, 1675. Captain Whipple's Company; credited Aug. 24, 1676.
Isaac Fellows,	Captain Willard's Company. Credited, July 24, 1676.
Joseph Fellows,	Wages assigned to Ipswich. No service specified.
Abram Fitz or Fitts,	Impressed Nov. 30 1675. Major Appleton's Company, Narragansett winter campaign.
James Foord,	Trooper, in Captain Paige's Company, Mt. Hope campaign. Credited Sept. 3, 1675. Major Appleton's Company. Captain Brocklebank's Company.
Thomas French,	Impressed Nov. 30, 1675. Major Appleton's Company, Narragansett winter campaign.
Samuel Giddings,	Trooper, in Captain Paige's Company, Mt. Hope campaign; credited Sept. 3, 1675. Captain Whipple's Company; credited Aug. 24, 1676
John Gilbert,	Wages assigned to Ipswich. No service specified.
Amos Gourdine, also spelled Gaudea, Goddin, Gody.	} Major Appleton's Company, Narragansett winter campaign. Captain Gardner's Company Credited Feb. 29, 1675-6, and July 24, 1676.
Simon Grow,	
Thomas Hobbs,	Captain Lathrop's Company; killed at Bloody Brook, Sept. 18, 1675. Felt (Appendix to Edward Everett's Address at Bloody Brook) says he belonged in Ipswich. He also credits John Hobs to Ipswich but he was impressed in Newbury, Aug. 5, 1675 (Coffin's History of Newbury, page 117).
William Hodgskin,	Impressed Nov. 30, 1675. Major Appleton's Company, Narragansett winter campaign.

Israell Hunewell,	Wounded in leg and shoulder at Black Point.
Samuel Hunt, Jr.	Impressed Nov. 30, 1675. Major Appleton's Company, Narragansett winter campaign.
Samuel Ingols,	Major Appleton's Company, Narragansett winter campaign. Major Willard's Company. Credited July 24, 1676.
Joseph Jacobs,	Captain Poole's Company. Credited Aug. 24, 1676.
Richard Jacobs,	Lieutenant and Captain, probably of Ipswich. Captain Brocklebank's Company. Credited Aug. 24, 1676.
Thomas Jaques,	Wages assigned to Ipswich. No service specified.
Jeremiah Jewett,	Wages assigned to Ipswich. No service specified.
Joseph Jewett,	Major Appleton's Company, Narragansett winter campaign. Captain Gardner's Company. Credited Feb. 29, 1675-6.
Thomas Killom,	Impressed Nov. 30, 1675. Major Appleton's Company, Narragansett winter campaign.
Caleb Kimball,	Captain Lathrop's Company. Killed at Bloody Brook.
Abraham Knowlton,	Impressed Nov. 30, 1675. Major Appleton's Company, Narragansett winter campaign.
John Knowlton,	Impressed Nov. 30, 1675. Major Appleton's Company, Narragansett winter campaign.
John Lambert,	Wages assigned to Ipswich. No service specified.
Nathaniel Lampson,	Wages assigned to Ipswich. No service specified.
Richard Lewis,	Wages assigned to Ipswich. No service specified.
John Leyton,	Major Appleton's Company, Narragansett winter campaign.
John Line or Lind, Lead in allegiance list.	Captain Willard's Company. Credited Aug. 24 1676.
John Littlehale,	Captain Lathrop's Company. Killed at Bloody Brook.
Nathaniel Lord,	Wages assigned to Ipswich. No service specified.
John Lovel,	Impressed Nov. 30, 1675. Major Appleton's Company, Narragansett winter campaign.
Jonathan Lummus,	Wages assigned to Ipswich. No service specified.
Peter Lurvey,	Impressed Nov. 30, 1675. Major Appleton's Company, Narragansett winter campaign.
Thomas Manning,	Captain Lathrop's Company. Killed at Bloody Brook. Felt credits to Ipswich.
Joseph Marshall,	Captain Prentice's Company, Mt. Hope campaign.

Thomas Mentor,	Captain Lathrop's Company. Killed at Bloody Brook. Felt credits to Ipswich.
Edward Neland,	Major Appleton's Company, Narragansett winter campaign. Trooper, in Captain Whipple's Company; credited Aug. 24, 1676.
Benjamin Newman,	Impressed Nov. 30, 1675. Major Appleton's Company, Narragansett winter campaign.
Thomas Newman,	Captain Paige's Company, Mt. Hope campaign September, 1675. Trooper under Lieutenant Flood or Floyd. Capt. Henchman's Co. Campaign of spring of 1676 near the Connecticut river.
Zaccheus Newmarsh.	Major Appleton's Company, Narragansett winter campaign.
Richard Pasmore, or Partsmore	Impressed Nov. 30, 1675. Major Appleton's Company, Narragansett winter campaign. Captain Wheeler's Co.; credited at Groton garrison June 24: 1676.
Samuel Peirce,	Impressed Nov. 30, 1675. Major Appleton's Company, Narragansett winter campaign. Captain Brocklebank's Company.
John Pengilly,	Corporal, Major Appleton's Company, Narragansett winter campaign. Captain Poole's Company. Credited, Aug. 24. 1676.
Aaron Pengry,	Wages assigned to Ipswich. No service specified.
John Pengry,	Wages assigned to Ipswich. No service specified.
Moses Pengry,	Impressed Nov. 30: 1675. Major Appleton's Company, Narragansett winter campaign.
Isaac Perkins,	Credited at Quabaug garrison, July 24: 1676.
John Perkins,	Impressed Nov. 30: 1675. Major Appleton's Company, Narragansett winter campaign.
Samuel Perkins,	Captain Sill's Company; credited Nov. 1675. Impressed Nov. 30: 1675. Major Appleton's Company, Narragansett winter campaign. Captain Brocklebank's Company.
Andrew Peters,	Wages assigned to Ipswich. No service specified.
Thomas Philips,	Credited at Quabaug garrison, Aug. 24. 1676.
Samuel Pipin, Pipper, in alle- giance list	Major Appleton's Company, Narragansett winter campaign.
Increase Poland,	Killed at Black Point.
Samuell Pooler,	Killed at Black Point.
Edmond Potter,	Trooper, in Major Appleton's Company, Narragansett winter campaign.

John Potter,	Captain Wheeler's Company. Credited at Groton garrison, June 24: 1676.
Richard Prior,	Impressed Nov. 30: 1675. Major Appleton's Company, Narragansett winter campaign.
Joseph Proctor,	Trooper, in Captain Paige's Company, Mt. Hope campaign; credited Sept. 3: 1675. Captain Henchman's Company; credited July 24: 1676.
William Quarles,	Wages assigned to Ipswich. No service specified.
Daniel Ringe,	Captain Lathrop's Company at Bloody Brook. Sergeant, Major Appleton's Company, Narragansett winter campaign.
Nathaniel Rogers,	Made a verbal will, when going in a troop against the Indians in 1676. See Felt, page 164.
Israh Ross, Era Rost, in allegiance list.	Major Appleton's Company, Narragansett winter campaign.
Abiel Saddler,	Captain Lathrop's Company at Bloody Brook. Major Appleton's Company, Narragansett winter campaign.
Joseph Safford,	Trooper, in Captain Paige's Company, Mt. Hope campaign. Credited Sept. 31: 1675.
Thomas Scott,	Killed at Northfield.
Samuel Smith,	Impressed Nov. 30. 1675. Major Appleton's Company, Narragansett winter campaign.
Thomas Smith,	Wages assigned to Ipswich. No service specified.
Thomas Sparks,	Major Appleton's Company, Narragansett winter campaign. Captain Poole's Company. Credited June 1676
Samuel Stevens,	Captain Lathrop's Company. Killed at Bloody Brook. Felt credits to Ipswich, but Coffin(History of Newbury, page 389) says he was a resident of Newbury.
George Stimson,	Impressed Nov. 30: 1675. Major Appleton's Company, Narragansett winter campaign. Wounded in the Fort fight.
Seth Story,	Major Appleton's Company, Narragansett winter campaign.
William Story,	Wages assigned to Ipswich. No service specified.
Samuel Taylor,	Impressed Nov. 30, 1675. Major Appleton's Company, Narragansett winter campaign. Killed at the Fort fight.
John Thomas,	Impressed Nov. 30, 1675. Major Appleton's Company, Narragansett winter campaign.
Jonathan Wade,	Wages assigned to Ipswich. No service specified

Thomas Wade	Marched to Andover with Capt. Appleton, Aug 19: 1675.
Uzall Wardell.	Trooper, Capt. Paige's Company, Mt. Hope campaign. Credited Sept. 3: 1675. Sergeant, Major Appleton's Company, Narragansett winter campaign.
Francis Wainwright.	Credited at Billerica garrison, April 24: 1676. Sept 23: 1676.
Jacob Wainwright.	Capt. Lathrop's Co. Killed at Bloody Brook Sept. 18: 1675.
Thomas Wayte.	Major Appleton's Company, Narragansett winter campaign.
Benjamin Webster.	Capt. Gardiner's Co. Credited Feb. 29: 1675-6.
John Whipple.	Lieut. Capt. Paige's Co. Mt. Hope campaign. Credited Sept. 3: 1675. Captain of a Special Troop. Feb. 1675-6.
Nathaniel Wood.	Major Appleton's Company, Narragansett winter campaign.
Francis Young	Capt. Lathrop's Company, August, 1675. Trooper, in Captain Paige's Company, Mt. Hope campaign. Credited Sept. 3: 1675. Sergeant, in Major Appleton's Company, Narragansett winter campaign.
Lewis Zachariah	Impressed Nov. 30: 1675. Major Appleton's Company, Narragansett winter campaign.



CHAPTER XIV.

IPSWICH AND THE ANDROS GOVERNMENT.

Before the Indian war was over, another attack on the civil liberties of the Colony began to be evident. Its mercantile condition was prosperous. Ships were built, the products of the forests and fisheries were sent to many foreign ports, and large imports were returned. The Navigation Laws were not enforced, it was claimed, and natural irritation was aroused among the merchants and manufacturers of England, whose goods were not purchased by the Colonies. Massachusetts was "the most prejudicial plantation to the kingdom" it was affirmed, because of its sharp competition in exports with the mother country.

The sturdy independence of the Colony was a constant affront to the King. Gov. Leverett had been a captain of horse under Cromwell, and his dislike of royalty was not concealed. The neglect of the General Court to reply to the King's letter in 1666 was still remembered.

The King and Court naturally resented the disrespect of the Colony. The merchants clamored for repressive action. The Mason and Gorges faction was always ready to press its claims. This grievance reached back over many years.

Sir Ferdinando Gorges had secured a charter in 1639, constituting him Lord Proprietary of the Province of Maine, bounded by the Piscataqua, the Kennebec and the Ocean. A few towns were settled, and a show was made of settling a colony. His eldest son, John, made no attempt to establish his supposed rights, but John's son, Ferdinando, claimed authority. The Province of Maine, however, was annexed to Massachusetts by the choice of the various settlements between the years 1652 and 1658. The Attorney General of England declared in 1675 that Gorges had a good title to the Province, and the same official confirmed the title of Robert Mason to New Hampshire.

As early as March, 1622, Capt. John Mason had obtained a grant of the lands lying between the little river, which flows into the ocean at Naumkeag, now Salem, and the Merrimac. When Sir Henry Rosewell, John Endicott and others obtained their grant in 1628, it extended from the Atlantic to the Western Ocean, and from a line three miles north of the Merrimac to a line three miles south of the Charles. It was evident that the latter charter, under which the Massachusetts Colony was settled, included the territory, which had been already ceded to Mason. Mason's son, John, was a principal member and Secretary of the Council for New England, and he used all his influence until his death to secure the annulling of the Massachusetts Bay Charter. The decision of the Attorney General, that his son, Robert, had a valid title was a decisive victory for the persistent claimant.

On the tenth of June, 1676, a ship arrived in Boston, bringing Edward Randolph, who had come as a special messenger from the King with a letter to the turbulent Colony. The fact that he was a relative of Robert Mason was ominous of impending harm. This letter acquainted the magistrates with the charges made by Gorges and Mason, of "the wrongs and usurpations of Massachusetts," and the ill-respect they showed His Majesty, and demanded that agents should be sent over to answer these charges. Randolph was dealt with very cavalierly by the bluff old Governor, and soon returned to England, but Bulkeley and Stoughton followed him at once as agents from the Colony.

Upon his arrival, Randolph published a report of his two months' observations in New England, entitled, "An Answer to several Heads of Inquiry concerning the Present State of New England."¹ Though he was a prejudiced observer, his remarks on the civil-laws, the small number of the freemen (only about one sixth of the adult male population), the military force, the economical resources and employments, are of great interest. But chief interest attaches to his declaration concerning the government. "Among the Magistrates," he wrote "some are good men and well affected to his Majesty, and would be well

¹ Hutchinson Collection, p. 477 *et seq.*

satisfied to have his Majesty's authority in a better manner established; but the major part are of different principles, having been in the government from the time they formed themselves into a commonwealth. These direct and manage all affairs as they please; of which number are Mr. Leverett, Governor; Mr. Symonds, Deputy Governor; Mr. Danforth, Mr. Tyng, Major Clarke, and Major Hathorne . . . The most popular and well principled men are Major Denison, Mr. Bradstreet and Mr. Dudley in the Magistracy; and of military men Major Savage, Captains Curwin, Saltonstall, Brattle, Richards, Gillam, Mosely, Majory, Champernoon, Shapleigh, Phillips, with many others who only wait for an opportunity to express their duty to his Majesty."¹

Randolph's characterization of Denison, Bradstreet and Dudley, as "popular and well principled men," marks them as royalists, who had little sympathy with the sturdy colonials, who stood for their independence of King and mother land. Denison's attitude in the critical moments of the year 1666, it will be remembered, was conspicuously at variance with the dominant feeling, and his aristocratic tendencies became more and more pronounced as the conflict grew more evident. Deputy Governor Symonds was equally sturdy and uncompromising as the advocate of liberty and independence. Around these as leaders, two distinct political parties, we may believe, grew up in our Town of Ipswich.

The omission of one name among the military men is of more than passing moment, that of Major Appleton. His brilliant military record, far above that of any of those whom Randolph mentions, had not been forgotten in the few months that had elapsed, since the eventful conflicts at Hatfield and Hadley and the Narragansett fort. Randolph's silence with reference to him is more than suggestive that Major Appleton stood with his townsman, the Deputy Governor, in pronounced and fearless opposition to the Crown, and that he was already an object of suspicion and prejudice.

The agents replied to Randolph's charges, but it was not easy to allay the irritation of the King and his Councillors. An

¹ Hutchinson Collection, pp. 477-501.

imperative order was issued that an oath of allegiance to the King should be taken at once, and the General Court issued orders that every man sixteen years old and upwards should take the oath. This was accomplished in October of the year 1678. As a further rebuke of the pretensions of the Colonists in disregarding the Navigation Laws, Randolph was appointed Collector of the Port of Boston. He arrived in New York December 7, 1679.

The time seemed auspicious for the advancement of the errand on which he came. Samuel Symonds, the Deputy Governor, had died in October, 1678, and the General Court had voted twenty pounds "to take care for an honno'ble & decent interment."¹ Governor Leverett survived a few months and died on March 16, 1679. Simon Bradstreet, then seventy-six years old, succeeded in the governorship, a man of far less force than Leverett, and always inclined to pacific measures, and Thomas Danforth became Deputy Governor. Randolph proceeded at once to enforce the Navigation Laws, and was met with resistance and even personal abuse. He wrote the King particularly of the disloyal sentiments that prevailed, recommended a writ of *quo warranto* against the Charter, and embarked again for England on March 15, 1681.

Upon his arrival, he attacked the Colonists bitterly, and advised that a writ of *quo warranto* be issued against the Charter, and that a Governor General be appointed over the Colonies. He returned again in October, 1681, with enlarged powers, bearing another letter from the King, very vehement in its tone, upbraiding the Colonists with many misdeeds.

He reverted to the independent spirit manifest in the Colony from the beginning, blamed them for the shelter afforded the regicide judges, for the persecution of Quakers, for their course in refusing the Mason and Gorges claim, for their conduct toward the Clarendon Commissioners, their evasion of the Navigation Laws, and their obstruction of his own work. He declared his intention to proceed at an early date to annul the Charter.

This letter created a profound impression, and the General

¹ In "The Ancestry of Priscilla Baker" by W. S. Appleton, there is a full account of Symonds's ancestry and his posterity. ² He left a large estate valued at £2103 6s. 10d.

Court chose two agents, Joseph Dudley and John Richards, to proceed to England and present their acts in a more favorable light. The laws were revised, naval officers appointed, and assurance was given that henceforth the Acts of Navigation should be enforced to the letter. The agents were instructed to expose the injustice of Robert Mason's exorbitant claim, and to consent to nothing that would infringe the liberties and privileges granted by their Charter.

The Mason claim was of vital concern to Ipswich and the other towns included in the original grant. John Mason had presented his letter to the General Court on the 4th of January, 1680-81, and it was read in full. On the 11th of January, the Court voted that a copy of this letter be delivered to Major General Denison and the magistrates of Essex County, and that all *tertenants* (*terre* - tenants, *i.e.* land tenants) within the precinct of the claim be convened at Ipswich or Newbury as speedily as possible.

This convention was held at Ipswich on the second Wednesday in February, 1680-81.¹ The inhabitants of Beverly drew up a petition at once which was presented at the adjourned session of the General Court on February 22, 1680-81, which declared they had owned their lands for fifty years, and defended them against the Indians in the late war at a cost of twelve English lives and hundreds of pounds in money. Robert Mason had never expended a penny, and they made their plea that the trial of his claims should be in the Massachusetts Courts and not in England.²

In May, a letter was dispatched by the General Court to Sir Lionel Jenkins, one of the King's Secretaries of State, which recited the action taken by the Court, and added that neither they nor those that owned lands within Mr. Mason's claim knew his bounds or limits.

Another petition addressed to the King was drawn up by the "Inhabitants of Gloucester, alias Cape Ann, and other places adjacent," and presented to the General Court on the 16th of February, 1681-82.³ They claimed rightful title to

¹ Records of Beverly.

² Mass. Archives, book 3, leaves 28, 29. Records of Beverly.

³ Mass. Records, book 5, pp. 335-337.

their lands upon the grant of the General Court, under the Charter of the Massachusetts Bay Colony, and their purchase from the natives. If Mr. Mason should persist in his claims, they begged the King to direct him to make his claim in the Courts of justice here established. This was signed by representatives from Gloucester, Rowley, Newbury and other towns, and by fifteen Ipswich men :

Jn ^o Perkins	Tho: Burnam
Dani: Epps	Moses Pengrey, Sen.
Jonath: Wade, Sen.	Jn ^o Whipple
Willjam Goodhue	Samuel Appleton
Samuel Rogers	Tho: Cobbet, Sen.
Symon Stacje	Willjam Hubbard
Tho: Knoulton	John Rogers
Jn ^o Appleton	

The Court ordered on the 17th of March, "that Mr. Jonathan Wade, & Mr. Daniel Epps, both of Ipswich, doe take speedy care that the addresse framed to his maj^{tie} in the name & on the behalfe of the inhabitants & proprietors of Cape Ann, and places adjacent, be imparted vnto the sayd inhabitants by calling them together and taking the subscriptions therevnto of such & so many as may be convenient to signify their generall consent to the sayd addresse, w^{ch} being done, the above sajd gentⁿ are desired & ordered to remitt the sajd address to the Govno^r & Council, to be comitted to our messengers for England."¹

It was a matter of intense moment to Ipswich. If this claim should be maintained, every man's title to the lands he had improved, and the houses and barns he had erected, would be worthless and he would be at the mercy of the new possessor. At this juncture, one of the selectmen, Thomas Lovell, had a personal conference with Mr. Mason, and recommended that his demands be recognized. The action of the Town was spirited, and the Record speaks no uncertain sound.

At a generall Towne meeting this 27 of November 1682. Upon information that Thomas Lovell hath beene with Mr.

¹ Mass. Records, book 5, p. 340.

Masson about compliance being one of the Selectmen *a* it hath beene made appears that he hath suggested to some as if it were best to comply with him, w^{ch} is as hath been declared to betray the trust comitted to him. The Towne generally voted to lay the sd. Thomas Lovell asyd & exclud him for being a Selectman and Capt. John Appleton was chosen to be a Selectman his roome for the rest of the year.¹

A committee seems to have met in January, 1682-3 to deliberate on this vexed question, as the committee expenses are mentioned in the Town Record.

A letter from Governor Bradstreet to Sir Lionel Jenkins, dated March 24, 1682-3, acknowledged the receipt of the King's letter with reference to the Mason claims, and of another letter from Mr. Mason in which he abated his original claims, and demanded the possession of all the common and unimproved lands within the bounds specified; and also demanded to be admitted to the Courts to prosecute his rights. To this the Court had replied that every acre of land was occupied and improved, and that the privilege of the Courts had always been open to him.²

Mason's claim for admission to the Courts of law was honored forthwith, and on March 30, 1683, it was ordered "that W^m Stoughton Esq. Peter Bulkley Esq. Jn^o Hall Esq., together wth such other magistrates in Essex as are vneconcerned in M^r Mason's case, be the persons to keepe the County Court there for the tryall of those cases that referr to the elajme, of M^r Mason in that county."

Another convention, preparatory to this Court met in Ipswich on the last Tuesday of March.³ Repeated search has been made for the records of this Court, but no trace of them has been found, and it is hardly possible that they exist. Indeed there is no positive knowledge that the case was ever called for trial. Mr. Felt in his History of Ipswich, Page 127, cites the vote of the General Court on May 16, 1683, as evidence in point, in which "John Wales & Content Mason, his daughter, reliet

¹ Town Records.

² Mass. Records, book 5, pp. 388, 389.

³ Beverly Records.

of John Mason" are empowered to make sale and confirm deeds as her husband had been authorized to do. But this John Mason, was of Dorchester, and the Court had empowered him, May 27, 1682, to make sale as an executor of the estate of Jane Burg, some time wife of John Gurnell.¹

He affirms as well, though he gives no authority for the statement, that the Mason claim was established, and that some paid a quit-rent of two shillings a year for every house built on the land included in this grant. The eminent antiquarian, Mr. John Ward Dean, in his work on Capt. John Mason, in the Publications of the Prince Society, concludes his study of this episode, "It is probable that the people were never disturbed in the possession of their lands."

But the Mason claim was not the only matter that troubled the citizens of Ipswich in these stirring years. Randolph was tireless in his attacks on the Charter of the Colony. He drew up "Articles of high Misdemeanor, exhibited against a faction in the generall court, sitting in Boston, 15 Feb. 1681, viz. against Tho. Danforth, Dan. Gookin, Mr. Saltonstall, Sam. Nowell, Mr. Richards, Mr. Davy, Mr. Gidney, Mr. Appleton, magistrates, and against John Fisher," and some fourteen other deputies.² He charged them with refusal to admit the royal letters patent erecting the office of elector, with refusal to repeal laws, contrary to the laws of England, with continuing to coin money, etc.

This was the third session of the General Court, that was elected in May, 1681. Major Samuel Appleton had been chosen an Assistant for the first time at this election, after several consecutive years in the House of Deputies. His name occurs last in the list, as the new member of that body was always enrolled at the foot.

The full Court of Assistants, at this time, included the Governor, Simon Bradstreet, the Deputy Governor, Thomas Danforth and eighteen Assistants. The lower House numbered thirty-three.

Randolph specified eight magistrates, including the Deputy Governor, and fifteen deputies as factious and seditious. It would seem that the popular party, as we may call it, the party

¹ Mass. Records, book 5, p. 359.

² Hutchinson Papers, Vol. II, Prince Society Pub. p. 266.

that was most strenuous in its demands for the largest liberty and fullest independence of Great Britain, so far as these names indicate, had a numerical minority both in the Court of Assistants and the House of Deputies. The venerable Governor, and General Denison, were conspicuous in their devotion to the conservative party. The Ipswich deputies, Mr. William Goodhue, Senior, and Mr. Jonathan Wade, were not named by Randolph, and were presumably in sympathy with the same party. Indeed, unless the political complexion of our Town had changed materially, since Capt. John Appleton headed the long list of seventy three loyal petitioners in 1664, Ipswich was still a stronghold of loyalty, and the aristocratic Denison voiced the sentiment of the Town.

For many years, the second Assistant from Ipswich, Deputy Governor Symonds, had been a pronounced liberal, and when Major Appleton became a magistrate, it is evident that he identified himself from the first with that wing.

The long contention between the King and the Colony, in which Randolph was always the aggressive antagonist of the liberals, culminated in a decree of the Court of Chancery, June 21, 1684, which vacated the Charter.

"Massachusetts, as a body politic, was now no more. The elaborate fabric, that had been fifty-four years in building was levelled with the dust. The hopes of the fathers were found to have been merely dreams. It seemed that their brave struggles had brought no result. The honored ally of the Protector of England lay under the feet of King Charles the Second. It was on the Charter granted to Roswell and his associates, Governor and Company of Massachusetts Bay, that the structure of the cherished institutions of Massachusetts, religious and civil, had been reared. The abrogation of that charter swept the whole away. Massachusetts, in English law, was again what it had been before James the First made a grant of it to the Council for New England. It belonged to the King of England, by virtue of the discovery of the Cabots."¹

A private letter to Joseph Dudley brought the fatal tidings on September tenth, but official news did not arrive until Jan.

¹ Palfray, *History of New England*, vol. III, p. 394.

28, 1684-5. On that date, the Governor announced the fact to the General Court, which at once appointed the twelfth of March, as a day of solemn humiliation throughout the Colony, "in view of our present sad and awfull circumstances, & the increasing tokens of the Lord's displeasure against us."

A request was sent to the Towns to express their minds with reference to giving up the Charter, as Randolph had represented that they were willing to do this. A Town-meeting was held in Ipswich to take action on this request. The record is as follows:—

1685: Feb. 11th

The Deputies desiring to know the town's mind wth Respect to the papers, that Mr. Randolph left, whether they weare willing to make a free resignation, as in the Declaration;

There was not one person that voted when tryed if they were willing.

It was also voted that all those that are desirous to retaine the priviledges granted in the Charter & confermed by his Royall Majesty now reigneing should manifest the same by holding up their hands, which vote was unanimous on the affirmative. None when tryed appeared in the Negative.

The other Towns voted in similar fashion.

An humble address to the King's most excellent Majesty was also drawn up and adopted. There was no talk of resistance. Many years before, in the Colony's infancy, an appeal to arms was at once proposed, when the Charter seemed in danger. In 1664, the Colony dared the King's displeasure, well knowing what it might cost. But now its spirit seemed broken. The exhausting war with the Indians had left a depleted treasury and sorrowful memories of precious lives lost. There was no longer a powerful party in England, whose help could be relied on. The King was supreme. "In 1683, the Constitutional opposition which had held Charles so long in check lay crushed at his feet." "The strength of the Country party had been broken by the reaction against Shaftsbury's projects, and by the flight and death of its more prominent leaders. Whatever strength it retained lay chiefly in the towns, and these were now attacked by writs of 'quo warranto,' which called on them

to show cause why their charters should not be declared forfeited on the ground of the abuse of their privileges. A few verdicts on the side of the Crown brought about a general surrender of municipal liberties, and the grant of fresh charters, in which all but ultraloyalists were carefully excluded from their corporations, placed the representations of the boroughs in the hands of the Crown."¹

Resistance to the King, under such circumstances, in a feeble colony, was inconceivable. The only hope lay in securing some abatement of these extreme measures, by such an humble appeal. Charles the Second died before he had decided on any plan of action against the Colony, and was succeeded on Feb. 6, 1684-5 by James the Second. In obedience to the royal Proclamation, he was proclaimed King on the 20th of April in "the high street in Boston," — "the honorable Governor, Deputy Governor, & Assistants, on horseback, with thousands of people, a troope of horse, eight foote companys, drums beating, trumpets sounding," . . . "by Edward Rawson, secret, on horseback, & Jn^o Greene, marshall generall, taking it from him, to the great joy & loud acclamations of the people, and a seventy peece of ordinance next after the volleys of horse & foote."²

These effusive demonstrations of loyalty, so striking in their contrast with the phlegmatic indifference of the General Court at the Restoration, were followed by an humble petition to the new King, adopted on the twenty-fourth of July, which implored pardon for their faults, and a gracious continuance of their liberties according to their Charter. Nothing was accomplished, however, and in May, by royal commission, Joseph Dudley, son of Governor Thomas Dudley, was appointed President of the Council of eighteen, which supplanted the General Court. Its members were all appointed by the Crown, and popular election of a governing body was at an end. Governor Bradstreet, Nathaniel Saltonstall of the Magistrates, and Dudley Bradstreet, son of the Governor, lately a Deputy, declined membership in the new Council. Four only of the former Assistants accepted places in the new government. All the other members of the General Court were reduced at once to private life.

The Council proceeded at once to appoint Justices of the

¹ Green, *Short History of the English people*.

² *Mass. Records*, vol. 5, p. 474.

Peace in the various Counties, and it is presumable that the Justices were all men in favor with Dudley and Randolph. The Essex justices were William Brown, Jun. John Hathorne, John Woodbridge, John Appleton, Sen., Richard Dummer and Daniel Epps. On June 14, 1686, Mr. John Appleton was appointed Clerk of the Court of Pleas for the County of Essex holden at Ipswich.¹

The administration of justice was provided for, petition was made to the King for authority to establish a mint, and the President took oath to observe the Navigation Laws. The Records of the Council show that few of the members of the Council took pains to attend its sessions. Dudley, Randolph and half a dozen others transacted the public business, and very shortly, Randolph began to complain that he was ill-treated by the President.

Evidences of popular discontent soon appeared. The first intimation of a rebellious spirit arose in connection with a public Fast day, proclaimed by the President and Council. The entry in the Council Record, under the date July 21, 1686, mentions that a letter has been sent to Bartholomew Gedney, Esq., "with orders for his repairing to Rowley or Ipswich to covent before him and the Justices of the County, such persons there as refused to observe the late publique Fast appointed by the President & Council." On July 30th, several depositions against John Gold of Topsfield for speaking seditious words against the Government, were presented by Major Gedney. He entered into £200 bond to appear on the next Thursday afternoon. He was brought before the President and Council on the fifth of August, "and witnesses proved that he had spoken treasonable words on or about the 11th of July". He was committed to jail in Boston, and Thursday, the 19th, was set for the trial of Gold and other prisoners. He was found guilty on August 25th, when, "considering the poverty of his family," he was fined £50 and the charges of prosecution, "the remainder of the fine to be respitted." He was ordered released on giving bond for good behavior. He seems to have found it impossible to pay his fine, and probably remained in jail. On Sept. 25th,

¹ Records of the Council, pp.6, 41.

it was reduced to £20, and on Nov. 9, he was discharged of his bond for good behavior.¹

This was the prelude to the more serious political upheaval of the Andros period, and it possesses a singular and prophetic interest. Topsfield, Rowley and Ipswich were recognized as hostile to the new government, at its very beginning. Their jealousy of the new authority that commanded them to keep a public Fast day, which led them to break from their pious habits of many years, was a fit forerunner of the more determined refusal to pay a tax, in the levying of which they had no voice.

Dudley's government lasted only until December, 1686. On the twelfth of that month, the frigate, *Rose*, dropped anchor in Boston harbor, and Sir Edmund Andros, attended by sixty red-coats landed. He was escorted to the Town House, at the head of King, now State Street, where he caused his commission to be read, and at once assumed the functions of Governor. The oath of office was administered to eight Councillors. In January, a tax of a penny on a pound was ordered, to afford a revenue. This edict revealed the arbitrary character of Andros's régime. From its settlement, the Colony had always apportioned its own taxes, according to the necessities of the time. The representatives of the Towns had debated all financial measures in General Court, and the Town meetings had decided the local rate. By "An Act for the Continuing and Establishing of several Rates, Duties and Imposts," which was passed by the Council early in March, 1686-7, this ancient and orderly method was summarily abrogated.

This Act "provided that every year, beginning four months after its enactment, the Treasurer should send his warrant to the Constable and Selectmen of every town, requiring the inhabitants to choose a taxing commissioner; that the Commissioner and the Selectmen should in the next following month make a list of persons and a valuation of estates within their respective towns; that in the next month after this, the Commissioners for the towns in each County should meet at their respective county-towns and compare and correct their respec-

¹ Council Records.

tive lists to be forwarded to the Treasurer, and that he should thereupon issue his warrant to the Constables to collect the taxes, so assessed, within ten weeks. And every Commissioner or Selectman neglecting to perform this duty was punishable by a fine."¹

Nothing could have been more exasperating to the Colonists, yet the hopelessness of resistance led to submission in some of the Towns. Boston chose the Tax Commissioner at a Town meeting held on July 25th. Salem, Manchester, Newbury, and Marblehead obeyed the warrant. But other towns of Essex County refused, and there was resistance elsewhere. The Andros government took action at once. The first to feel the weight of the Council's displeasure was the Town Clerk of Taunton. At a session of the Governor and Council on the 31st of August, 1687, "Shadrack Wilbore, Clerk of the Towne of Taunton, being by the Messenger brought before the Board and Examined about a scandalous, factious and seditious writeing sent from the said Town to the sd. Treasurer in answer to his warr^t for the publique rate signed by him as Clerk, he owned the same and declared it to be the act of the Town."

"Ordered that the said Shadrach Wilbore be bound over to answer for the same att the next Superior Court to be holden in Bristoll."² Justice Thomas Leonard was suspended from his office because he was present at the Town meeting and did not hinder the same. The constables were bound over for neglect of their duty in not obeying the Treasurer's warrant.

The Ipswich Town meeting was held on August 23, 1687. But on the night before, there was a meeting of the Selectmen and other leading citizens at the house of Mr. John Appleton, Junior, the Town Clerk, at which the course of action that they would advise the Town to adopt, was discussed. The Selectmen were Lieut. John Andrews, Moderator, Lieut. Thomas Burnam, Mr. John Whipple, Quar^t Robert Kinsman, Serg^t Thos. Harte, Mr. John Appleton, Jun. and Nath^l Treadwell.³ These were all present, it is likely, and beside them, there were two of the reverend Pastors, William Hubbard, Pastor of the Ipswich

¹ Palfray, *Hist. of New England*, vol. III, p. 520. Footnote.

² Council Record, p. 137.

³ Town Records.

church, and John Wise, Pastor of the church at Chebacco, now Essex, Constable Thomas French, Nehemiah Jewett, William Goodhue, Jun., William Howlett, Simon Stace, and others, some twelve or fourteen in all.¹

Constable French read the warrant. They all agreed that this "warrant-act" for raising a revenue, abridged their liberties as Englishmen. They "did Discourse & Conclude y^t it was not y^e town's Dutie any wayes to Assist y^t ill Methode of Raising mony w^tout a Generall Assembly, w^{ch} was apparently intended by above said Sr Edmund & his Councill."²

The next day in Town meeting, Mr. Wise spoke vigorously against taxation without a vote of their representative assembly. He said, "we had a good God & a good king and Should Do well to stand for or previledges." William Howlett spoke in the same fashion, Mr. Andrews and Mr. Appleton. The citizens responded to these appeals, and by a seemingly unanimous vote declined to choose a Commissioner. The record of this meeting is brief. Apparently no other business was transacted. But the few sentences are remarkable for their clear and heroic utterance of the principle that they would not consent to taxation without representation.

At a Legall Towne Meeting August 23^d 1687 Assembled by vertue of an order from John Usher Esq. Treas^{er} for choosing a Commis^{er} to join wth y^e Selectmen to assess y^e Inhabitants according to an act of his Excellency, y^e Governor & Counsell, for Levying rates.

Then considering that the s^d act doth infringe their Liberty as Free borne English subjects of his Majestie by interfearing wth y^e statutory Laws of the Land, By w^{ch} it is enacted, that no taxes shall be Levied on y^e Subjects wthout consent of an assembly chosen by y^e Freeholders for assessing y^e same.

They do therefore vote, that they are not willing to choose a Commis^{er} for such an end, wthout s^d priviledges.

And morover consent not that the Selectmen do proseed to lay out any such rate, until it be appointed by a Generall Assembly, concurring wth y^e Govern^{er}, and Counsell, Voted by the whole assembly twisse.

¹ See Depositions of Appleton, French and others. Mass. Archives, book 127, leaf 102.

² Complaints of Great Wrongs. Mass. Archives, book 35, leaf 139.

The vote of the meeting was forwarded by the Clerk, John Appleton, Junior, to Mr. Usher, and then a vigorous effort was made by certain citizens of the Town to influence the vote of the neighboring towns. The Topsfield meeting was held on the 30th of August. A document in the State Archives,¹ gives the names of those that were present. Nineteen names are recorded. Against the name of Samuel Howlett, the comment is made in parenthesis "(p moted y^e paper)." One Ipswich man is included in the list.

"William Howlett { supposed to be the p'son that
brought a Seditious paper into
y^e meeting, w^{ch} was read & by
him p moted."

The Rowley meeting was held on Aug. 31st, and Caleb Boynton seems to have been the messenger to carry the tidings of the Ipswich vote to that town.²

The determined attitude of Ipswich regarding its own tax, and its evident propagandism of its obnoxious tenets in other towns roused Andros and his Council to instant action. Next to Boston, Ipswich was, perhaps, the most important town in the Colony.³ Boston, as we have observed, made no opposition to the oppressive warrant. Salem yielded to its demand. The high-handed course of this influential community made it a target for official wrath.

"Att a generall Sessions of ye Peace Held att Ipswich Sept. 14; 1687," Joseph Dudley and Peter Bulkeley, members of the Council sitting as Magistrates, formal proceedings were begun against the refractory towns. The first action was upon the Ipswich record.⁴

On complaint of John Usher Esq. Treasurer & Capt. Francis Nicholson Esq. both of y^e Councill of an Entry in y^e Towne Booke of Ipswich in y^e Custody of Lieut. John Apton Towne Clarke, who gave a copy of y^e same.

This Court ord^{rs} y^t y^e Orriginal record with y^e Booke where-in sd entry is to be forthwith Secured & put into y^e hands of

¹ Book 127, leaf 105.

² Mass. Archives, book 35, leaf 127.

³ Palfray, Hist. of New England, III, p. 525.

⁴ Mass. Archives, book 127, leaf 92.

Capt. John Aplton & Capt. Daniel Eppes his Majesties Justices of y^e Peace till further order. Copia vera of y^e Court Record attest. S^t. SEWALL, Clerk.

On the 16th of September, the Selectmen of several towns appeared before this Court. N. Browne and J. Bailey, Selectmen of Salisbury appeared before Peter Bulkeley Arm., and recognized to appear at Boston before the Governor and Council on Sept. 21st; and on the same day, John Bailey and Jacob Bailey, Joseph Jewett and Joseph Chaplin of Rowley appeared before Joseph Dudley, and recognized in £100 to appear before the Governor on the same date.¹

Robert Kinsman, Thomas Hart, Nathaniel Treadwell, and John Whipple, Selectmen, Simon Wood and John Harris, Constables, all of Ipswich gave similar recognizance² and the Town gave its bond that they should appear in Boston at the specified time.³ John Stevens and Benjamin Stevens, Selectmen of Salisbury, were also bound over.

The most conspicuous of the opponents of the Governor's warrant were dealt with in more summary fashion. Warrants for their arrest were issued, and the first was against the Constable, Moderator and Clerk of Ipswich.⁴

Sir Edmund Andros K^{nt} Capt. General & Governor in Cheife of his Maj^{ties} Territory & Dominion of New England. To Joseph Smith messenger,
Whereas I have received Information that Thomas French Constable of Ipswich in y^e County of Essex Ju^o Andrews of y^e same place & John Appleton of y^e same place³ & clerk with divers others Disaffected & evil Desposed persons within y^e sd Town as yett unknown on y^e 23^d day of August last past being mett & assembled together att Ipswich aforesd Did in a most factious & Seditious & Contemptuous manner then & there vote & agree that they were not willing nor would not Choose a Commissioner as by a Warrant From Ju^o Usher Esq. his Majesties Treasurer & Receiver General in p suance of ye laws of this his Maj^{ties} Dominion to y^e Constable & Selectmen of y^e sd Town directed was required to be Done w^t the vote or agreement of

¹ Mass. Archives, book 127, leaves 96, 97.

² Mass. Archives, book 127, leaf 98.

³ Mass. Archives, book 127, leaf 92.

⁴ Mass. Archives, book 127, leaf 93.

them the sd Thomas French Jn^o Andrews & Jn^o Appleton & others as aforesaid was then & their by their Consent & direction by him the sd Jn^o Appleton as Clerk of y^e sd Town putt into writing & published Contrary to & in high Contempt of his maj^{ties} Laws & Government here established. these are therefore in his Maj^{ties} Name to Charge & Command you that immediately you take into your Custody the bodyes of y^e Thomas French Jn^o Andrews & Jn^o Appleton & them safely keep & bring to this place soe that you may have them before me in Council to Answer y^e premises & what else shall be Objected against them or either of them on his Maj^{ties} Behalfe.

And all Justices of y^e Peace Sheriffs Constables & other officers both Millitary & Civill & all other persons whatsoever are hereby strictly Charged & Required to be Ayding & Assisting to you therein as Occasion & for soe doeing this will be unto you & them a Sufficent Warr't.

Given under my hand & seale att Boston the 15th day of September in y^e 3^d year of his Maj^{ties} Reign annoque Dom. 1687.

On the following day, Sept. 16th, a warrant was issued for the arrest of John Wise of Chebacco, Clerk, and William Howlett of Ipswich, Husbandman, which specified¹ "that they the said John Wise and William Howlett Did particularly Exeite and Stir up his Majesties Subjects to Refractoryness and Disobedience contrary to and in high contempt of his Maj^{ties} Laws and Government here established."

Rev. John Wise was then in his thirty-sixth year. He was the son of Joseph Wise of Roxbury, was graduated at Harvard College in 1673, and in 1680, began preaching in Ipswich, in the Chebacco parish. He was ordained on August 12, 1683. In his young manhood he was a famous wrestler. The tradition still abides in his old parish of one of his deeds of prowess. Capt. John Chandler of Andover had vanquished every opponent in his own neighborhood and came to invite a trial of strength with the worthy pastor. Mr. Wise finally consented, and after a brief struggle, pitched his antagonist over the wall into the highway; whereupon, his vanquished rival looked over and in a good natured way, invited him to throw his horse over also. To his athletic powers, he added unusual strength of intellect.

He was a natural leader of men, and it is a fine tribute to

¹ Mass. Archives, book 127, leaf 103.

his personality, that two of his parishioners stood with him in his bold protest. Lieut. John Andrews was his friend and near neighbor, William Goodhue, Jr. was of the same neighborhood.

Mr. Appleton was the son of Capt. John Appleton, the signer of the petition of 1664, and Deputy in the General Court. The son and father are frequently confounded. Capt. John was one of the Justices of Essex County under the Dudley Government, and was a firm loyalist. His son, the Lieutenant, Selectman and Town Clerk, was the sufferer.

Thomas French was one of the Constables. Official connection with the town meeting involved him with Mr. Andrews, Mr. Appleton and Mr. Kinsman, in the legal prosecutions. Mr. Wise and Mr. Goodhue were not office-bearers.

Appleton, Andrews and French seem to have been examined at once by Andros, and the substance of their testimony is embodied in the brief notes, preserved in the Archives.¹

John Appleton being examined before ye Gov. owned ye paper signed by him as ye vote of ye towne of Ipswich

that he wrote it as he was directed by ye moderator Jn^o Andrews

that att a meeting of ye Selectmen before ye Generall meeting of ye Town the Warr^t was read & there was ab^t 12 or 14 p^{sons} present amongst which Mr. Hubbard Mr. Wise Mr. French Constable Jn^o Andrews Robt. Kinsman Nath. Tredwell Jn^o Whipple & himsele selectmen they all Declared that ye warrant act for ye Revenue which they then likewise read did abridge them of their Libty as Englishmen that Mr. Wise was present at the towne meeting & spoak ag^t receiving money without an Assembly.

John Andrews Moderator owned ye Paper signed by Jn^o Appleton Ck. to be ye Vote of ye towne but sayd ye Clerk was ordered to draw up a writing & he went out from ye meeting & did it & when read was approved.

Thomas French Constable owned ye Paper signed by Jn^o Appleton Ck. to be ye vote of ye towne when he was present & that ye Returned a Coppy thereof to ye Treasurer & voted for it in ye town meeting.

says that ye Moderator Mr Appleton & Mr Wise spoak in ye meeting that ye night before ye town Meeting ye Warr^t was read by him in ye presence of ye Selectmen Mr. Hubbard minister Mr. Wise Minister Nehemiah Jewett & others. Know not of ye drawing up of ye Vote where it was done or by whom.

¹ Mass. Archives, book 127, leaf 102.

If we interpret the drift of this testimony aright, the special grievance against Ipswich was, not the simple act of refusing to elect a Tax-Commissioner, but the drawing up of the result of that meeting in a document, which was published abroad, and used as an incentive to similar action in other towns.

We may presume that these warrants were served at once, and the arrest of the minister of Chebacco and his associates was sufficient ground for the panic that prevailed at this time in this vicinity, among all, who were concerned in resistance to authority and the increasing boldness of the public prosecutors. The Topsfield Selectmen were moved to humble and profuse apology. Indeed, the petition of Captain How, one of the Selectmen, is an extraordinary specimen of terror-stricken supplication.

To his Excilency the Governor¹

Right honored

The humble Peticion of John How humbly sheweth that I am acnolidging that I have grevously transgressed in having anything to doe in that act or ansers maed by the Towne of Topsfield to the Treshurer's warent and espachally in being perswaded to wright anything so Contrary to my Judgment for which I am hartely sorry acnolidging that I have justly deserved Condigne Punishment, for the same. I fall Downe at your feet humbly baiging your marey and humbly intreating his excilaney the Governor to pardon me this one: Promising for time to come to Approve myselfe faithfull in all Respects to his Excilaney the Governor and Government baring oppen Testimony against all Rabbell that shall anny waies oppose the same and that shall not welingly submit to that Good and Gracious Governer that his Majeste hath here settled hoping that I shall Radily perswaed the gratest part of the Towne of Topsfield humbly to acnolidge & Radily to Reforme what they have done ames.

I prostrate my selfe and Remaine his Excilaneys humbell petecinor with all humbell submestion

JOHN HOW

Dat ye 16th Sept. 1687.

Encouraged by the arrest of Mr. Wise, perhaps, Philip Nelson, of Rowley, Justice of the Peace, proceeded to make return

¹ Mass. Archives, book 127, leaf 109.

to the Governor, "that the Reverend Mr. Samuel Phillips pastor of the Church of Christ in Rowley hath some time in the month of May last past rased an evill report of Squire Randolph one of his Majesties Councell, in terming him or calling him a wicked man and did blame Ensigne Plats for keeping company with wicked men and did nominate Squire Randolph and at the same time say that he was a wicked man and that he had got an office thereby, and other words to like effect.¹

This return was made on the 19th of September, and the Justice explained the tardiness of his accusation, that there had been differences between the Pastor and himself, but that in the changed condition of affairs the charges against the minister had been revived and publicly repeated. Happily the attack upon Mr. Phillips was followed by no criminal proceedings, but it is suggestive of the disturbed and unnatural tone of common life.

But the greatest shock these troublous times had brought thus far to the people of Ipswich and of Essex County was the warrant, that was signed on the 19th of September, for the arrest of three of the Magistrates of the government, now overthrown, Dudley Bradstreet, Samuel Appleton and Nathaniel Saltonstall. The common ground of complaint was voiced in the charge against Mr. Bradstreet, son of Governor Bradstreet & Town Clerk of Andover,² "a person factiously and seditiously Inclyned & Disaffected to his Majties Government as one who hath Endeavored to alienate y^e harts of his maties Subjects from y^e Same Contrary to his Duty & Allegiance & in Contempt of his Maties Laws & authority her published."

"The like to Thomas Larkin for Samuel Appleton of Ipswich & W^m. Howlett, to Joshua Brodbank for Nathaniel Saltingstall of Haverhill."

These dignitaries were arrested, but they were not imprisoned. Mr. Bradstreet was kept in custody at Capt. Page's house in the Garrison at Boston, as his petition offered a few days later informs us. Mr. Appleton was in charge of the messenger, Thomas Larkin. He had taken no part in the meetings at Ipswich. The charges against him were of a general nature, as Randolph had previously made.

¹ Mass. Archives, book 127, leaf 117.

² Mass. Archives, book 127, leaf 116.

Public indignation must have been at fever heat on Sept. 21st, when the Governor and Council met and the officers of the Towns appeared for trial. Jacob Morrill and Joshua Bayly, Constables of Salisbury, William Hutchins, of Bradford, John Pierson and John Dresser, Selectmen of Rowley, John Wise, Robert Kinsman, John Appleton, John Andrews, John (Thomas) French, Wm. Rayment and Wm Goodhue were arraigned.

The official Record of the Council simply states that these men "committed for refusing to pay their rates . . . and making and publishing factious & seditious votes & writings — were this day severally examined in Council. Ordered that they stand Committed untill they have their tryalls at Boston by special comicon, which his Excellⁿ will please to issue forth the next week." But from depositions, made at a later date, and other documents, we gather that Mr. Wise, at least, did not submit tamely to the indignities put upon him. Mr. Mason, a member of the Council, declared that the accused had no more privileges left than not to be sold as slaves. "Mr. West, the Deputy Secretary declared to some of us that we were a factious People & had no Privilege left us. The Govⁿr S^r Ed Andros said to some of us By way of Ridicule, Whether we thought if Jac & Tom should tell the king w^t moneyes he must have for y^e use of his Govm^t Implying that y^e People of the Countree were but a parcell of Ignorant Jacks & Toms."

To these officials, Mr. Wise replied that they, as Englishmen, had privileges according to Magna Charta, and he reported afterwards what passed between the members of the Council and himself, though they seem to have sat with closed doors. The officials were greatly offended, and visited their displeasure upon several, including one of the most prominent citizens of Ipswich, Mr. Francis Wainwright. His "Humble Petition" affords surprising evidence of the tyrannous denial of free speech, which the Andros government claimed as its prerogative, and the spirit of abject submission that ruled the hour.

THE HUMBLE PETITION OF FRANCIS WAINWRIGHT.¹
Humbly sheweth

Whereas y^r Pet^r hath inconsiderately rehearsed & repeated some words or expressions proceeding from M^r John Wise which

¹ Mass. Archives, book 127, leaf 162.

he declared to have passed from John West Esq. at the time of sd Wise his examination before y^r Excellency and Councill, upon his asserting the priviledges of Englishmen according to Magna Charta, It was replied to him that wee had no further privilege reserved saveing to be exempted from being sold for slaves or to that effect.

Y^r Petr is heartily sorry that he should be so imprudent and unadvised as to receive and repeat any such Report or expressions, not considering the evill consequence or tendency thereof: being far from designing any harm therein or causing any comotion or disturbance but would judge himselfe of folly and rashness. And humbly prays yo^r Ex^{cy}s and Councils favorable construction of his weakness & rashness therein. And prays y^r forgiveness, hoping it will caution him to more care & circumspection for future.

And as in duty bound shall for ever pray.

FRANCIS WAINWRIGHT

BOSTON, 24 SEPT. 1687.

Nathaniel Williams and Joshua Winsor also stood bound¹ to answer for "rehearsing & divulging some words reflecting upon John West, Esq. said to be reported by Mr. John Wise, as proceeding from sd West at the time of sd. Wise's examination."

From the deposition of Thomas French, it appears that he, and his associates, as well, we may suppose, were taken to Boston when arrested, examined by the Governor, and then committed to the stone jail in Boston, where they were kept until their examination before the Council, and then returned to it, awaiting their trial. Mr. Wise probably suffered the same lot. Two days after he had shown such courageous bearing before the Governor, at his examination, the hardship of prison life began to weigh upon his spirits, and he addressed a humorous, but not wholly intelligible plea to the Governor:—²

To his Excellencie & Counsell now sitting I do Humbly Begg your Honours Licene Being very much Disadvantaged on the account of my Naturall Rest Here wher I am I have had But Little Sleep Since I have Been your Prisoner Here in Towne the place Being so full of Company.

I dare not Be prolix at this time I shall be Ready In the

¹ Mass. Archives, book 127, leaf 206.

² Mass. Archives, book 127, leaf 158.

Daytime to Attend the pleasure of the Councell this is the utmost that your

Hon^{rs} are troubled w^t from Him
who is for Grace & favour A
Petitioner Amongst Royall Dust
& your Prisoner

JOHN WISE

23 SEPT. 1687.

This communication was followed by another a few days later, which was drawn up by Mr. Wise very evidently, praying for release on bail.

The humble Petition¹ of John Wise John Appleton William Raymond John Andrews Thomas French Jacob Muzzill (Morrill) Joshua Bayley William Hutchins John Pearson John Dresser Robert Kinsman William Goodhue.

Humbly Sheweth

That its no less afflictive than uncomfortable unto yo^r Pet^{rs} to be confined and detained at so considerable distance from their Familys and occasions which they are very sensible must needs deeply suffer by their long absence: most of yo^r Pet^{rs} Improvement & livelihood depending upon Husbandry and the Season of the year drawing on which will necessarily require their attendance and help in the gathering in their Indian Harvest & for the support and provision for their Familys in the ensuing year

Y^r Pet^{rs} therefore humbly Pray yo^r Excellencys Favour in admitting them to bail and to grant their Enlargement upon their giving in Security to appear and answer what shall be objected against them and either of them respectively at such time & place as yo^r Excellency shall please to direct & order which they shall acknowledge with humble thankfulness and as in duty bound for ever pray

From His Maj^{ties}
Prison in Boston
27 Sept. 1687.

JOHN WISE
JOHN APPLETON

The Governor was not disposed to grant this request, and on the following day, Mr. Wise and his Ipswich fellow-prisoners addressed another petition for favor. It is a surprising and a

¹ Mass. Archives, book 127, leaf 164.

disappointing document, and indicates a complete breaking down of the fine high spirit, which had characterized these advocates of liberty and democracy. The matter that chiefly surprises us, and arouses the keenest regret, is that Mr. Wise and the other Ipswich men acted in this, independently of the citizens of the other towns, who were imprisoned with them.

To his Excellency the Governour and Councill of his Majesties Territory & Dominion of New England.¹

The humble Petition of the Selectmen and other of the Inhabitants of the Town of Ipswich

May it Please y^{or} Excellency

It is our great sorrow That for want of due consideration and prudent conduct wee have by any of our inadvertent and rash actions unhappily precipitated and involved our Selves in so great inconvenience and mischief as justly to fall under yo^r Exc^{es} displeasure and give any occasion to be represented as disloyall or in the least disaffected unto his Majesties Government as now Established amongst us by his Royal Comission unto which we do and shall yield our willing Subjection and dutyfull Observance and upon all occasions give such demonstration and Testimony of our Allegiance and duty to our Sovereign as may bespeak us good & Loyal Subjects.

Wee humbly Pray y^{or} Exc^{ys} and Councils favour in the pardon and passing over our Offence in the neglect of y^{or} Comand by Mr Treasurer^s warrant directed unto us without any severe animadversion thereupon hoping you will please to impute it rather to our ignorance than Obstinacy in neither of which we would persist And though in respect of time being now elapsed we cannot precisely comply with the execution and performance of the sd warrant yet may we obtain y^r Exc^{ys} and Councils Favour we shall in our respective stations & capacitys to our utmost endeavour a speedy prosecution & effecting of the worke & service therein required in the making a List & Assessment of the persons & Estate of our Town and transmit the same unto the Treasurer

And as in duty bound Shall forever pray.

Selectmen	{	JOHN APPLETON	J ⁿ ^o WISE	
		JOHN ANDREWS	THOMAS FRENCH	
		ROBERT KINSMAN		
		NATHANIEL TREDWELL		
		THOMAS HART		
		{	JOHN WHIPPLE	

BOSTON, 28 SEPTEMBER 1687

¹ Mass. Archives, book 127, leaf 147.

Humble as this apology was, it failed of its end. No release was granted even upon bail. Discouraged by the hopelessness of the situation, Capt. John Andrews was the next to sue for favor in an individual petition of the fourth of October,¹ which recites that his "long confinement and the hardships of a Prison have very sensible Effects upon his weake and crazey Body, which is attended with many Infirmities of old Age, etc.," and loss in his business, and makes appeal for the privilege of visiting his family on giving bail. There is no evidence that this was granted. These submissions were made by many of the accused. John Peirson of Rowley made his on the 29th of September,² Christopher Osgood and John Osgood of Andover on the 13th of October and again on the 15th of October.³ William Hutchins of Bradford presented his apology for an irregular list of estates made in ignorance of the law.⁴

Meanwhile a warrant was issued against Samuel Appleton of Lynn, son of Major Samuel, the most determined in tone of any that remain:

To the Sheriff of the Co. of Essex⁵

Whereas severall speciall warrants have been lately issued forth for y^e apprehending of Samuel Appleton of Lynn to answer to severall matters of High Misdemeanor therein mentioned the Execution of w^{ch} hath been Hindered by his y^e sd Sam^{ll} Appletons Hideing & absconding himself & being informed that he now privily lurks & lyes 'hide within y^e sd County these are therefore in His Maj^{ty}s name to Charge & Command y^{ou} to make dilligent Search & Enquiry for y^e sd Sam. Appleton in any house & place where y^e shall be informed or suspect him to be & to break open any doore or doores where ye shall suspect him to lye hide or be concealed within ye sd County

Oct. 5: 1687

No record remains of his trial, and it may be that Mr. Appleton eluded the search of the sheriff altogether.

Recurring to the arrest of the three magistrates, it is inter-

¹ Mass. Archives, book 127, leaf 184.

² Mass. Archives, book 127, leaf 170.

³ Mass. Archives book 127, leaf 208.

⁴ Mass. Archives, book 127, leaf 187.

⁵ Mass. Archives, book 127, leaf 148.

esting to note the effect of their mild imprisonment. A few days after his arrest, Mr. Dudley Bradstreet petitioned the Governor.¹

Whereas y^{or} Excellency hath been pleased to Command me to his Majest^e Garrison heer in Boston as a prisoner, . . . suffer me to come speedily to trial or take bond for my appearance."

This was followed by an humble petition, which professed his great sorrow for his misconduct, and as this was not received favorably, he addressed another appeal², as he understood that his former submission was not regarded as sufficient by Andros. He declared:

That he doth from his heart profess himself to be ready to confess the error and Crime in its largest Circumstances and Lattitude into which his inadvertency and Indiscretion hath brought him with all the Ingenuity that the truth of the matter will permit him. And that he most humbly Prayes that y^{or} Excell^{cy} will soe farr favour y^{or} Poor Petition^r and his occasions at home to accept such Sufficent Bayle as shall be offered for his good abearance and appearance att what Court your Excellency Shall appoynt, humbly thanking y^{or} Excellency for the favour of Capt. Page's house hitherto and he shall ever pray

DUDLEY BRADSTREET

By decree of the Council, he was released on October 5th, upon giving a bond of a thousand pounds for good behaviour.

Mr. Saltonstall made his deposition,³ when the Colony made its charges against Andros and his associates, that he was arrested on the 21st of September, and that he was put under £1000 bond for good behavior, and that he was "damnified in all 7£ 15s. in money." "I was detained in all fifteen days."

As to our townsman, Major Samuel Appleton, most fortunately we have explicit record.

¹ Mass. Archives, book 127, leaf 165.

² Mass. Archives, book 127, leaves 166 and 181.

³ Mass. Archives, book 127, leaf 147.

At a Council^l held in Boston on Wednesday the 19th of October 1687.¹

Present

His Excellency Sr Edmund Andros Knight	
William Stoughton	Richard Arnold
John Usher	Edward Randolph
Nathan Clark	Francis Nicholson
} Esqrs.	} Esqrs

Major Samuel Appleton of Ipswich being comitted to ye Custody of a Messenger for being a factious and seditious person and disaffected to ye Government & now brought before ye Council it was ordered

That hee continue committed until he give sufficient surety by Recognizance in the sum of One Thousand Pounds to appear at the next Superior Court to be holden in Salem to answer what shall be objected against him & in the meane tyme to be of good behavior

By order in Council

JOHN WEST, Sec.

That this is a true coppie of the order of Council by w^{ch}

Mr Appleton (now under my custody as messenger) is to be discharged.

witnesseth

THOMAS LARKING.

Major Appleton might have regained his freedom by giving bond, as his fellow-magistrates. But he scorned even the appearance of submission. He had made no petition for bail, and he refused to make any apology. He continued in the same defiant mood. Whereupon he was brought before the Council again on October 30th, and action was taken as follows.²

Whereas by an order of this board Dat ye 19th of 8^{ber} past it was ordered y^t Maj^r Samll Appleton y^t in ye Custody of ye Messinger Should Stand Committed untill he gives sufficient security to appeare at ye next Superior Court to be holden at Salem in the County of Essex and in the meantime to be of good behavior and whereas Intimations hath been this day given to this board by Tho^s Larkin Messinger y^t ye sd Sam^{ll} Appleton hath refused to comply with ye sd order but is still in his Custody and that he is and hath been at great charge & trouble to looke after & provide for him for which he also refuseth to pay him

¹ Mass. Archives, book 127, leaf 213.

² Mass. Archives, book 127, leaf 266.

any fees or other satisfaction praying y^t if y^e board thinck fitt he may be elsewhere Secured. It is therefore ordered y^t y^e sd Sam^{ll} Appleton be by y^e sd messenger delivered into the Custody of y^c Sheriff of y^e County of Suffolk where by warrant from this board he is to remaine and be kept in y^e common Goale untill he give Sufficient Security in a thousand Pounds for his good behaviur untill y^e next Superior Court to be holden at Salem aforesaid & for his appearance at y^e sd Courte & pay y^e Messenger fees & charges aforesaid.

By order in Councill

JOHN WEST D. Sec^y

However, according to his own deposition,¹ he was not imprisoned at this time, but kept under a guard of soldiers until December 9th, when, still continuing obdurate, he was sent to the common jail, where he was kept in a vile cell and refused the liberty of the jail yard until the 9th of March. Then he was summoned before the Superior Court in Salem, and released, upon giving his bond to appear at the next session of the Court. During this long and trying imprisonment, he made repeated demands for release on a Writ of Habeas Corpus, which were refused, and also petitioned for larger liberty in the jail. One of these petitions remains, and it bespeaks a bold spirit, which asks for clemency but acknowledges no guilt.

The humble Peticon² of Sam^{ll} Appleton humbly sheweth that whereas y^{or} humble Peticon^r being very aged and weak in body and Confined in a Close Prison having not the freedom to Praye himselfe to have the liberty of the yard

Therefore humbly prays your hono^{rs} to take his agedness and weakness into Consideration and exact an Act of Clemency and license him an Enlargement he suffering much by reason of the Season of the year in his health

And he will as in Duty bound for ever pray

From Boston Goale

Ja^{ny} the 18th

1687

SAM^{LL} APPLETON

Some fifteen days of detention were sufficient to compel the submission of Mr. Bradstreet and Mr. Saltonstall, but

¹Mass. Archives, book 35, leaf 148.

²Mass. Archives, book 128, leaf 24.

the heroic Appleton refused the privilege of release under bond, and for more than five months in all, was a prisoner, three of which were spent in close confinement in the stone jail of Boston, in a smoky and ill-odored room, treated as a common felon, although no definite accusation had been brought against him. In the old town of York, Maine, the ancient stone jail still stands. It contains a few rooms, lighted with small and heavily barred windows, each provided with a small fireplace. The bare stone walls and floor are damp and forbidding. In some such dismal and repellent quarters, shut up with criminals perchance, for the political prisoners were released before he was imprisoned, the brave soldier of King Philip's War, the honored Magistrate, for Conscience sake, suffered these indignities and made his protest against the enormities of the Usurpation.

Mr. Wise and the other Ipswich men were arraigned before a special session of the Court of Oyer and Terminer on the 24th of October. They were all found guilty, and returned to jail, where they lay twenty one days awaiting sentence. They were then fined heavily, deprived of civil privileges, and released under a bond of good behavior.

After the Andros government fell, they signed a deposition, narrating vividly the full story of the wantonness of this mock trial as they regarded it, and the heavy penalties passed upon them. This and other documents are reserved until the closing passages of the Andros Usurpation are considered in chronological order.

Under the terms of his sentence, Mr. Wise was unable to preach after his release. By an act of Executive clemency he was relieved of this disability.

By his Excellency.¹

Whereas John Wise, Minister of Chebacco, was in a Sentence late given in his Maj. Court of Oyer & Terminer Holden at Boston ye 24th day of October and Suspended from preaching publicly & privately dureing my displeasure as by ye Record of ye sd Court may appear these are to Certifie that upon ye humble petition of ye sd J^{no} Wise & Application of severall worthy persons in his behalfe I Doe hereby forgive & enlarge him ye sd

¹ Mass. Archives. Hutchinson Papers, book 242: leaf 341.

J^{no} Wise from that part of ye sd sentence Inhibiting ye Exercise of his Ministry Given under my hand att Boston ye 24th day of November 1687.

E. H.

Ipswich submitted to the warrant, chose her tax commissioner, and on November 24, 1687, John Harris and Simon Wood, Constables, received a receipt¹ for £136 9s. 11d. in full for the country rate of the Town for the use of John Usher, Esq. Treasurer.

Essex County bore the brunt of the battle with Andros on the question of the tax, but she shared with the other towns of the Colony the distress incident to the vacating of all land titles by the loss of the Charter. The title of any property was likely to be called in question by the representatives of the Crown. The people of Lynn were aggrieved by repeated claims of Randolph to the peninsula of Nahant. The Council ordered any persons, who had claims, to show reason why Randolph's petition should not be granted. The Town replied that it had been divided, occupied and fenced for fifty years, and protested against Randolph's demand.² Philip Nelson, Justice of Rowley, the pliant tool of the new government, petitioned that his title might be confirmed in his house, barn, fourteen acres of upland and other property.³ Any landholder might be called upon to take a patent for his possessions.

"Had not an happy Revolution happened in England, and so in New England, in all probability those few ill men would have squeezed more out of the poorer sort of people there than half their Estates are worth by forcing them to take patents. Major Smith can tell them that an Estate not worth 200l. had more than 50l. demanded for a patent for it."⁴ Any attempt to maintain a title was likely to be visited with insult and abuse. Excessive fees were charged for probating of wills.

Plymouth yielded her independence to the Usurper and the Charter of Connecticut was taken away in October, 1687. Andros went to Maine to pacify the Indians whose attitude was

¹ Town Record.

² Mass. Archives, book 127, leaves 172-174.

³ Mass. Archives, book 127, leaf 159.

⁴ "The Revolution in New England justified."

unfriendly, and in the spring of 1689, he led an expedition against them but to no purpose. His unpopularity was increased by evil reports that he had furnished the Indians with ammunition, that they might rise against the English. Bitter resentment was roused by his leading the colonial soldiers into the Maine wilderness in a winter campaign. When he passed through Ipswich in March on his way to Boston, his welcome must have been cool in the extreme.¹ Tidings had already reached our Town, which had suffered so much at his hands, by the Proclamation which Andros had issued on January 10th while at Pemaquid, that Prince William of Orange was planning a descent upon England to wrest the throne from King James. Hope that the end of his tyranny was at hand was supplanting the apathy and humiliation of the early months of his rule. A ship arrived in Boston on April 4, 1689, with news that the Prince had landed in England. The result was unknown, and no other arrival brought any later tidings. But the people could not be restrained. For two weeks they waited and then they burst all bounds. On the morning of April 18th, the drums beat through the town at nine o'clock. Randolph and many of the Andros set were seized and thrown into the same jail that had held so many of their victims. Andros, himself, would have been taken if he had not taken refuge at Fort Hill. The military marched up King, now State Street, escorting the venerable Bradstreet, Governor, and Danforth, the Deputy-Governor, under the old Charter, and some of the old Assistants.

About noon, the gentlemen who had been conferring together in the Council-Chamber appeared in the eastern gallery of the Town House, at the head of King Street, and there read to the assembled people what was entitled a "Declaration of the Gentlemen, Merchants and Inhabitants of Boston and the Country adjacent."² Governor Hutchinson, in his History (vol. I, p. 339), followed by Palfray, attributes this document to Cotton Mather, who had composed it, it is believed, in anticipation of such an uprising. This Declaration charged Andros and his associates with malicious oppression of the people, with extor-

¹ "The Revolution in New England justified." Affidavit of Rev. Mr. Higginson.

² Palfray, Hist. of New England, III: 577, 578.—The Declaration is printed in The Andros Tracts, Pub. by the Prince Society, Vol. I, p. 11 and following.

tionate fees for probate, "and what Laws they made it as was impossible for us to know, as dangerous for us to break; but we shall leave the Men of Ipswich and of Plimouth (among others) to tell the story of the kindness which has been shown them upon this account."

Proceeding then to the language used toward Mr. Wise and the Ipswich men, in their examination, the Declaration continued:

"It was now plainly affirmed, both by some in open Council, and by the same in private converse, that the people in New England were all slaves, and the only Difference between them and slaves is their not being boughtt and sold; and it was a maxim delivered in open Court unto us by one of the Councill, that we must not think the Priviledges of English men would follow us to the end of the world. Accordingly we have been treated with multiplied contradictions to Magna Charta, the rights of which we laid claims unto. Persons who did but peaceably object against the raising of Taxes without an assembly have been for it fined, some twenty, some thirty, and others fifty Pounds."

The refusal of writs of Habeas Corpus, the nullifying of land titles, the arousing of another Indian war were dwelt upon, and it concluded:—

"We do therefore seize upon the Persons of those few Ill Men which have been (next to our Sins) the grand authors of our Miseries."

Thus in the earliest moment of that determined uprising, the sufferings of Ipswich men came first to mind. The impassioned words of the minister of Chebacco in the Ipswich Town Meeting, and then before Andros, as he proclaimed the inalienable rights of Englishmen under Magna Charta, his noble reply to the mocking jeers of the Councillors that they were all slaves, that they did have privileges of which none could defraud them, had sunk deeply into the hearts of the people, and in the first moment of the reassertion of popular liberties, they afforded the finest and highest expression of the motive that stirred them to revolution.

Andros surrendered before night, and Dudley was taken shortly after. A provisional government with Bradstreet at

its head was organized at once. A convention of delegates from the Towns was summoned, which met on May 2nd, and voted in favor of resuming the old government. The Council of Safety hesitated, however, and waited the assembling of a new convention with express instructions from the Towns. In common with the majority of Towns, Ipswich voted in favor of reassumption of the ~~Charter~~,¹ and this policy was adopted in the convention held on May 24th. The Governor and Magistrates deposed at the accession of Dudley, resumed their offices and they and the delegates recently elected formed the General Court. It was a bold proceeding. If King James had defeated the Prince of Orange, the lives of the leaders in this violent overthrow of the royal government would have been forfeited, beyond a doubt.

Tidings from England were awaited with nervous anxiety. At last a ship arrived from England on May 26th, with an order to the authorities to proclaim William and Mary, King and Queen. "Never," says Palfrey,² "since the Mayflower groped her way into Plymouth Harbor, had a message from the parent country been received in New England with such joy. Never had such a pageant as, three days after, expressed the prevailing happiness, been seen in Massachusetts. From far and near the people flocked into Boston; the government, attended by the principal gentlemen of the capital and the towns around, passed in procession on horseback through the thoroughfares; the regiment of the town, and companies of horse and foot from the country, lent their pomp to the show; there was a great dinner at the Town House for the better sort; wine was served out in the streets; and the evening was made noisy with acclamations, till the bell rang at nine o'clock, and families met to thank God at the domestic altar for causing the great sorrow to pass away, and giving a Protestant King and Queen to England."

Action was taken at once toward the formulating of Articles of Impeachment against Andros and his Government. All who were aggrieved by their ill-treatment were instructed to draw up depositions, making a full statement of the facts. Major Appleton was desired to get the Ipswich depositions fairly writ-

¹ Mass. Archives, book 107, leaf 53.

² Hist. of New England, III: 589.

ten and signed by the deponents, and to administer their oaths to them. These depositions afford a clear view of the exasperating disregard of the fundamental principles of Law and Justice by the Andros government and the reign of Anarchy and Terror. The men of Ipswich were quick in their response. Constable French filed his statement within a few days after the order was passed.

An account¹ of Thomas French of Ipswich, who received injuries under late government under Sur Edmon Andrus who sent for me by won Joseph Smith bayly with a warant under Sur admon andrus hand who brought me to bostan to the governors hous sum time in Saptamber 87 whoo examined me of many things and if I was not at Mr Appletons & the meting the which I owned as about the worant sant by John Usher whether it was not as warents wor ishedw out of former treasurers Dad in former government I answered no with other discours to long here to tell then he sant for too files of red cots and committed me to the stone haus for alevn dayes in the meanwhile we were examined by the Counsell and after that I was sent to prison with a Commitment for high misdemeancors before the counsell and not aladged in won partickular what and there I remained til a court of eyr and termoni was eld where I was trid upon life and death for high treason against the King and nothing provid of that nature.

and then I was fined feftene pound and the Court charge came to sixtene more with other charges which amounted to fourty pound beside twenty weekes imprisonment

I was then Constable and
to borrow the munnies and pay interest the same I hope it will be considred.

item to the sherev for the liberty of the yard	01—00—00
to my fine	15—00—00
court charges	16—10—00
to the bayley	02—10—00
to for feese	01—05—00
to masy for hous rant	03—00—00
with cost for my	03—00—00

41—06—00

THOMAS FRENCH.

27 MAY, 1689.

¹ Mass. Archives, book 107, leaf 60.

Mr. Wise, and the others who suffered with him, presented two statements. The first, filed in May, had especial reference to the allusions to them in the Declaration, which was read from the balcony of the Town House, and afterward printed and circulated.

To the Council of Essex¹

This may serve to signifie that severall of the towne of Ipswich In Essex In N^e England to Geather wth the subscribers have (under y^e Late Govern^t of S^r E^d Andros) been Damnfied In o^r Prsons & Estates Severall Hundred yea Thousand Pounds most wickedly yea wthout & Contrary to All Laws Reason & Equitie as we hope for opportunity under the Shelter of Law to Evine more publegly and Sufficiently Against Severall prsons of the Late Gov^tmt as were nextly the Auth^{rs} of Such Mischief to us.

And Some of us Can Give In Testimonie that Prsons of y^e Late Gov^tmt Declare us to be not much happier then slaves viz Mr Mason In open Councill said That we had no more Previdg Left us then not to be Sould f^r Slaves all the Council manifested Consent by their Silenc.

¶ Mr. D. S.² West Declared to some of us that we . . . A Facitious People & had no Previdge Left us.

The Gov^r S^r E^d Andros said to Some of us By way of Ridicule whether we thought if Jac & Tom sell the King w^t moneyes he must have for y^e use of his Gov^tmt Implying that y^e People of the Countrie were but a parcell of Ignorant Jacks & Toms and that He & his Crew had the Imediate dispose of o^r fortunes and we were to be put to bedlam for mad-men as not knowing how to use our estate wⁿ we had Gotten it tho wth never so much Prudenc pains and frugalitie.

We offer to Defend Especially y^e maine parts of the 5th & 6th parts in y^e Declaration made in ord^r to y^e Apprehension of S^r E^dmund & his Creatures

and so Subscribe

J^N° WISE

J^N° APPLETON

J^N° ANDREWS

ROB^t KINSMAN

WILLIAM GOODHEW

THO^s FRENCH

Datted this 27th 3^d 1689

This was followed by a fuller and more particular "Complaint," which is of great value, as it contains a summary of

¹ Mass. Archives, book 242, leaf 371.

² Deputy Secretary.

the judicial proceedings, the imprisonments and fines, which are known only through this document. The records of the Court of Oyer and Terminer, before which they were tried, have never been found.

COMPLAINTS¹ OF GREAT WRONGS DONE UNDR YE ILL GOVERNMT OF
S^R EDMOND ANDROSSE GOVERN^R IN N-ENGLAND IN Y^E YEAR 1687.

We John Wise John Andrews Sen. Robt. Kinsman William Goodhew Jun^r all of Ipswich in N-England in ye Countie of Essex about the 22nd Day of August in ye year above Named were wth severall principall Inhabitants of the towne of Ipswich Mett at Mr John Appletons & ther did Discourse & Conclude y^t it was not ye townes Dutie any wayes to Assist y^t ill Methode of Raising money w^t out a Generall Assembly w^{ch} was apparently intended by above said S^r Edmund & his Councill as witnesse a Late Act Issued out by them for such a purpose.

The next day in a Gen^l. towne meeting of ye Inhabitants of Ipswich wee ye above named John Wise Jn^o Andrews Robt Kinsman William Goodhew w^t ye rest of ye Towne yⁿ met (none contradicting) Gave o^r assent to ye vote yⁿ made.

Ye Ground of o^r trouble o^r Crime was ye Coppie transmitted to ye Councill viz. At a Legall Towne meeting Augst 23 assembled by vertue of an order from Jn^o Usher Esq^r Treasurer for choosing a Co^mission^r to Joyn w^t ye Selectmen to Assese ye Inhabitants according to an act of His Excell^{ie} ye Gov^rn^r & Councill for Laying of Rates ye Towne yⁿ Considing y^t ye s^d act doth Infringe y^{ir} Libertie as free-borne English subjects of his Majestie by Interfeiring w^t ye Statute Lawe of ye Land by w^{ch} it was Enacted y^t no taxes Should be Levyed on ye Subjects w^t out Consent of an Assembly Choasen by ye free-holders for Assesing of ye Same, they Do therfore Vote y^t they are not willing to Choose a Comission for such an End w^t out s^d Previlledge: & more over Consent not y^t ye Selectmen do proceed to Lay any Such Rate until it be appointed by a Gen^l Assembly concurring w^t ye Gov^rn^r & Councill.

We ye Complainants w^t Mr Jn^o Appleton & Tho^s French all of Ipswich were brought to Answer for s^d vote out of o^r owne Countie 30^{ie} or 40^{ie} miles into Suffolk & in Boston kept in Goal only for Contempt & high misdemean^r as o^r Mittimus Specefies and upon Demand denyed ye previledge of an habeas Corpus and from prison over-Ruled to Answer at a Court of oyer & Termin^r in Boston afore said.

Our Judges were Mr Joseph Dudley of Roxbury in Suffolk in N-England Mr Stoughton of Dorchester John Usher of Bos-

¹ Mass. Archives, book 35, leaf 139.

ton Treasur^r He y^t officiates as Clerk & Attorney in y^e Case is Geor^g Farewell.

The Jurors only 12^{ve} men, and most of them as is Said non-free holders of any Land in y^e Colony, some of y^m strangers & foreigners (as we suppose) Geathered up to Serve y^e present turne.

In or Defenc was peaded y^e Repeal of y^e Law of Assesmt^s; upon also y^e mag^a Charta of England & y^e Statute Lawes y^t Secure y^e Subjects properties & Estate & ^{ca} to w^{ch} was Replied by one of y^e Judges y^e Rest by Silene assenting; y^t we must not think y^e Lawes of England follow us to y^e Ende of y^e Earth or whether we went and y^e same Pr^{son} (Jn^o Wise abovesaid testifies) Declared in open Councill upon Examination of said Wise Mr. Wise you have no more previledges Left you yⁿ not to be Sould for Slaves, & no man in Councill Contradicted. —By such Lawes or Tryall & troubles began & Ended.

Mr. Dudly afore s^d Cheif-Judge to Close up y^e Debate & Tryall trimes up a Speech y^t pleased himself (we Suppose) more yⁿ y^e people amongst many other Remarkable Passages to this purpose he bespeakes y^e Juryes obedience who (we suppose) were very well preinclined viz. I am Glad (says he) ther be so many worthie Gentlemen of y^e Jury so capable to do y^e king Service and we Expect a good verdict from you Seeing y^e matter hath been So sufficiently proved against y^e Criminalls.

Note—The Evidence in y^e Case as to y^e Substanc of it was y^t we too bouldly Endaiv^{red} to perswade orselves we were Englishman & und^r Previledges; and y^t we were all six of us afores^d at y^e towne meeting of Ipswich afore s^d; and as y^e witnesse Supposed we assented to the fore s^d vote; and also y^t Jn^o Wise made a Speech at y^e Same time & said we had a good God & a Good king, and Should Do well to stand for or previledges——Jury Returned us all Six Guiltie being all in volved in the same Information.

We were Remanded from verdict to prison and ther kept one & twentie Days for Judgt; yⁿ to Mr Dudlyes approbation as Judge Stoughton Sd this Sentence was passed viz.

Jn^o Wise: Suspended from y^e ministeriall function; fine 50^{lb} mony, & pay Cost; 1000^{lb} bond for y^e good behav^r one year.

Jn^o Appleton: not to bear office; fine 50^{lb} mony; pay y^e cost; 1000^{lb} bond for y^e Good behav^r one year.

Jn^o Andrews: not to bear office, fine 30^{lb} mony, pay y^e Cost; 500^{lb} Bond for y^e Good Behav^r one year.

Rob^t Kinsman: not to bear office: fine 20^{lb} mony, pay Cost; 500^{lb} bond for y^e Good Behav^r one year.

William Goodhew: not to bear office: fine 20^{lb} mony, pay Cost; 500^{lb} Bond for Good Behav^r one year.

Thos French: not to bear office: fine 15^{lb} mony, pay Cost: 500^{lb} for Good behav^r one year.

The total fees of this Case upon one Single Information Demanded by Farewell above sd: amounts to about 101^{lb}. 17^s-0. who demanded of us Singly about 16^{lb} 19^s 6^d; y^e Cost of prosecution.

The fines added make up this two hundred eightie & six pounds, seventeen shillings money.

Sum Total is 286-17-0

To all w^{ch} we may ad a Large acct; of other fees of Messengers prison Charges & mony for Bonds and transcripts of Records.

Exhausted by thos Ill men one way and another to y^e value of three or foure Schoar pounds besides our Expense of time & Imprisonm^t.

We judge the Total Charge for one Case & Tryall und^r one Single Information Involving us Six men above sd; In Expense of time & monyes of us and or Relations for our necessary Succour & Support to Amount to more: but no less then four hundred pounds, Mony.

——400^{lb}-00^s-00^d Mony——

Too Tedious to Illustrate more amply at this time & So we conclude

John Wise: John Andrews Sen^r: William Goodhew Jun^r: Thos French And Robert Kinsman

These fower persons first named apered y^e twentieth of December and Robert Kinsman appeared y^e one and twenty of one thousand six hundred eighty nine and gave in their testimonies upon oath into Mr Sam^l Appleton Assist^t for y^e Colony of y^e Massachusetts in New England.

The third principal deposition filed by the Ipswich authorities and one of the weightiest of all was that of Major Appleton. The literary style indicates the work of Mr. Wise.

THE INFORMATION¹ & DEPOSITION OF SAMUEL APPLETON SEN^R IN
Y^E COUNTY OF ESSEX IN N. ENGL.

That our late Govern^r Sr Edmund Andros did on the 20th day of September 1687 Send his Warrant by Tho: Larkin Messenger for y^e takeing into his Custody y^e body of him y^e said Appleton upon a pretended information of his factious & seditious inclinations and disaffection to his Maj^{ties} lawes &

¹ Mass. Archives, book 35, leaf 148.

authority here established and that he had Endeavoured to alienate the harts of his Maj^{ties} subjects from y^e Govern^r by virtue of which he was Seized and brought to Boston and had before S^r Edmond in Council and without y^e appearance of any Informer or Information yea without y^e Charge of any Crime was comitted y^e hands of y^e s^d Larkin and afterward to a Guard of Souldiers & kept prisoner until y^e 9th day of Decemb^r following at w^{ch} time S^r Edmond was pleased to Comit him s^d Appleton to the Comon Goal in a Stinkeing Smoakey Room to the Impareing of his health and Indangering of his life and this notwithstanding his frequent desire of such enlargement as is seldom or never denied to any but Traytors & Felons (their Accustomed Fees being by him offered) yea not withstanding his repeated demands of y^e benefit of y^e act of Habeas Corpus he was kept under Confinement in that uncomfortable place to his great cost and damage untill y^e Superior Court houlden at Salem March y^e 7th 1687 when &] whereupon Enting into Bond of one thousand pounds for appearance at y^e next Superior Court to be held at Salem aforesd to answer &c and in y^e meane time to be of good behaviou^r with y^e payment of unreasonable fees Extorted from him (which were y^e hard & only conditions offered by the Judges) he was dismissed till y^e next Court and to have his bond continued for about six months longer although there did never appear anything against him.

The Records of the Superior Court, which was held in Salem for the trying of this and other cases, have never been found. It seems probable that no further action was taken, as no allusion was ever made to other proceedings.

From the mass of evidence thus accumulated, a Committee of Seven, appointed in December, 1689, formulated charges¹ against Andros and the other members of his government.

The first in the long series of charges against Gov. Andros, against Dudley and against Randolph was

“Mr. John Wise, minister, John Andrews Sen., Robt. Kinsman, W^m Goodhew Junr. Tho. French. These prove their damage for their being unwilling for Sir Edmond Andros rayseing money on the people without the consent of the people, but Improved upon Contrary to Magna Carta.”

¹ Mass. Archives, book 35, leaves 254, *et seq.* reprinted in The Andros Tracts of the Prince Society Pub. Vol. I, pp. 149-172.

The fifty-first charge against Andros was

“His warrant in Councill to Confine Major Appleton to the common prison and that without any crime done by him, a most hellish way to undoe men.”

John Appleton Junior's name does not appear, but his sentence and fine were included in the general complaint of the seventy-fifth article.

Immediately after the overthrow of Andros, a number of pamphlets appeared, written chiefly by the friends of the popular movement, which dealt vigorously with the policy of the late government. The first was Nath. Byfield's “An Account of the Late Revolution in New England, together with the Declaration of the Gentlemen, Merchants and Inhabitants, of Boston, and the Country adjacent, April 18: 1689.”¹ This was published in June of the same year. Two months only had elapsed since the Declaration was read from the balcony of the Town House, and the picturesque narrative of the events of those memorable April days can be accepted as an authoritative record. The prominent place accorded the Ipswich men has been noted already.

In the year 1690, John Palmer, a member of the Andros Council, and a Judge, published in London, “An Impartial Account of the State of New England, or the Late Government there Vindicated.”²

This was a reply to the “Declaration, which the Faction set forth, when they Overturned that Government.” It is an ingenious and carefully reasoned plea, and its refutation of many of the extreme and unreasonable charges may be accepted as credible. After maintaining that the Charter was rightly forfeited, and that the sole authority reverted to the Crown, he discusses the charges made by Mr. Wise and Mr. Appleton.

“That the privileges of *Magna Charta* and other Liberties of *English-men* were denied them, is a thing which can never be made appear; however, admitting it, I have sufficiently discussed that Point in the Third Article. By the Persons said to be severely Fined for peaceably objecting against raising of

¹ Published in The Andros tracts of the Prince Society, vol. I.

² Published in The Andros Tracts, vol. I.

Taxes without an Assembly, I conjecture are meant the *Ipswich-men*, who were so far from a peaceable objecting, that they assembled themselves in a *riotous manner*, and by an Instrument conceived in Writing, did *Associate* and oblige themselves to stand by each other in opposition to the Government, and by their example, influenced their Neighbours to do the like. And this by the Law is esteemed an Offence of that Nature, that is next door to *Rebellion*; for which they were Indicted, Tried and Convicted, either by *Verdict* or their own *Confession*."

Palmer's declaration as to the character of the writing drawn up at the Town Meeting differs from Mr. Wise's sworn statement in the "Complaint," and the entry in the Town Record. It is alluded to invariably as a dignified and statesmanlike affirmation of the principle of no taxation without representation as the ground of the Town's action. His statement that the Town Meeting was a disorderly gathering, and that they bound themselves to stand by each other has never been confirmed, and is to be attributed to his personal enmity.

Regarding Major Appleton, he observes "That any one hath been Imprisoned, without being charged with Crime or Misdemeanor, is an Allegation which I dare be bold to say, can never be proved; I have heard indeed an Habeas Corpus demanded upon the Statute of the 31 C. 2, was denied in Major Appleton's Case, (who was one of the *Ipswich-men* before mentioned;) but let any considering Man peruse the Act, and I believe he will be easily convinced that it is particularly limited to the Kingdom of *England*; besides, he was committed only because he would not find Sureties for the good Behavior, and the question was not whether he should be Bailed; for upon finding the said Sureties, he must have been discharged of course; so that it was not the want of an *Habeas Corpus* detain'd him in Prison, but his own wilful and obstinate Humour."

Wilful and obstinate ! How History repeats itself ! John Fiske, in his Essay on "The Last Royal Governor of Massachusetts," Gov. Hutchinson, remarks, "He felt that all the troubles were due to the unreasonable obstinacy of a few such men as James Otis and Samuel Adams, and that if these men could be defeated, the general sense of the people would be in favour of peace and quiet." Nobler praise of the valiant

soldier, suffering the annoyance and hardship of Boston Jail all winter for Conscience sake, cannot be conceived. Palmer's pamphlet called out "The Revolution in New England Justified,"¹ by E. R. and S. S. (undoubtedly Edward Rawson, the Secretary of the General Court and Samuel Sewall, afterwards Chief Justice) in 1691. The "Ipswich-matter" was regarded of such importance that the whole "Complaint" is printed in full, as its own refutation of the insinuations of Judge Palmer. In Increase Mather's "Narrative of the Miseries of New England,"² the Ipswich men had honored place.

Thus, in the current thought of the time, the honor that was due our Town of Ipswich for the sturdy resistance to the encroachment upon the privileges of the citizens of the Colony, was paid freely and generously. It was recognized that Ipswich had done what Boston and Salem and all the other large towns dared not do. It was seen that her resistance was made on the large issue of no taxation without representation. There was no victorious appeal to arms as in 1775, there was no oratory nor popular excitement. In a quiet way, in an evening gathering, and a Puritan Town Meeting, and before tribunals of justice, the great principle, affirmed in Magna Charta, the foundation of the liberties of Englishmen, was maintained clearly and steadfastly by the minister of Chebacco. Had that sentiment aroused such mighty enthusiasm in Wise's time as it did when it fell from the lips of Patrick Henry and Samuel Adams, he and his high minded associates might not have been left to the tender mercies of the Law. Confined in Boston Jail, conscious that a large party in the Colony was not in sympathy with their bold defiance of the Crown, unsustained by the great popular sympathy that nerved the Revolutionary leaders to their task, it is not strange that their hearts failed them and they sued for pardon. But the principle for which they suffered was not and could not be withdrawn, and was lifted into a glorious prominence, which could never be dimmed. Wise declared the principle in words, and Samuel Appleton, that factious and seditious resistant of royal encroachment upon the

¹ Published in *The Andros Tracts*, vol. I.

² Published in *The Andros Tracts*, vol. II.

popular liberties for years before the odious tax was imposed, by his long imprisonment, from which his fellow magistrates shrank, bore noble witness to his devotion to the people's rights.

The Town seal of Ipswich bears the legend, "the birth-place of American Independence, 1687." Technically, perhaps, the claim may be disputed. The men of Watertown refused to pay their part in a tax, assessed upon the town in 1631, to build a palisade inland from Charles River, because they were not represented in the body which imposed the tax. New Amsterdam refused to pay the taxes levied arbitrarily by Stuyvesant, the Dutch governor, in 1653, and in 1667, when the English had conquered it, and Gov. Lovelace had imposed a tax for purposes of defence, eight villages remonstrated at once. Southold, Southampton and Easthampton consented provided they had the privileges of New England towns. Huntington replied, "We are deprived of the liberties of Englishmen." Jamaica declared it a disfranchisement, contrary to the law of the English nation. Flushing and Hempstead were equally resolute.¹ In Virginia, the conflict between prerogative and popular rights culminated in the Great Rebellion, led by Nathaniel Bacon, in 1676. English troops were first introduced to quell this rising of the people against royalist rule, and twenty-two were hanged.² Massachusetts had already denied the authority of Parliament in 1678, "they not being represented in Parliament."

When the Quakers had established themselves in West New Jersey, 1678-1680, the Duke of York exacted customs from every vessel ascending the Delaware. This they refused, declaring, "By this we are assessed without law and excluded from our English right of common consent to taxes."³ Pennsylvania was founded on the principle of equal rights for all, and the people to rule itself. When a subservient Council had ordered a tax in New Hampshire in 1684, the farmers of Exeter drove off the sheriff with clubs, and their wives stood ready with scalding water to prevent any attachment of property; and at Hampton, he was beaten, robbed of his sword, seated

¹ Bancroft, *Hist. United States*, vol. II, p. 321.

² Bancroft, *Hist. United States*, vol. II, p. 222 *et al.*

³ Bancroft, *Hist. United States*, vol. II, p. 361.

upon a horse, with a rope round his neck and driven out of the province.¹

But the Ipswich protest was nevertheless a manly affirmation of the great principle of the right of self government, that was never absent from the minds of the colonists, that had been maintained at cost of blood already in Virginia. It was made deliberately, in a dark and threatening time, when a Royal Governor with English troops at his command required submission.

For many anxious months, her citizens were the victims of the royal government. She suffered far more than any other community, and her sufferings may fairly be called the birth pangs of the new life of independence.

The true value of this episode is likely to be forgotten. The modern critical school pays no honor to the prophets. There is a tendency to belittle the beliefs and events of the Past. In his Essay, "The Deeper Significance of the Boston Tea Party," John Fiske called a halt to the prevalent disposition among a certain type of scholars, to decry the Boston Massacre and the Tea Party as acts of mere mob violence, as an extreme reaction from the earlier indiscriminate eulogy of every word and deed of that critical period. We may reply in the same spirit to the defence of Andros and the belittling of the refusal to pay the penny in the pound, in Mr. W. H. Whitmore's *Memoir of Andros in the Andros Tracts of the Prince Society*. It may be that he was an upright and honorable man of large administrative ability, who roused no more hostility than any other governor would have done under the existing circumstances. The question is not of men, but of principles, and the maintenance of the principle that was affirmed by the Ipswich-men was and ever will be, heroic and statesmanlike. The loving tribute of Rufus Choate, who was born in the neighborhood, where Wise and Andrews and Goodhue lived, must still be counted wise and well deserved. In his oration on the Two Hundredth anniversary of the Town, 1834, he exclaimed:

"These men, says Pitkin, who is not remarkable for enthusiasm, may justly claim a distinguished rank among the patriots

¹ Bancroft, *Hist. United States*, vol. II, pp. 118, 119.

of America. You, their townsmen, their children, may well be proud of them; prouder still, but more grateful than proud, that a full town-meeting of the free-men of Ipswich adopted, unanimously, that declaration of right, and refused to collect or pay the tax, which would have made them slaves. The principle of that vote was precisely the same on which Hampden resisted an imposition of Charles First, and on which Samuel Adams and Hancock and Warren resisted the Stamp Act, the principle that if any power but the people can tax the people, there is an end of liberty."

"In this the darkest day that New England ever saw, it is grateful to pause and commemorate an act of this town of Ipswich: which deserves, I think, an honorable place in the universal history of liberty."

In his lecture before the Mercantile Library Association at Boston on March 14, 1849, Mr. Choate again eulogized the Ipswich resistance.

"In running over Mr. Macaulay's survey of the last two years of James the Second, it is peculiar to see how the whole system of English tyranny reproduces itself and re-enacts itself year by year. Here in Massachusetts, the same revolution that saved one saved exactly the other. On a stage less splendid and conspicuous, surrounded by scenery something less brilliant and historical, by actors something less renowned, commemorated by a less brilliant contemporaneous literature, the same great cause of man was pleading here as there. In that same year of 1687, which saw Oxford and Cambridge standing disrobed of their Charters before James the Second, and turned in spite of themselves into Papists, there was witnessed a transaction at Ipswich, which I recall with much pleasure . . . *Extremum hunc mihi.*"

"In that darkest hour of our history; our whole colonial legislature abolished; our whole civil power grasped by Sir Edmund Andros; our whole adopted law swept away by a stroke of the pen of the king; the principles of justice silenced; every man's title to his farm requiring to be confirmed by a fine; those little democracies, the towns, annihilated by a law forbidding them to meet more than once a year, and that simply for the election of town officers; the gun announcing to Boston that a standing army was quartered there, and over-awing the liberty of the inhabitants; at that moment of peril, Sir Edmund Andros was pleased to lay a tax, and to apportion it upon the towns, and thereupon to ordain that they should assemble and make choice of a commissioner and that a board should be constituted for the assessment of the tax upon themselves."

"The meeting of the town of Ipswich, second only to Boston



in size, in wealth and in population, was to be held on the 23^d of August, 1687. On the evening before that day, the Rev. John Wise, minister of the town of Ipswich,¹ and several other inhabitants of Ipswich, met in what would now be called a preparatory caucus, at the house of John Appleton, brother² of Samuel Appleton, one of the most distinguished persons of that time, the ancestor of more than one family of Appletons in a direct line; divines, lawyers, merchants, and physicians, the ornaments of your profession and of mine, and of all professions."

"In that little preparatory caucus—I read from the record—it was discoursed and concluded that it was not the town's duty to consent to that method of raising money. The next day they attended in town meeting. Mr. Wise made a speech enforcing these doctrines, and thereupon the meeting spread upon its records this vote . . ."

"This was circulated in manuscript through the County of Essex, it being illegal to print documents of this kind. Other towns refused to pay their tax. And although Mr. Appleton was convicted of misdemeanor by a jury of Boston, who, as has well been said by one of the historians of the time, were foreigners, and held confined under bonds, yet this manuscript appreciably kept alive that feeling which declared James deposed from the throne before it was known that James had taken flight; and enforced by the thunder of Faneuil Hall, and by the thunder of Bunker Hill, re-proclaimed the same principle of English liberty which had long slumbered in the breasts of the people."

"I hold that this scene, this incident, and these actors, deserve a record in the old history of human rights. I shall not admit that Oxford and Cambridge, standing for their charters, though Isaac Newton was one of the academicians, were personally more beautiful than John Wise speaking to the freemen of Ipswich, and they responding, he a graduate of Harvard College, celebrated in law as well as in literature and Dogmas of his own profession, the author of two tracts upon Congregationalism, personally brave, an advocate of liberty of conscience—a doctrine which it was no trifle to hold—and by all men's confession better fitted than Sir William Phips to conduct the Government. On that grave stone over his remains, and over which I have hung hundreds of times, it states that "in learning and talents he shone above his contemporaries."

¹ Minister of the Chebacco Parish now Essex.

² At the house of Lieut. John Appleton, son of John, who was brother of Samuel.

NOTE.

Reference may here be made to the frequently repeated assertion that Major Appleton evaded the messenger sent to arrest him and secreted himself in Lynn. Mr. Lewis, in his History of Lynn, recalls a tradition that the Major, while in hiding, was wont to address the people of the neighborhood from a high rock, near the site of the ancient iron-works, which is called Appleton's Pulpit. A bronze tablet has been fixed in this rock bearing the inscription:

APPLETON'S PULPIT
IN SEPTEMBER 1687 FROM
THIS ROCK TRADITION
ASSERTS THAT RESISTING
THE TYRANNY OF SIR EDMUND
ANDROS MAJOR SAMUEL
APPLETON OF IPSWICH SPOKE
TO THE PEOPLE IN BEHALF OF
THOSE PRINCIPLES WHICH
LATER WERE EMBODIED IN
THE DECLARATION OF
INDEPENDENCE.

Some confirmation of this tradition may be found in the fact that although the warrant for the arrest of Bradstreet, Saltonstall and Appleton was issued on Sept. 19th, and Bradstreet and Saltonstall were arrested at once, and Bradstreet was released on Oct. 5th, Major Appleton was not arraigned before the Council until Oct. 19th. On Oct. 5th, the warrant was issued for the arrest of Samuel Appleton of Lynn, who was then hiding from the officers of the law as the warrant declares, and had been previously summoned. This is the only allusion to Samuel Appleton of Lynn, as involved in these troubles, and he was never arrested, so far as we know. From this, it might be inferred, that Major Appleton had secreted himself in Lynn, and the warrant specified "Samuel Appleton of Lynn" to insure his arrest.

But the testimony of Major Appleton in his sworn deposition is, that he was arrested on the 20th of September, and continued in custody until his final release.

Larkin, the messenger to whom the warrant was issued, had him in charge, when he was brought before the Council, while

Joshua Broadbank was the messenger charged with the arrest of Samuel Appleton of Lynn.

Samuel Appleton, son of the Major, was a resident of Lynn from 1680 to 1688, and the owner of the iron works near the so-called Pulpit. He is undoubtedly the person against whom the warrant was issued on Oct. 5th. The tradition that a fugitive from justice should openly harangue the people from this high ledge is in itself improbable, and without historic value. But if there be a fragment of truth in this tradition, it must be referred to some unknown episode in the life of Samuel Appleton of Lynn.

CHAPTER XV.

LAWS AND COURTS.

The legal machinery at the outset was very simple. The Governor and his Assistants constituted at once the legislative and the judicial power. They enacted laws and arraigned and punished offenders. Thus we find that august body in 1630, adopting statesmanlike measures to secure the orderly settlement of the Colony, and ordering the squatter settlers to remove from Agawam; then, proceeding to order Thomas Morton of Mount Wollaston to be set in the bilboes and sent a prisoner to England for his un-Puritan courses. They set a price upon labor. "Carpenters, joyners, masons, bricklayers, sawyers, clapboard ryvers, thatchers, mowers, tylars and wheelwrights," were forbidden to take more than two shillings a day and every one was forbidden to give more, under penalty of 10s. to taker and giver. If their meat and drink were provided, their wages must not exceed 16^d a day.

They made an example of Robert Clough by ordering his strong water taken from him for occasioning disorder, drunkenness and misdemeanor, by his unwise sale of it. Richard Duffy a servant of Sir Richard Saltonstall, was sentenced to be whipped for misdemeanor toward his master, and the great Sir Richard in his turn, was called to account for letting his cows hurt Sagamore John's corn, and ordered to give him a hogshead of corn in requital. John Shotswell was fined eleven shillings in Sept. 1633, "for distemping himself with drink at Agawam," and Robert Coles, for his excesses was fined and "enjoined to stand with a white sheet of paper on his back wherein A DRUNKARD shall be written in great letters, as long as the Court thinks meet." John Lee was sentenced to be whipped and fined for calling Mr. Ludlowe, "false-hearted knave and hard-hearted knave, heavy friend etc."

The selling of ammunition to Indians was forbidden under penalty of branding in one cheek, laws for the preservation of

good timber were enacted, and tobacco takers were taken under surveillance.

The Governor and his Assistants, in 1636, to secure the dispatch of public business, ordered four Courts to be held every quarter. One of these Courts was to hold its session in Ipswich and include Newbury within its jurisdiction. It was to be known as the Quarter Sessions Court, and it was provided that the magistrates, who lived in the vicinity, should sit as judges. Our Ipswich magistrates were Mr. Dudley, Mr. Dummer, Mr. Bradstreet, Mr. Saltonstall and Mr. Spencer. Mr. Symonds, Mr. Woodbridge and Mr. Hubbard were made eligible as judges in 1638. Denison attained the ermine later. This lower Court had power to try all civil causes, "whereof the debt or damage did not exceed £10, and all criminal causes not concerning life, member or banishment." Right of appeal to the Great and General Court was allowed.

The Kings arms were straightway erected in old Ipswich, and Ipswich Court was ready for its task. The original Records remain, and they afford most instructive and entertaining insight into the practical working of the Puritanic legal code. In the course of sixty years, a great variety of cases came before this tribunal for adjudication, some trivial, some ridiculous, many of weighty significance then but insignificant now, many fraught with sad reminders of stern delusions, but all illustrative of the tone and spirit of a Puritan town.

The dignity of the Court itself was of intense moment to the Magistrates, and any reflection upon it was instantly rebuked. Mr. Jonathan Wade, one of the leading citizens, made some speeches, "afronting the Court" in 1645, for which he was summoned to trial and fined sixteen shillings. John Broadstreet, a man of meaner position, for similar misdemeanor, was sentenced to sit an hour in the stocks. Ezekiel Woodward and Thomas Bishop were obliged to make public acknowledgment of this fault at the next lecture day.

Sundry offences against the awful sanctity of the Church and the Sabbath were dealt with, summarily. In the year 1647, the Town was plaintiff in suits against Thos. Rolingson, who lived close by the present Agawam House, and Robert Roberts, for refusing to pay the rate required of them toward

the expense of the new meeting-house. Rolingson paid in the end his 40^s. and 17^s2^d more for costs. The Town was advised to compound with Roberts for 16^s. Joseph Fowler's spiteful charge that there were liars in the church, secured for him a place in the stocks, and Thomas Scott paid a fine for refusing to learn his catechism. Humphrey Griffin was fined 10^s for unloading barley on the Sabbath before sunset, and John Leigh escaped punishment for working in the swamp on the Lord's Day, only by proving that it was done to stop the fire from harming himself and his neighbors.

Disturbers of the public worship on the Lord's day met their just deserts. In 1654, Edward Brydges had a legal admonition for disorder in the meeting house. In that same year, disorderliness had become so general and so offensive that the General Court took the matter in hand, and gave liberty to the officers of the congregation and the Selectmen of Towns to appoint one or two persons, "to reform all such disordered persons in the congregations, or elsewhere about the meeting houses." Our Town proceeded in 1657 to avail itself of the new statute, and appointed Thos. Burnham and Symon Tompson to keep a watchful eye upon the youth, and none too soon, for John Averill had been before the Ipswich Court in 1656 for striking Thomas Twigs in the meeting house, "in the time of public ordinances on the Sabbath."

For many years there was a vigorous spirit of disorder that must have marred the solemnity of many Sabbaths. The grouping of the young men and boys together was the prolific source of constant disorder. Sometimes the disturbance was violent, as when Thomas Bragg and Edward Cogswell fought together in the meeting house "on the Lord's day in time of exercise" in the year 1670, for which they were fined 10^s apiece, or when Stephen Cross struck another worshipper.

Two young misses, Elizabeth Hunt and Abigail Burnam, so disturbed public service one Sunday in 1674, that they were arraigned before the Court, and their fathers admonished to reprove them becomingly, and Sam. Hunt Jr. was admonished and fined for his light behaviour.

Old Salem in 1676 wrestled with the unruliness of the boys in this fashion:

"all ye boyes of ye towne are and shall be appointed to sitt upon ye three pair of stairs in ye meeting house on ye Lord's day, and W^m Lord is appointed to look after ye boys y^t sitte upon ye pulpit stairs. Reuben Guppy is to look and order soe many of ye boyes as may be convenient, and if any are unruly to present their names as the law directs."¹

But "disorderly carriages" increased still to the sorrow of all godly worshippers, and in 1657, in accordance with a precept from the General Court, a new office was created, that of Tithingman, and 24 men, good and true, including some of the most prominent citizens, were chosen by the Selectmen. The tithingman was a most important functionary. His business extended much beyond the meeting house and disorder therein. To each officer was assigned the oversight of ten families, hence the name, though the origin of the office itself is found in the Saxon times of old England.

Within his special precinct, he was instructed by common agreement of the Town officers in 1681, "to see that children and servants be taught to read and instructed in the capitall laws, and Catechism as the law p'vides, and that the Selectmen as they shall desire y^m goe with y^m to any persons to attend their dutye and where there is deficiency in any they are to inspect that the Laws be attended."

Furthermore, the Law enjoined them "to inspect disorderly persons, and to p'sent the names of single persons that live out from under family government—to enter ordinaries and inspect them" — and "whatever else tends to irreligion."

They were to admonish all offenders, and if this proved ineffectual, they were bound to make complaint to the Court. One Tithingman at least, pressed the law to the letter, as the Court Record bears witness, under the date April 10, 1683.

"William Knowlton upon complaint of John Edwards tithingman against him for keeping a pack of gaming cards in his house is sentenced according to Law to pay a fine of £5." Upon his submission, the Court ordered that "upon satisfying the informer his part as the law provides and paying 20^s to the Treasurer and fees the rest be respitted."

Habitual neglecters were fined for their misconduct. Widow

¹ "The Sabbath in Puritan Times," by Mrs. A. M. Earle, p. 55.

Goodhue was thus dealt with in 1647 and Thos. Lovell in 1671, and again in 1674. Thos. Lovell and Thos. Lovell, Jun., lived within a few rods, under the very droppings of the sanctuary. Their neglect was a rank offence, for which they paid a fine. Roger Darby and his wife, who lived in High St. close by the old Caleb Lord house, were warned, fined and dealt with harshly for similar fault. Some of these, if not all, were Quakers. A notable group of these enthusiasts faced the Court in September, 1658. Samuel Shattuck, celebrated in Whittier's poem, "The King's Missive," "having been apprehended by the constable two Lord's Days at the Quaker meeting and two days absence from the public meeting" was fined 30^s. Nicolas Phelps was fined the same sum for equal offence. Joshua Buffum, for a single Sabbath's absence was fined 15^s, "And for persisting still in their course and opinion as Quakers, the sentence of the Court is, these three be committed to the House of Correction, there to be kept until they give security to renounce their opinions or remove themselves out of the jurisdiction."

The intense interest that centred in these trials is wholly beyond our imagination. The first law against that "cursed set of heretics" called Quakers, enacted in 1656, forbade any captain to land them. Any individual of that sect was to be committed at once to the House of Correction, to be severely whipped on his or her entrance, and kept constantly at work, and none were suffered to speak with them. The next year, it was ordered that any Quaker, coming again into this jurisdiction, should have one of his ears cut off; for another offence, he should lose the other ear, and every Quaker woman should be severely whipped; for a third offence, the tongue was to be bored through with a hot iron. Ere long, sentence of death was ordered and executed in several cases at Boston. It was further decreed in 1661, that "any wandering Quakers be apprehended, stripped naked from the middle upward, tied to cart's-tayle and whipped thro the town." Persistently returning, they were to be branded with the letter R on the left shoulder.

The repressive laws against this obnoxious sect were in full swing then, when Shattuck and his friends were brought to the bar of the Ipswich Court. Many of the Quakers had been guilty of great excesses in their assaults on the established wor-

ship. Open interruptions of the service, and noisy demonstrations outside the meeting-house, were frequently made. Popular opinion was bitterly against them. We may imagine that the Court room was crowded with an eager company, hushed to deathly stillness, when Shattuck, Phelps and Buffum, wearing their hats before the dignitaries, unless removed by the constable, were examined, convicted, and sent to prison, there to be whipped, fed on bread and water, and made to work hard on the hemp and flax, always provided by the Master.

They suffered a month in prison, and there were others with them, Lawrence Southwick and Cassandra, his wife, and Josiah Southwick. Then came the order from the General Court that they all be brought to Boston, and commanded to depart out of this jurisdiction under a penalty of banishment, if they remained. They all had been confined in Boston prison some years before, and no document has more pathetic interest than the petition to the General Court for release, which they drew up while in prison, which is still preserved among the old Court papers in Salem.

It was written apparently by Cassandra Southwick, and bears the signature of each. It is dated, "from ye house of bondage in Boston, wherein we are made captives by the will of man, although in measure made free by ye Son. John 8: 36 in which we quietly rest, this 16th 5^{mo} 1648."

Against this same group, the General Court pronounced in 1659, that "if any one is found within this jurisdiction after the 8th of June next, he shall be arrested, and if found guilty, put to death."

Whittier's muse has made them all immortal. He has extolled Samuel Shattuck's bluff and fearless audience with the Governor, when the accession of Charles II had given the Quakers temporary advantage, and portrayed with loving fidelity the tender womanliness of Cassandra, condemned to be banished but escaping this fate, because no shipmaster would bear her away. No wonder the gentle poet's ire is roused at the savage violence vented on Lydia Wardwell, a modest and virtuous maiden, who was driven to frenzied excess by her convictions of duty, and went naked into the meeting house at Newbury. For this, she was arraigned in 1663, was condemned forthwith

to be tied to the fence post of the tavern where the Court sat, and was sorely lashed with twenty or thirty cruel stripes.¹

Happily affairs of lesser weight relieved the bitterness of these Quaker trials. Groups of elderly citizens appeared from time to time and prayed to be excused from training because of their years and infirmities, or sought exemption from the night-watch. Sometimes release from military service was freely granted as in the case of John Leigh, in his 70th year; sometimes a money rate was imposed for the release. It was 6s. a year in the case of Robert Day.

Anon, anxious good wives and daughters were summoned to answer for wearing a gay silk scarf or a silk hood, or some over-proud commoner for his brave display of silver lace, and they were sentenced to pay a fine unless it was proved that the wearer or husband or father was worth £200.

When the terrors of King Philip's war burst upon the Colony, the General Court discerned in it the rebukes of Almighty God, and straightway it issued fresh edicts against some flagrant abuses. Children were to be cared for and catechised more diligently. Check was placed on the pride that was evident in that "long hair like women's haire is worn by some men, either their own or other's hair, made into periwigs; and by some weomen wearing borders of hayre and their cutting, curling and imodest laying out their haire, especially among the younger sort."

The evil of pride in apparel was assailed, particularly "costliness in the poorer sort and vayne, new, strainge fashions, with naked breast and armes or as it were, pinioned with the addition of superstitious ribbons both in hajre and apparel."

These laws bore hardly upon the belles of Ipswich, and some of the lighter minded wives and mothers. At the September session of the Court in 1675, in obedience to the summons of the Constable, Arthur Abbott's wife for the offense of wearing a silk hood and scarf, Benedict Puleifer's wife on a similar charge, the two daughters of Haniell Bosworth, the cowherd, Margaret Lambert, and the wives of John Kindrick, Thomas Knowlton, and Obadiah Bridges, all appeared and paid dearly for their ribbons and gew-gaws and "imodest laying out of their hajre."

¹ Coffin's History of Newbury, p 56.

Now and then, some of the most eminent citizens were brought to Court for overcharging in mercantile transactions. Mr. Jonathan Wade, for "expensive prices in selling grindstones and other things" had to pay a fine of £5 and witness fees in 1658. Mr. Robert Payne, the Elder of the Church and the Patron of the Grammar School, and the Town Clerk, William Bartholomew, were similarly fined.

Family jars were adjusted. Mark Quilter was put under £10 bonds in 1664 to be "of good behaviour toward all persons, but especially his wife." Daniel Black and wife were both condemned to be set in the stocks, with instructions not to "mis-call each other" while in limbo. Mary Bidgood was ordered to England to live with her husband. Elizabeth Fanning, wife of William Fanning of Newbury, being proved to be a common scold was sentenced "to be sett in a ducking stool and dipt over head and ears three times in some convenient place in ye river at Newbury on ye next lecture-day after lecture." John Tellison was duly punished for tying his wife to the bed post with a plow chain to keep her at home. Humphrey Griffin's difficulty with his mother-in-law led to two prosecutions; she was fined for cursing and reviling her son-in-law, and he for reviling her. The woes of the bond-servant were also avenged. Philip Fowler abused a boy bound out to him, Richard Parker by name, "by hanging him up by the heels as butchers do beasts for the slaughter." The Court cautioned him and charged the cost of the trial.

The traffic in strong water and its various effects engaged the attention of the tribunal constantly. The earliest license to sell was granted Robert Roberts by the Court of Assistants in 1635.¹ Men of the highest reputation soon sought like liberty. Mr. Robert Payne, Mr. Bartholomew, and Jeremy Belcher all received license in 1652. Deacon Moses Pengry kept an ordinary and dispensed spirit. Corporal John Andrews, inn-keeper at the White Horse in High street, frequently disturbed the public peace. A petition signed by many of the most prominent citizens led the Court to decline to renew his license, by its complaint of sundry offences. The original document after many years of travel, came into the possession of D. F. Appleton,

¹ Felt, p. 111.

Esq., and was given by him to the Ipswich Historical Society. Deacon Pengry was authorized to keep an ordinary in place of Andrews, and Andrews's spite is easily detected in the petty mischief of "pulling down the signe of Moses Pengry, (a licensed vender of strong water) and Mr. Brown, his gate and dore, and Lieut. Sam. Appleton his gate," for which he was duly arraigned. Daniel Ringe was licensed to keep an ordinary in 1661 but "not to draw beer above a penny a quart, and to provide meate for men and cattell." John Perkins, Andrew Peeters and John Whipple were licensed in 1662, the last to sell not less than a quart at a time and none to be drunk in his house. All were bound "not to sell by retail to any but men of family, and of good repute, nor sell any after sun sett; and that they shall be ready to give account of what liquors they sell by retail, the quantity, time and to whom." Mr. Jonathan Wade was also licensed.

Still the traffic grew, and in the year 1692, licenses were granted to John Spark, Mr. Francis Wainwright, Mr. John Wainwright, Francis Wainwright, Jr., Capt. Daniel Wicom, Mr. Abraham Perkins, Mr. Goodhue Sen. and Mr. Michael Farley, Sen. Despite the selection of men of the best character for dealers, and all restrictions and limitations upon the trade, evil results abounded. Cases of drunkenness were frequently before the Court. One of the most curious was that of Humphrey Griffin, who was indicted by the Grand Jury for being drunk, as it appeared "by his gesster, evile words, falling off his horse twice (or oftener) and his breath senting much of strong liquor." Over indulgence, no doubt, explains Shoreborne Wilson's "ry-baldry speech" for which he sat half an hour in the stocks. Poor Mark Quilter's domestic infelicities sprang from this source and many a misdemeanor was traceable to this as its responsible cause.

Rev. Mr. Hubbard was the victim of his graceless servant, Peter Leycross, who, acting in league with Jonas Gregory, the public whipper, and Symon Woods, made repeated depredations upon the minister's wine cellar, stealing five gallons at one time. They also stole his fat sheep and sold them, but were apprehended at last making merry over the ministerial wine at Gregory's and were sentenced to be whipped or pay a fine.

The tobacco habit was severely frowned upon. Thos. Parell was fined 10^s for taking tobacco out of doors and near a house in 1654. Richard Hutten for smoking tobacco in the street on the Sabbath day paid 10^s. and costs and Nathaniel Treadwell's "pype" publicly used cost him more than it was worth, manifold. Still, tradition has it that the Rev. Nath. Rogers was an inveterate user of the maligned herb.

Some rollicking pranks of the olden time have been preserved through the medium of these old Court Records, the tearing up of bridges, the annoying and abusing of the night watch, and the consummate mischievousness of Thomas and John Manning in putting a calf down toper Mark Quilter's chimney, and abusing him in his barn and yard. Jonathan Platt's name is rescued from oblivion as the gay Lothario, who endeavored "to draw away the affections of Mr. Rogers, his mayd," and was judged to have broken the law and was fined 5^s. Card playing was an offence for which a merry group of four paid 5^s a piece in 1664.

There were liars and thieves in the old days, but a lie was a costly luxury, and a thief found the way of the transgressor very hard. Mark Symonds paid for one lie 10^s, and for "3 other untruths" 5^s apiece. John Broadstreet was so unfortunate as to be indicted in 1652 "for supposition of haveing familiarity with the devil." It was proved only that he had told a lie, but as it was his second offence, he was sentenced to pay a fine of 20^s or be whipped. Jeffry Skelling was whipped for divers lies and Goodwife Haffield was fined 20^s for taking the name of God in vain to witness to a lie. Simple theft sent Abner Ordway, the blacksmith by the Mill Dam, to the stocks. A more aggravated case caused Obadiah Rich of Salem to be branded in the forehead here in Ipswich with the letter B, to be fined treble damages, and to be sent to Salem to be severely whipped. Like penalty was laid upon Henry Spencer.

Thus, offenders of every grade came and went, and some so frequently that their names become familiar. Joseph Fowler, the lawless and defiant insulter of magistrates, assailant of watchmen, brawling disturber of the public peace, was a perennial culprit. So were Francis Jordan, the public whipper before Gregory's time, Corporal John Andrews and Mark Quilter. The Quaker, Roger Darby and his wife were often there.

Long and tedious as the Sabbath day was made by the protracted public services and home catechisings, our Puritan ancestors deemed it necessary to set apart another day in the week for religious exercises, to secure a proper degree of public piety.

Thursday was the day chosen, and the weekly Lecture was the important event of that day. All work and amusement were prohibited, and attendance on the sanctuary was compulsory as on the Sabbath. Larger liberty of theme was permitted the minister, however, and many matters of public order were vigorously pressed.

The day was often utilized for special town-meetings or Selectmen's meetings, after the service. Advantage was taken of the gathering of the people for the public administration of justice, and many an offender expiated some misdoing by an oral confession of his sin to the congregation, or by a written apology, which was read from the desk. Joseph Muzzey was thus made conspicuous in 1651, and he was obliged to make such acknowledgment as the Court appointed.

Richard Smith had a difficulty with the officers of the Town in 1645 and was so indiscreet as to say, "Though Father, Son & Holy Ghost were against him, yet he had the victory" or to this purpose. For this, he was sentenced to "make acknowledgment of this blasphemy" or pay a fine in addition to the 40^s already levied.

In 1667, John Andrews met the deserved frown of all good Christians, when he acknowledged his part in the indecent dishonor to the Sagamore's bones. Twenty years later, he became one of our town heroes when he joined with Pastor John Wise and his famous company in resisting the Andros tax, and suffered for his boldness. The summary rebuke of that scapegrace prank may have brought the youth to that better manhood. Ezekiel Woodward and Thomas Bishop, a well-known merchant and trader, made public apologies that year for affronting the magistrates.

Offences that were regarded as specially heinous were punished not merely by whipping, and sometimes with branding with hot irons, but with public exposure on the lecture day. Sarah Row, a woman of unchaste life and violent behavior, was sentenced in 1673 "to stand all the time of the meeting, from

the last bell-ringing, on a high place where the master of the House of Correction shall appoint in open view of the congregation with a faire white paper written in faire capitall letters," specifying her offence; and in 1674, Thomas Knowlton might have been seen standing openly with a paper on his breast inscribed, in capital letters, "for makeing disturbance in the meeting." Two sisters, guilty of an unnatural crime, were compelled to face the pitiless scorn of the congregation, standing or sitting on a high stool, with the tale of their infamy written upon them, in 1681.

A touch of the grotesque is discerned in the case of Elizabeth Perkins, wife of Luke, who was presented by the Grand Jury in 1681 for many "most opprobrious and scandalous words of an high nature agst Mr. Cobbitt and her husband's natural parents, and others of his relations, which was proved and in part owned."

"That a due testimony may be borne against such a virulent, reprochfull and wicked tongued woman, this Court doth sentence said Elizabeth to be severely whipped on her naked body, and to stand or sitt the next Lecture day in some open place in the public meeting house at Ipswich, and when the Court shall direct, the whole time of the service with a paper pinned on her head, written in capital letters 'for reproching ministers, parents & relations.'" The corporal punishment was remitted for a 3£ fine, but the remainder of the sentence was no doubt executed.

"Reproaching ministers," was an offence that engaged the wisdom of the General Court as early as 1646, and it decreed that the offender should "pay a fine or stand two hours openly on a block four feet high on a lecture day, with a paper fixed on the breast with the inscription 'a wanton Gospeller.'"

Presumptuous speeches were often made. John Cross slandered Mr. Rogers, and Thomas Cross dared to say of Rev. John Norton that he taught what was false. He also reproached the ordinance of baptism and said that if he had children, he would not have them play the fool. William Winter said that Mr. Cobbet in his teaching lied against his own Conscience, and one of his Lynn parishioners had suffered for declaring, "he had as lief hear a dog bark as Mr. Cobbett preach." For these affronts, due apologies were made.

Criminals under sentence of death, were brought to the public Lecture. Judge Sewall records: "Jan. 16: 1700-1. At Ipswich, Mr. Rogers preached the lecture from Luke 1:76, about ministerial preparation for Christ. Sung the nine first verses of the 132^d Psalm. Mr. Rogers praic'd for the prisoner of death, the Newbury woman, who was there in her chains." This was the last sermon, he adds, that was preached in the old meeting house.

Evil doers met the public eye, without as well as within. Hard by the meeting house, were the whipping post and stocks, and prison, all on the level Green, on which the meeting house of the First Church stands today. The site of the last whipping post is marked by the elm tree nearest the meeting house on the east corner. It was frequently ordered that the punishment of the lash or the stocks should be inflicted on the lecture day, and the scene which Hawthorne depicts, when the Boston congregation issued from the meeting house, and was shocked by the sight of Rev. Arthur Dimmesdale acknowledging his sin on the scaffold, was enacted frequently, with humbler personages bearing their public shame.

Thus in 1647, roystering Joseph Fowler, often at fault, was sentenced to pay a considerable fine or sit in the stocks some lecture day, for saying there were liars in the church and wondering they were not cast out, "and if one would lye soundly he was fit for the church," or Shoreborne Wilson, a man of frequent misdeeds, for some "rybaldry speech." There, in deserved disgrace, one lecture day in 1667, sat several giddy young men, Stephen Cross, Wm. Andrews and Joseph Giddings, for pulling up bridges and other misdemeanors at the windmill.

Thus religious and civil affairs were closely interlocked. Ministerial dignity was maintained by judicial enactment. Neglect or disorder in the meeting house was an offence against the civil statute. Breaking of the Sabbath was punished by the Law and taxes for ministerial support and all church expenses were collected by the constable under legal process. Religion was only requiting its debt to Law, when it made the solemn gathering for worship the occasion of terrible punishment of misdoers and branded the law breaker with open shame.

CHAPTER XVI.

WITCHCRAFT.

It was a matter of common belief in England as well as in the Colonies on this side of the Atlantic, that Satan and his angels were actively engaged in assaulting the kingdom of the Lord Jesus Christ, and disturbing the peace of mankind. To attain this end, the Devil made persuasive overtures to men and women, and those who listened to his beguilement were endued with supernatural powers of working mischief upon all, whom they wished to injure. It was an age of credulous belief in ghosts and spectres, supernatural manifestations and extraordinary events, and the actual existence of witches, who had familiarity with the Devil, and did his bidding, was not doubted in the least degree.

That the good people of Ipswich had conceived a strong suspicion of the evil character of one of their townsmen, John Broadstreet, as early as the year 1652, is made painfully evident by the entry in the Record of the Court, that was "held at Ipswich 28th (7) 1652.

"John Broadstreet upon his presentmt of the last court for suspicion of haveing familiarity wth the devill upon examynation of the case they found he had tould a lye: w^{ch} was a second & being convicted once before the Court settts a fine of 20^s or else to be whipt. Edw. Coborne is surety for the payment of the fine and fees of court."

Happily for the accused, popular excitement had not been aroused, and the judicious moderation of the Judges saved him from a severe sentence. A more violent treatment of a suspected witch was manifested in Salisbury in 1656, when Goody Cole, of Hampton, whose name is preserved in Whittier's "The Changeling" was arraigned on suspicion of witchcraft. A witness testified, that thirteen years before she had bewitched Goodwife Masten's child, changing it into an ape.

The Constable of Salisbury, Richard Ormesby, made his deposition¹ "that being aboute to stripp Eunice Cole to bee whipt . . . looking uppon her brests under one of her brests . . . I saw a blew thing . . . hanging downwards about three quarters of an inch long not very thick."

This excrescence was proof positive of witchcraft, and the accused instantly pulled or scratched it off, incurring grave suspicion of Satanic power. She was probably whipped at that time, but she was not sentenced to Boston jail until 1673, when she was tried for having familiarity with the Devil. The story of her release from Ipswich jail may be an invention of the poet.

At the Court held at Ipswich, the 30th of March, 1680, Abel Powell was put on trial. Several neighbors bore witness of uncanny happenings in their households. The andirons leaped into the great kettle, the spinning wheel was turned upside down, strange and terrifying noises disturbed the quiet of the night, and many objects moved without hands, through closed doors.

A great variety of family mishaps were all laid to his charge, but he was acquitted of witchcraft. In the same year, Elizabeth Morse was found guilty of having familiarity with the Devil by the Court of Assistants in Boston, on May 20th, and on the 27th of May, "after ye lecture, the Governor pronounced sentence," of hanging. She was reprieved however, on June 1st until the October session, and allowed to return to her home in Newbury, "Provided she goe not above sixteen Rods from hir owne house, & land at any time except to the meeting house in Newbery nor remove from the place Appointed hir by the minister & selectmen to sitt in whilst there."² General Denison sat as one of the Judges during her trial and reprieve.

Twelve years elapsed, and no record occurs of any such trials. Then the storm burst in awful violence. Some young girls of Salem Village, now Danvers, began to act in strange ways, creeping under chairs and stools, distorting their faces, and muttering unintelligible jargon. The physicians could not explain their behavior, and one of them, it is said, suggested that they

¹ Witchcraft Record.

² Record of Court of Assistants.

might be bewitched. As some of the girls belonged in the family of Rev. Mr. Parris, Pastor of the Church in Salem Village, he invited several of the neighboring ministers to join with him in keeping a solemn day of prayer at his house. During these exercises, one of the girls about eleven years old, seemed to be thrown into convulsion fits. The others were soon similarly affected, and began to say that they saw, while in their fits, certain persons pinching or sticking pins into them, or otherwise torturing them. The first person named by them was Tituba, an Indian servant in the minister's household, and she confessed that the Devil urged her to sign a book, and to harm the children. She was committed to prison. Two others were soon accused. "Sarah Good, who had long been counted a melancholy or distracted woman; and one Osborn, an old bed-ridden woman; which two were persons so ill thought of, that the accusation was the more readily believed."¹

Ten persons were soon afflicted and they began to charge the practice of witchcraft upon their neighbors and friends. The venerable Rebecca Nurse, mother of a large family and of established Christian character, was charged with bewitching them. She was arraigned in the meeting house before the Justices, and her accusers, uttering piercing shrieks, declared that she bit or stamped upon them. She protested her innocence, and made piteous appeal to God to help her, but she was sentenced to prison, and goodwife Corey at the same time. Little Dorothy Good, the five year old daughter of Sarah Good, already under arrest, was named as a witch, as well. The number of the accused increased so rapidly that the Court of Assistants convened in Salem on the 11th of April, 1692, to administer justice. It was a day of the most thrilling interest to Ipswich. The Deputy Governor, Thomas Danforth, and six Assistants, including our honored townsman, Major Samuel Appleton, were the Judges, and among the accused were John Proctor and Elizabeth, his wife, formerly residents of the Chebacco Parish. John Proctor and his wife, Sarah Cloyce, Rebecca Nurse, Martha Corey, and little Dorothy Good were all sent to Boston jail.²

¹ Robert Calef, "More Wonders of the Invisible World."

² Court Records.

Most persistent endeavor was made in behalf of the Proctors. Rev. John Wise drew up a petition, which was signed by a goodly number of the most prominent men of the Chebacco Parish.

The Humble & Sincere Declaration of us Subscribers, Inhabitants in Ipswich on y^e behalf of o^r Neighb^{rs} Jn^o Proctor & his wife now in Trouble & und^r Suspition of Witchcraft — Too the Hon^{able} Court of Assistants now sitting In Boston

Hon^{ed} & Right Worshipfull

The fore sd John Proctor may have great reason to Justifie the Divine Sovereigntie of God under those Severe Remarqs of Providence upon his Peace & Hon^r und^r a due reflection upon his life past And so the best of us have reason to Adoar the Great Pittie and Indulgence of Gods Providence that we are not exposed to the utmost shame y^t the Divill can Invent und^r the p^rmissions of Sovereigntie tho not for y^e sin fore named y^t for our many Transgretions for we do at present suppose that it may be A Method wth in the Seveerer But just Transactions of the Infinite Majestie of God y^t he sometimes may permitt Sathan to p^rsonate Dissemble & therby abuse innocents & such as Do in the fear of God Defie the Devill and all his works. The Great Rage he is p^rmitted to attempt holy Job wth The abuse he does the famous Samuel in Disquieting his silent Dust by Shaddowing his venerable p^rson in answer to the Charms of Witchcraft & other instances from Good hands may be Arg^d Besides the unsearchable foot stepps of Gods Judgements y^t are brought to Light every morning y^t Astonish o^r weaker Reasons. To teach us Adoration Trembling & Dependance &c But —

We must not Trouble your Hon^{rs} by Being Tedious. Therefore we being Smitten with the Notice of what hath happened we Recon it wthin the Duties of o^r Charitie that Teacheth us to do as we would be done by to offer thus much for the Clearing of o^r Neighb^{rs} Innocencie: viz. That we never had the least knowledge of such a Nefarious wickedness in o^r said Neighbours since they have been wthin o^r acquaintance. Neither doe we remember any such thoughts in us conceiving them or any action by them or either of them Directly tending that way no more than might be in the lives of any other p^rsons of the Clearest Reputation as to any such Evills. What God may have left them to we cannot Go into Gods pavilions Cloathed wth Cloudes of Darkness Round About.

But as to what we have ever seen or heard of them upon o^r consciences we Judge them Innocent of the crime objected.

His Breeding hath been amongst us and was of Religious

Parents in or place and by reason of Relations & Properties within or Towne hath had constant intercourse with us.

We speak upon or personall acquaintance and observation: and so leave our neighbours and this our Testimonie on their behalfe to the wise thoughts of y^r Honours &c

Subscribe &c.

John Wise

William Story Senr
Regenalld Foster
Thom^s Chote
John Burnham Sr
William Thomsom
Tho. Low sen^r
Isaac Foster
John Burnam junr
William Goodhue
Isaac Perkins
Nathaniell Perkins
Thomas Wilkins
William Cogswell
Thomas Varny
John Ffellows

William Cogswell
Jonathan Cogswell
John Cogswell jun^r
John Cogswell
Thomas Andrews
Joseph Andrews
Benjamin Marshall
John Andrews jr
William Buslin
William Andrews
John Andrews
John Chote se^r
Joseph Proctor
Samuel Giddings
Joseph Eveleth
James White

Twenty of the neighbors in Salem Village, where the Proctors had their home, joined in a petition, affirming "that to our apprehension they lived a Christian life in their family and were ever ready to helpe such as stood in need of their helpe." Against this burden of sober and credible evidence, Mary Warren testified that Mrs. Proctor had poppets or dolls, which she pricked, and instantly she herself had been pricked. Goodwife Proctor had also threatened her with hot tongs. But the most whimsical, yet dreadful evidence was the reported declaration of the apparitions of those who had lain in their graves for years, that she had killed them for various trifling reasons. This evidence prevailed and the good woman was sentenced to death. This spectral evidence was easily produced, and was unanswerable. The purest characters were no proof against the infamous charge of murder, and crimes of every kind. Those accused as witches were subjected to the same treatment allotted to felons, and were viewed with horror and fear. Even when they had been locked in the dungeons of the prisons, those who testified

against them, declared that they were still pricked and tormented by the prisoners. Sir William Phips arrived in May, with his commission as Governor under King William. It was said that the first order issued by him, required that irons should be put upon those in prison.¹ Mr. Jonathan Cary of Charlestown wrote that his wife was carried to Cambridge prison and that the jailer put irons on her legs that weighed about eight pounds.

The early trials of the accused were before the Court of Assistants, of which Major Samuel Appleton was a member, but a special Commission of Oyer and Terminer was issued to several Justices, which began its sittings on June 2nd. Major Appleton had no part in the deliberations of this Court, which proceeded at once to pass severe sentence upon the reputed witches. Bridget Bishop, who had long been under suspicion, was tried and condemned to death on the 8th of June, and on June 10th she was hanged.

The Judges, the Ministers of Salem and vicinity, and the most enlightened citizens were sure that the powers of darkness were leagued against them. It was declared that the Devil had met with a great gathering of witches, and had declared that Christ's kingdom must be broken down. He declared that the Judgment Day and the Resurrection were abolished and all punishment for sin. He promised ease and comfort to those who would serve him, and a sacrament was then administered by him, with red bread and a liquid, red as blood. The severest measures were necessary, to repel these assaults.

The Court met again on June 30th, and Sarah Good, Rebecca Nurse, and Elizabeth How, wife of James How of the Linebrook Parish, and others were put on trial.

The evidence was of the usual absurd character. Sarah Good had been confined in Ipswich jail. Joseph Herrick, the Constable of Salem, testified that she had been committed to his charge to carry to Ipswich. That night, he affirmed, he had a guard over her in his own house, and she disappeared for a time, bare foot and bare legged, and went and afflicted Elizabeth Hubbard. Her arm was bloody in the morning. Samuel Braybrook

¹ Calef. *More Wonders of the Invisible World*.

said that while carrying her to Ipswich, "she leapt off her horse 3 times, which was between 12 & 3 of the clock."

Elizabeth How was charged with causing the death of sundry cattle and horses, and with being one of a company, who had knelt down by the bank of the river at Newbury Falls, and worshipped the Devil, and had then been baptized by him. The accused were all condemned and were all executed on July 19th.

Ipswich had her full share of the horrors of that memorable summer. Sarah Buckley, wife of William Buckley, formerly a resident of Ipswich, was accused, and the venerable Pastor, William Hubbard, had grace enough and courage enough to make a bold endeavor to save her, at a time when all were beside themselves with fear.

Mr. Hubbard's Certificate.

These are to certifie whom it may or shall concerne that I have known Sarah y^e wife of William Buckly of Salem Village more or lesse ever since she was brought out of England w^{ch} is above fifty years agoe and during all y^t time I never knew nor heard of any evill in her carriage or conversation unbecoming a Christian: likewise she was bred up by Christian parents all y^e time she lived here att Ipswich I further Satisfye yt y^e sd Sarah was admitted as a member into y^e church of Ipswich above forty yeares since and that I never heard from others or observed by my selfe anything of her that was inconsistent with her profession or unsuitable to christianity either in word deed or conversation and am strainingly surprized that any person should speake or thinke of her as one worthy to be suspected of any such crime that she is now charged with in testimony hereof I have here sett my hand this 20th of June, 1692.

WILLIAM HUBBARD.

Old Rachel Clenton, who lived in a little house near Mr. Clark Abell's, by the Mill Dam, was arrested. Constable Joseph Fuller served the warrant and his personal account with the County is preserved.

Joseph Fuller acct; Joseph fuller as constable for
vs y^e yere 1692 for seasing of
County. Rachell Clenton & bring of har
before Justis According to war-
rant.

for tending y ^e Court of oyer & termener 1s—00 at Salem ten days	1—0—0
Constaball Choat for seaseing of goody penne & carreing of har to Sallem & bring of hur back to ipswich Goall from Sallem by vertu of a mittimas with one ¹ / ₂ man to assistance for tending at ye Court of Oyer & turmener two weeks	0—8—9
1692 James fuller & nathaniell fuller thre dayes a pese at Salem being sumoned to give evidence Against Rachell Clenton at ye Court of Oyer & Termina.	1—0—0
	0—12—0

To the Constable's account, may be added the charges of Thomas Manning, the gunsmith, who lived on the house lot, now occupied by the residence of the late William Kinsman, opposite the Parsonage of the South Church.

Thomas Manning his accompte of work done by him for y^e County of in y^t yere 1692.
the mending & pouting one [putting on]

Rachell's fetters	00—01—06
to John houward ¹ 1 pare of fetters	00—05—00
to John Jackshon sener 1 pare of fetters	00—05—00
to John Jackshon Junr ^r 1 pare of fetters	00—05—00

00—16—06

John Proctor and Elizabeth, with four others, were tried by the Court on August 5th. Mention has already been made of the petitions in his favor. While lying in Salem Prison, Mr. Proctor addressed a letter to Rev. Cotton Mather and other ministers. He implored their "favourable assistance of this our humble petition to his excellency, that if it be possible our innocent blood may be spared, which undoubtedly otherwise will be shed, if the Lord doth not mercifully step in; the magis-

¹ William Howard of Turkey Shore, owner of the "Howard house" had a son John. John Jackson died before 1648, leaving a widow at least. There is no direct evidence that these were suspected witches, but it is highly probable.

trates, ministers, juries, and all the people in general, being so much enraged and incensed against us by the delusion of the devil, which we can term no other, by reason we know in our own consciences we are all innocent persons." "My son William Proctor, when he was examined, because he would not confess that he was guilty, when he was innocent, they tied him neck and heels till the blood gushed out at his nose, and would have kept him so twenty-four hours, if one, more merciful than the rest, had not taken pity on him, and caused him to be unbound."

He prayed, therefore, that if they could not have their trials in Boston, some other magistrates might hold court in Salem.

But all was of no avail, and he was condemned to death. He was hanged on August 19th, pleading to the last moment for a little respite, saying that he was not fit to die. Mrs. Proctor was relieved and eventually pardoned.

Ipswich prison was filled with the accused. Among them was Mary Easty, the wife of Isaac Easty of Topsfield, and sister of Rebecca Nurse. She petitioned the Court to proceed with caution, as many self-confessed witches had belied themselves. "I was confined a whole month on the same account that I am now condemned, and then cleared by the afflicted persons as some of your honors know; and in two days time I was cried out upon by them again, and have been confined, and now am condemned to die. The Lord above knows my innocence then and likewise doth now, as at the great day will be known by men and angels. I petition to your honors not for my own life, for I know I must die, and my appointed time is set; but the Lord he knows if it be possible that no more innocent blood be shed, which undoubtedly cannot be avoided in the way and course you go in".¹

The prison keeper, Thomas Fossie and Elizabeth, his wife, testified that they "saw no evil carriage or deportment while confined in Ipswich jail." She was carried to execution with her fellow-prisoners, Martha Corey, Ann Pudeater, and five other unfortunates. "When she took her last farewell of her husband, children and friends," "she was, as is reported by them present, as serious, religious, distinct and affectionate as could well beexpressed, drawing tears from the eyes of almost all present."

¹ Calef, *More Wonders of the Invisible World*.

Giles Corey, was taken from Ipswich prison, where he made his will, as Judge Sewall mentions in his Diary, to Salem, and there pressed to death by heavy weights upon his chest, because he refused to plead. Thus the towns-folk of old Ipswich came to know the poor sufferers of that dark time.

Robert Lord, the blacksmith, who lived and plied his trade on the site of the Samuel Baker house on High street, presented his bill in July 1692.

Itt m for making fouer payer of Iron ffetters and tow payer of hand Cuffs and putting them on to ye legs and hands of Good-wife Cloys, Estes, Bromidg and Green all att one pound aleven Shillings money.

£ s d
1—11—0

ROBT LORD, Smith

Isaac Littlehale charged the County in 1692 "for 18 pound of iron y^t was prest from Isaack Little Alle for feetters for ye prisoners at a 4d a pound"

0—6—0

John Harris, the Deputy Sheriff, had charge of transporting the prisoners, and his account with the County reveals many sorrowful journeys of the reputed witches, through the streets from the Prison to Salem Court or Gallows Hill.

An account from John Harris sherife
deputy of sondry charges at y^e Corts of Iran
terminar held at Sallem in y^e yere 1692

lb s d

Itt presing a hores & man to assist in carrying of Sary Good from Ipswich goalle to Sallem

0—8—0

Itt, for going to Sallem to carry a Return of y^e Juriars of Ipswich & Rowley & Attending y^e siting

—4—0

Itt. for a man & horse y^t was prest to Remove Sary good & child ffrom ipswich to Sallem

7—6

Itt. for pressing of hores & man to gard me with y^e wife of John willes & ye widdow pudeater from Ipswich to Salem myself & gard

9—6

Itt. for tending ye Court at y^e second siting

4—0

Itt. for providing a Jury to make search upon Cori & his wife & Clenton Easty: hore: Cloiss: & mrs bradbury	4—0
Itt. Tending ye Court on a Jurnment August ye 2 ^d 1692 from Tuesday till Saterdag	4—0
Itt. for expenc & Time to git 3 paire of fetters made for ye two Jacksons & John howard	2—0
Itt. for Removeing of howard & ye two Jack- sons & Joseph emmons from Ipswich Goall to Sallem & thare Tending ye Courts plea- sure thre dayes till three of them was sent back to ipswich Goall by me which time of thre dayes for mysellfe & expenc for Thos y ^t assisted me in yi sarues	06—00
for presing of men & horses for This designe	02—00
Itt for bringing of m ^{rs} bradbury from Sallem to ipswich goall & a man to assist me	4—0
	<hr/> 2—18—6
as attest	JOHN HARRIS, deputy sheref

In the midst of these distracting events, a new and unique outburst of Satanic rage revealed itself. Gloucester was invaded by a spectral company of Indians and French. Coming out of the swamps, or corn-fields, sometimes singly, again in a group, they approached the garrison. Usually the guns of the soldiers missed fire, but when the guns were discharged the bullets had no effect. Their speech was in an unknown tongue. They carried guns and real bullets shot from them were dug out of the trees. The alarm became so great that Major Appleton sent about sixty men on the 18th of July "for the Townes Assistance under these inexplicable Alarms, which they had suffered night and day for about a Fortnight together." John Day testified that he "went in Company with Ipswich and Gloucester Forces, to a Garrison about Two Miles and a half from the Town: and News being brought in, that Guns went off in a Swamp not far from the Garrison, some of the Men with himself, ran to discover what they could; and when he came to the Head of the Swamp, he saw a Man with a blue Shirt, and bushy black Hair, run out of the Swamp, and into the Woods: he ran after him with all speed, and came several times within shot of him; but the Woods being thiek he could not obtain his design

of Shooting him; at length he was at once gone out of sight; and when afterwards he went to look for his Track, he could find none, though it were a low miry Place that he ran over."¹

Rev. John Emerson wrote to Cotton Mather, at his request, a brief account of these appearances. He says, "I hope the Substance of what is Written will be enough to satisfie all Rational Persons, that Gloucester was not Alarumed last Summer for above a Fortnight together by real French and Indians, but that the Devil and his Agents were the cause of all the Molestation which at this time befel the Town; in the name of whose Inhabitants I would take upon me to Entreat your Earnest Prayers to the Father of Mercies, that those Apparitions may not prove the sad Omens of some future and more horrible Molestations to them." Mather himself appends to Mr. Emerson's narrative, "I know the most considerate Gentlemen in the Neighborhood, unto this Day (1702) believe this whole matter to have been a Prodigious Piece of the Strange Descent from the Invisible World, then made upon other Parts of the Country."

In the early autumn of 1692, Andover was convulsed with a fresh outbreak of the current delusion. Many accused themselves of riding on poles through the air. Parents believed their children were witches and husbands suspected their wives. Some of these who fomented the trouble, were sent for from Gloucester, and their accusations caused the imprisonment of four women, two of whom came to Ipswich prison. In November, Lieut. Stephens of Gloucester, believing that his sister was bewitched, sent for them again. On their way, passing over Ipswich bridge, they met with an old woman and instantly fell into their fits.² But by this time, calmer judgments began to prevail. It was plain that the lives of ministers and magistrates, as well as the simpler folk, were in deadly peril, if these baseless accusations were permitted. The determined act of a gentleman of Boston, in beginning a suit of a thousand pounds damage against the Andover people, who accused him, helped to steady the popular mind.

On January 3, 1692-3, by virtue of an act of the General

¹ Mather's *Magnalia*, book VII, Article XVIII.

² Calef, *More Wonders of the Invisible World*.

Court, the first Superior Court, called the "Court of Assizes and General Goal Delivery" was convened at Salem. The Grand Jury included Mr. Robert Paine, Mr. Richard Smith and Mr. Thomas Boarman of Ipswich, and on the "Jury for Tryalls", were Ensign Thos. Jacob, Sargt Nathaniel Emerson, Sen., Mr. Jacob Perkins, Jr., Mr. Matthew Whipple Sen., John Pengery, Seth Story, Thos. Edwards and John Lamson.

The Grand Jury, of which Mr. Paine was foreman, found nothing against thirty who were indicted for witchcraft, and true bills against twenty six. Of those on trial, three only were found guilty, and sentenced to death. These were the last to suffer. Nineteen were hanged and Giles Corey had been pressed to death. John Proctor and Elizabeth How had perished, but other Ipswich folk, Elizabeth Proctor, Rachel Clenton and Sarah Buckley had escaped.

Attempts to make amends for the irreparable harm soon began to be made. Twelve ministers of the County of Essex, including William Hubbard, John Rogers, Jabez Fitch, and John Wise, petitioned the General Court in July 1703, to clear the names of the accused and relieve those who had suffered. In 1711, the legal disabilities resulting from the witchcraft executions and imprisonments were removed and damages awarded to the survivors and the families of the dead. John Appleton, Esquire, of Andros fame, and Nehemiah Jewett, Esquire, who had been a member of the House sixteen times and thrice its speaker, were members of this committee.

Ipswich had suffered grievously in the grim ordeal, but as compared with every other important town in the County, she had been favored indeed. None of her citizens, except Elizabeth How from the Linebrook Parish, near to Topsfield, were executed, and those that were accused were not condemned. No such delirium as afflicted Salem, Beverly, Wenham, Andover, Salisbury, Gloucester, and Newbury was ever manifest here. And the reason of this fine composure and steadiness of mind is not hard to find. All the ministers put themselves on record as out of sympathy with the popular delusion, and Mr. Hubbard and Mr. Wise made formal appeals for the accused. Major Appleton, though an Assistant, and a Magistrate at the first trial, had no further connection with the matter, and his dis-

appearance from the scene may be interpreted as indicating that his broad and well balanced mind condemned this travesty of Justice. The same judicious and far seeing temper that made Ipswich the leader of the Colony in the Ursupation period, preserved her balance in the wild excitement of the Witchcraft time.

CHAPTER XVII.

WAR OF WILLIAM AND MARY AND OTHER INDIAN TROUBLES.

The trouble with the Eastern Indians, which had been renewed in the last year of the Andros government, broke out afresh in 1689. In that year, on June 27th, an attack was made upon Cocheco, now Dover by night. Twenty-three of the settlers were killed and twenty-nine taken captive. The house of Major Walden, who had been prominent in the war with the Indians at the Eastward, was attacked. The old soldier defended himself bravely but was cruelly tortured and finally killed with his own sword.¹

Word was speedily brought of this massacre, and hasty preparations were made to defend the Towns, and send relief to those that had been already assailed. Major Appleton came again to the front, and his letter of July first discloses the great anxiety and forebodings of disaster which prevailed.

May it please yr hon^{rs}2

We are continually receiving information of the increase of ye enemys Numbers We hear Capt. Broughton was last Saturday Shott down going to Nichewanick (now Berwick).

As for ourselves I find great heaviness in our peoples motion we have not one man come fr^o Lynn & are informed from Capt. Marshall that none will come: From Salem we have but 6 men wherefore I am necessitated to crave further Assist^e & Direction from yr hon^{rs} & shall remain

yr Honors humble servant
SAM^l APPLETON.

Ips. July 1: 1689.

Major Appleton took the field at once and marched to Cocheco (now Dover), though the distressing condition of his

¹ Bodge: Soldiers in King Philip's War, pp. 315-317. Parkman: France and England in North America, vol. 5, pp. 32-34.

² Mass. Archives, book 107, leaf 157.

family affairs rendered any long absence impossible. His letter, dated Coheco, 14th July, 1689, is full of interest.

Much Hond.

I have yrs of 11th Inst. wherein you are pleased to Advise (upon my removall) to leave the imprest men here under y^e Conduct of Lift Greenleaf now you may please to know y^t of Imprest men here are only 10 from Salem & 6 from Rowley w^{ch} with the 20 that came last make but 36 and Mr Greenleaf not being here knew not his inclination to this affair & should I leave those 36 they are soe unable would doe but little service, for Newbury men here are none those that came were Volenteers and forthwth more will return home so that I humbly propose in order to serving the people that are here left & p^rserving the place that an addition of 14 men to these 36 wth Discreet Conduct may suffice at p^rsent for this place w^{ch} I beg yor Hon^{rs} to Consid^r and favour me with an answer forthwith for besides the Afflicting providence of God upon my family before I came from home in bereaving me of 2 children I have just now advize of the Death of a third together with the indisposition of my wife & the Extraordinary illness of another of my children all which necessitates my hasting home however I am so desposed to the Defence of the Country and the preservation of this place in order to it y^t am very unwilling to give y^e people of this place any Discouragement by my removall till I have yor Hon^{rs} Answare here to w^{ch} I humbly pray you to hasten wth all Expedition and if you see cause to send yor possetive order for the stay of these men of Salem & Rowley that were imprest men who are full of Expectation of returning home wth me as to the enemy we have had no appearance of any Considerable number but Sundery Skulking rougues are Daily Seen both here at Kittery & Oyster River o^r Employment here hath been to rang the Woods and to guard & assist the people in getting in there corn w^{ch} we are still Daily psueing this wth my Humble Service is all at present from your

Humble serv^t

SAM^{ll} APPLETON.

He had returned, and the Ipswich and Newbury men with him, before the 22nd of July, as appears from the request made by the people of Rowley on that date, that the soldiers from

Rowley, "left by Capt. Appleton at Cocheco" might be sent home.¹

On the 8th of August, Capt. Simon Willard with a company of soldiers arrived, and remained here until the 2nd of September. They were quartered upon the inns of Abraham Perkins and John Sparks, and in the following February, the worthy tavern keepers petitioned the General Court, that as they were "entertained with good wholsom diet as beefe, pork and mutton, well dressed to y^e satisfaction of both officers and souldiers who gave us many thanks for their kind entertainment when they went from us"—"having sett as low a prise as we could possibly doe to witt six pence a meale for dinners and suppers beside the greate Expense of fyerwood candle and other smaller matters we mention not," they were entitled to more than three pence a meal which was proposed.²

As the month of August drew to its close, the Eastern Indians assailed the settlements, and Major Swayne with seven or eight Massachusetts companies marched,³ passing through Ipswich we may suppose. On the 19th of August, an alarm from Haverhill caused the quick departure of the Ipswich troop of horse.⁴ A certificate⁵ of the election of Mr. Symond Stace, Lieutenant, and Mr. Nehemiah Jewet, Insigne, of the "foote Companie on the North Side of y^e River in Ipswich" on the 30th of September, 1689, shows that there was a separate Company for the men of the South side.

The troops were disbanded in November, but in the following February, 1689-90, hostilities were resumed with great vigor. War had been declared by England against France. A company of French and Indians made a descent upon Schenectady and killed about sixty of the inhabitants, and on the 18th of March, a similar band suddenly assaulted Salmon Falls. Thirty were slain and fifty were carried away captives.⁶

A letter of Governor Bradstreet to the Earl of Shrewsbury reveals the double danger that threatened these seaboard towns.

¹ Mass. Archives, book 107, leaf 223.

² Mass. Archives, book 35 leaf 233.

³ Magnalia, book VII, article v.

⁴ Felt, Hist. of Ipswich, p. 147, Robert Pike's Diary.

⁵ Mass. Archives, book 35, leaf 35.

⁶ Magnalia, book VII, article VI.

"Our Coast is invested by French Privateers and Pirates which put us to no small trouble and charge to secure our shipping and seaports against their invasion."¹ It was reported on the 14th of May. that Salem had repaired the fort at Winter Island and built a breast-work at another place.²

A pressing and alarming message was sent to the towns of this vicinity by Capt. Noyes, of Newbury.

To the Committee of Militia of Rowley, Ipswich, Wenham & Salem.³

These are to informe you that Capt. Greenlief hath sent for more Men we have acct that the Enemie are Newmerous & desperate & kills & destroys Men Woemen & Children & thro them in heapes it is suspitious they have Attackt portsmouth pray Consider the Distress & Nessesety of the Country & Send what helpe you can we have sent a hundred men Out of our Towne

THOS NOYES Capt

dated May 29th 1690

The barbarities of the Indians, as related in detail by Cotton Mather in his *Magnalia*, were not exaggerated by Capt. Noyes. Men, women and little children were treated with the most inhuman and revolting cruelties, and death was welcomed as a relief from torment. As the French were partners in this, it was decided that a bold stroke should be struck at the French possessions.

A fleet of seven vessels, manned by two hundred and eighty-eight men, and bearing four or five hundred militia drafted for the purpose,⁴ was placed under the command of Sir William Phips, a native of Maine, who had won wealth and a title by his recovery of an immense treasure from an old Spanish galleon, sunk in West Indian waters. The little fleet sailed from Nantasket, on April 28, 1690, and arrived at Port Royal (now Annapolis) on May 11th. No resistance was made. The fort was destroyed, the garrison sent away, and the Province was de-

¹ Ernest Myrand: *Sir Wm Phips devant Quebec*, p. 183.

² Mass. Archives, book 36, leaf 58.

³ Mass. Archives, book 36 leaf. 89.

⁴ Parkman: *France and England in North America*, vol. v, p. 236.

clared an appendage of the British crown. But the victory was merely spectacular. No troops could be spared to hold the Province, and Phips sailed back at once, arriving in Boston on the 20th of May.¹

Occasional descents upon the French coast were made, however, and Capt. John Alden in the sloop *Mary*, of Boston, captured a barque, of about twenty three tons burden, called the *Speedwell*, on April 1, 1691, at Port Royal. It was proved that this barque had belonged to Giles Cowes of Ipswich, and had been captured by the French about eighteen months before. It was adjudged a lawful prize by the Court of Assistants.²

Encouraged by the success at Port Royal, the New England Colonies and New York united in preparing a much stronger expedition against Quebec. While ships and men were being gathered, a band of Indians appeared at Exeter, on July 4th, and killed eight men while mowing. They advanced as far as Amesbury, where Captain Foot was tortured to death, and two others slain. Three houses were burned and many cattle were butchered. In a few days, this band of savages killed forty English settlers.³

These cruelties made the determination to exact reprisal more eager. A strong fleet was gathered at Boston. An order was issued on the 18th of July, that detachments from the several regiments of the militia be made, to make up 2300 men, and Major Samuel Appleton⁴ was assigned to the command of a company of 308. Nathaniel Rust, of Ipswich, had already been appointed Quartermaster for this expedition.⁵ Sir Wm Phips was assigned to the chief command, and Lieut. Gen. Major John Walley of Barnstable was next in rank. Major Appleton, Captain Cross, and Captain Samuel Ward, credited to Ipswich, were among the officers, and Captain John Gold of Topsfield. Rev. John Wise of Chebacco and three other ministers were assigned to the expedition as chaplains.

After many delays, the fleet of thirty-two ships and tenders sailed from Boston on the 9th of August, and a land force started

¹ *Magnalia*, book VII, article VIII.

² *Record Court of Assistants*.

³ *Magnalia*, book VII, article XI.

⁴ Son of Major Samuel Appleton of King Philip's War.

⁵ *Felt: Hist. of Ipswich*, 147.

from Albany to proceed by way of Lake Champlain. It was the most powerful force that had ever been gathered in the Colony, and there were great hopes of a decisive blow. But no failure could have been more complete. The land force failed to meet Phips, and his own assault was nerveless and impotent.

Mr. Wise wrote a narrative,¹ which describes his own vigorous endeavors to urge on his superiors, and the cowardice and inefficiency of Major Walley and others. A few skirmishes were engaged in, one of which, Mr. Wise affirmed, might have opened the way to the capture of Quebec. The weather grew cold, and the soldiers suffered much from frost bites. Small-pox appeared and Phips withdrew his fleet, which arrived in Boston about the middle of November. A complete list of the soldiers engaged in this disastrous attempt upon Quebec seems to be impossible. Mr. Ernest Myrand, of Quebec, made diligent search through all the records, both published and in manuscript, in French and English. His monograph, "Sir Wm. Phips Devant Quebec" (Quebec, 1893), contains probably as much information as is likely to be gathered.

Many Ipswich men suffered from wounds and exposure. Richard Bridges had his feet frozen, and died of gangrene, after three months of excruciating pain. His widow received a grant of 40 louis sterling. Thomas Patteman, of Captain Cross's company, froze one foot. John Andersen was wounded in the foot. Thomas Hovey froze both feet on the return of the fleet. William Paisley was wounded and Sergeant Freeman Clark, of Capt. March's company. Most prominent of all was Major Samuel Ward, credited to Ipswich, but who seems to have been a resident of Marblehead, who died of his wounds after the expedition returned.

Another assault was made upon York in January, 1690-1, in which Rev. Shubael Dummer was slain; and in June, 1691, the town of Wells was besieged unsuccessfully by a large force of French and Indians. Fourteen men had been levied upon Ipswich on June 2, 1691,² for the defence of Wells, and they may have had part in the brave defence. In the fall of that year, Robert, son of Rev. John Hale, wrote, that Ipswich was still preserved, but she had lost many.

¹ Printed in full in the Appendix.

² Felt: Hist. of Ipswich, p. 148.

Happily for the Colony distressed by the terrors of the witchcraft delusion in 1692, the year 1693 was comparatively free from inroads of the Indians.

As Cotton Mather wrote, "A years Breathing time was a great Favour of Heaven to a country quite out of Breath with numberless Calamities." A treaty of peace was signed in August, and there was hope and expectation of an end of horrors. But the love of bloodshed was too deeply fixed in the savage nature. In July, 1694, Oyster River was again assailed, and fourteen massacred in a single house. The Piscataqua country and Groton were ravaged afresh. Joseph Pike of Newbury, the Deputy Sheriff of Essex, while travelling on Sept. 4th between Amesbury and Haverhill, with one Long, fell into an ambuscade and perished. Kittery and Haverhill suffered. Again a few months of comparative quiet ensued, but the summer of 1695 brought the old fears and alarms. The frontier towns, Exeter, Kittery, Billerica, were visited and more lives were lost, and on October 7th, the neighboring town of Newbury was invaded. The Indians entered the house of John Brown and carried away nine persons. Capt. Greenleaf pursued and retook the captives, but before they parted from them, their captors struck them on the head with their clubs. Except one lad who was struck upon the shoulders, every one of them died from brain disease in the course of a year.¹

The summer of 1696 found the Indians again busy with their butcheries. On the 6th of July, the commissioned officers of the Essex Middle Regiment, and the commissioned officers of the Town of Newbury met, at Ipswich, to discuss the situation. After due deliberation, they petitioned the General Court for a guard to watch the Merrimac River, by day and night for three months, from Newbury up as far as Dunstable, until the harvest could be gathered. This was signed by John Whipple and other Ipswich men, and Daniel Peirce appended his approval.

"May it please your Honors, I have Perused the above Petition & Considering that that mischiefe that was done at New-

¹ Magnalia: book VII, articles XX-XXIV.

bury & at Rowley when Benjamin Goodridg¹ was killed & his family carried away & that it is certainly known it is the ould Road way of the Indians when they come from the Eastward in to Newbury, Rowley & Ipswich, we do count it very Rational etc."²

With the Indians as near as Rowley, the issue of that Council of war must have been awaited with the keenest interest.

The alarm of a French invasion was renewed in 1697. The forts were repaired, manned and provisioned, and companies of minute men were enrolled. Five hundred men under Captain March of Newbury were sent down to the Kennebec.³ The Essex Regiment received orders to be ready at a moment's notice, on Feb. 5th,⁴ and on April 3^d,⁵ in a battle at sea with the French, an Ipswich sailor, William Wade, son of Thomas and Elizabeth Wade, was slain.

In March of that year, a band of Indians attacked a Haverhill house and carried away Hannah Dustan, with her infant of a week old, and her nurse. They soon dashed out the brains of the baby against a tree, and tomahawked the captives as soon as they lagged by the way. Mrs. Dustan and her companion were able to keep up with their captors for a hundred and fifty miles through the wilderness. They were claimed by an Indian family, which consisted of two stout men, three women and seven children. As they approached Penacook, (now Concord), the Indians told the women that when they reached the Indian camp in that neighborhood, they would be stripped, scourged and compelled to run the gauntlet. Driven to frenzy, these women resolved to escape at any cost. On the morning of April 30th, a little before daybreak, Mrs. Dustan roused her nurse and an English lad, held captive with them. They armed themselves with the hatchets of the Indians, and killed them where they lay. Only one squaw escaped sorely wounded, and a boy, whom they had spared in-

¹ On Oct. 23, 1690 or 91, Niles Hist. of Indian and French Wars, Mass. Hist. Soc. Pub. Series 3, Vol. 6, p. 227.

² Mass. Archives, book 70, leaf 285.

³ Palfray, Hist. of New England IV: 157.

⁴ Felt, Hist. of Ipswich, p. 148.

⁵ Town Records.

tending to take with them, awoke and ran away. They took the scalps of ten, and brought them with them on their long and perilous homeward journey.¹ A bounty of fifty pounds was voted them for this bloody deed, and the statue of Hannah Dustan stands to-day in the public square of the City of Haverhill. Six of the Indians, who were killed and scalped in their wigwams were children, and Mrs. Dustan was the mother of a large family. Her deed of blood, to which she was driven by fear and a natural desire for revenge, reveals the fierce hatred of the English toward the Indians, and the bitterness of life in those years of anguish.

It has been already remarked that the official Rolls and Records of these years of war with the Indians and French have not been preserved. We are dependent wholly upon chance records of many kinds for a clew to the names of the soldiers. The most important of these incidental documents is due to the grant made by the General Court of sections of land to the soldiers or their heirs, who served in the expedition against Canada. The Ipswich men received a grant originally of the township, now known as New Ipswich, in New Hampshire. As this was found to be outside of Massachusetts, the grantees withdrew for the most part, and a new grant was made, known as Ipswich-Canada, now the town of Winchendon. The following list of Grantees probably includes the names of all who went from Ipswich.

"At a Meeting of the Committee appointed by the General Court for the Province of Massachusetts Bay in New England to lay out a Township of the contents of six miles square, in answer to a petition of Abraham Tilton and other Officers & Soldiers in the expedition to Canada Anno 1690, the following persons were admitted as Grantees of said Township and gave bonds to fulfil the Courts Orders thereon."²

"Ipswich April 13th 1735."

(Soldiers)		
Rights entered on.	Representatives.	Abode.
Father	Thomas Berry Esq.	Ipswich

¹ Magnalia. book VII, article XXV.

² From History of Winchendon.

(Soldiers)		
Rights entered on.	Representatives.	Abode.
Own	Jonathan Wade Esq.	Ipswich
Own	John Harris	"
Own	Thomas Hovey	"
Own	Abraham Perkins	"
Husband & Father	Widow Rachel Rust	"
Own	Abraham Tilton	"
Own	Benjamin White	"
Own	Samuel Poland	"
Brother John	Thomas Lufkin	"
Brother Jacob	(Thomas Lufkin is next friend to Mary Lufkin.	"
Uncle Benedictus	Ebenezer Pulcephur	Gloucester
Father Moses	Jabez Sweet	Ipswich
Father's	Solomon Giddinge	"
Brother William	Joseph Goodhue	"
Brother Thomas	John Ring	Gloucester
Father's	William Haskell	"
Uncle Joseph	Benjamin Chadwell	Ipswich
Brother John	Edward Neland	"
Uncle Denison	(Nathaniel Rogers as guar- dian to Jno Denison	"
Wife's Father	John Martin	"
Father's Servant	Isaac Knowlton	"
Father's	John Thompson	"
Uncle Joseph	John Wood in the room of and by the consent of his Father	"
Father's	(John Downing by Edward Eveleth his Attorney	Boston
Own	Thomas Perrin	Rowley
Own	David Low	Ipswich
Uncle Moses Pierce	Moses Wells	"
Brother Thomas	George Hart	"
Father's	William Cogswell	"
Brother Elisha	Thomas Tredwell	"
Brother Benjamin	John Jewett Jun	Rowley
Father's	Robert Cross	Ipswich

(Soldiers)		
Rights entered on.	Representatives.	Abode.
Own	Adam Cogswell	Ipswich
Uncle	Benjamin Chadwell	"
Father Whipple	the Hon Simonds Epes	"
Uncle Freeman	Nathaniel Clark	"
Brother George	Nathaniel Clark	"
Dil Caldwell	{ Capt Edward Eveleth at the request of Diling- ham Caldwell	"
Brother William		"
Father	Henry Wise	"
John Ayers	{ Thomas Norton Jun at the request of Sam Ayers a petitioner	"
Own		"
Father's	John Ross	"
Thomas Metcalf	{ Isaac Geddenge Edward Eveleth at the request of Jas Metcalf a petitioner.	"
Father's		"
Grandfather	Moses Davis	"
Pearce	Ephraim Fitts	"
...	Thomas Boardman	"
...	Edward Chapman	"
...	John Goodhue	"
Uncle Isaac	Abraham Foster Jun	"
MAJOR WARD	Dr Nicholas Noyes	Andover
Father's	John Pindar	Ipswich
Uncle Samuel	Nathaniel Lord	"
Uncle Edmond	Samuel Ingalls	"
Brother Aaron	Moses Kemball	"
Uncle Cheny	John Leighton	"
Rob't Nelson	Joseph Annable	Beverly
Math Hooker	Widow Mary Hooker	Ipswich
Uncle Saund	{ Thomas Lord Jun at his Father's Jno Lord request	

The above named Proprietors met on the 31st day of May and chose Thomas Norton, Jr., a graduate of Harvard and Pre-

ceptor of the Grammar School in Ipswich as the Clerk, and Thomas Berry Moderator.

The Proprietors held several meetings at the house of Mr. Nath^l Tredwell, inn-holder in Ipswich, at which important business was done.

Nov. 4 1736. The rights were drawn by each Proprietor according to the plan reported. This was the first division.

In 1742, a second division of lots was voted; but it does not appear to have been made before 1761.

The Vital Statistics of the Town enable us to identify some of the soldiers from Ipswich in the expedition to Quebec, whose family connection is given in the preceding list, though the full name is not mentioned. Others can not be determined with confidence, and the clew is so slight in some cases that no attempt has been made to suggest the names. The names of some, found in other lists, are not mentioned in the land grant. So far as the list of soldiers can be determined with an approximation to accuracy, it is as follows:

John Anderson, wounded in the foot	Benjamin Jewett
Major Samuel Appleton	Aaron Kimball
John Ayers	Samuel Lord?
Thomas Berry	David Low
Richard Bridges, feet frozen and died	Jacob Lufkin John Lufkin
Dillingham Caldwell	Thomas Metcalf
William Caldwell	
Joseph Chadwell?, uncle of Benjamin	John Neland Robert Nelson
Adam Cogswell	
Jonathan Cogswell?, father of William	William Paisley, wounded Thomas Patteman, froze one foot
Capt. Robert Cross	——— Pearce
Sergeant Freeman Clark	Abraham Perkins
George Clark	

Moses Davis	Thomas Perrin
John Denison	Moses Pierce
Nathaniel Downing	Simon Pinder
	Samuel Poland
	Benedictus Pulcifer
Abraham Fitts?, grandfather of Ephraim	Thomas Ringe
——— Giddings, father of Solomon	John Ross
——— Giddings, father of Isaac	Nathaniel Rust, Quarter master
William Goodhue	Moses Sweet
	David Thompson
John Harris	Abraham Tilton
Thomas Hart	Elisha Treadwell
——— Haskell, father of William	Jonathan Wade
Nathaniel Hooker	——— Whipple
Thomas Hovey, froze both feet	Benjamin White
	Rev. John Wise, chaplain
	Joseph Wood?
Edmond Ingalls	

PART II

HOUSES AND LANDS.

HOUSES AND LANDS.

PREFATORY NOTE.

The original allotment of lands in house lots, indicating the dwelling-places of the earliest settlers, is a theme of especial interest to genealogists, and all who love antiquarian lore. The list of grants preserved in the Town Record is unusually full, and many allusions to transfers of ownership also occur. Beginning with these entries, a careful study of the successive ownerships has been made in the Registry of Deeds of Essex County and in the Registry of Probate.

The historical chapters of this work ended with the close of the seventeenth century. A study of topography, however, can not be concluded at this period. The satisfactory identification of early locations can be accomplished only by an unbroken record of successive ownerships to the present time, or to a comparatively recent and well-remembered date.

This work has been undertaken in the thickly settled portions of the Town, on the old streets and lanes. The names of the early citizens which have become familiar through the historical studies that have preceded, are thus associated with the localities where they lived. The history of the ancient houses, which still remain, and of many of more recent date, will be sketched briefly.

A series of diagrams has been prepared by our townsman, Mr. John W. Nourse, a skilful surveyor and an enthusiastic antiquarian student. These diagrams have been constructed from the ancient records, and indicate the relative location of the earliest known owners. Dimensions are rarely given in the original grants, or in early deeds, and the shape of the lots can only be approximated. Great care has been taken to ensure accuracy of location, but in some instances, the data are meagre and confusing. Two ancient maps of a rude sort have been preserved and are reproduced.

To make the sketch of land ownership of permanent value, constant citations of deeds and wills are made. These are incorporated in the text, to facilitate comparison with the original authorities by investigators, and to furnish a foundation for more detailed investigation. Five old Record books, which were written in this town, but are now in the Essex Co. Registry in Salem, are cited, as "Ipswich Deeds." In all other cases, the references are to the number of the volume, and the leaf, on which the entry is made, in the Essex County Records.

On pages 14 and 15, reference has already been made to the earliest streets and lanes, and their names. These names will be used in the following pages, as well as the more familiar ones in present use.

The house lots will be considered in regular order, and, by the aid of the Index and the Diagrams, any particular lot or dwelling may be found, it is hoped, without difficulty.



HOUSES AND LANDS.

John Cogswell.

(Diagram 1.)

The original grant was eight acres, but in all these early assignments, the measure was not exact, and compass directions were often very uncertain. Edward Lumas or Lummus, who lived on the corner of Baker's Lane and Scott's Lane conveyed his homestead and lands to his son, Jonathan, May 25, 1682 (Ips. Deeds 4: 466). The estate included twelve acres, "which said land I purchased of Mr. Cogswell, now deceased." His will mentions that this land was on the other side of the street from his house. The Cogswell house had disappeared. Samuel Lummus sold his neighbor, Joseph Quilter, one acre adjoining Jonathan's land, Dec. 19, 1684. Jonathan Lummus and Joseph Quilter exchanged lands and Quilter received four acres adjoining his own, Jan. 18, 1696-7 (13:258). Lummus also sold Quilter more land in the "Ten Acre lot," in 1712 (26:119). John and Jonathan Creesy of Rowley, heirs of Joseph Quilter, sold his estate, including twelve acres on the south side of Scott's Lane, to Doctor Samuel Wallis April 4, 1724 (43: 117). Moses Smith, an heir of the Wallis estate, conveyed one and one half acres, "at a place called the Ten Acres" to John Cole Jewett, whose wife was an heir, April 17, 1789 (157: 163). Jewett sold to Daniel Kimball, Dec. 7, 1793 (158: 133). Daniel Kimball conveyed the lot, then known as the "Gravel Pit Lot," to his nephew, Capt. Robert Kimball, Dec. 6, 1833 (274: 152), and Kimball sold a house lot, from this lot, bounded by the Gravel Pit to William Haskell, Nov. 6, 1847 (401: 98). He built the house which still stands.

Another acre and a half lot, bounded northwest by the Jewett lot, in the "Ten Acres" was sold by the widow Sarah Rust to Nathaniel Rust, Dec. 5, 1792 (158: 219). Nath. Rust sold to Jabez Farley, Feb. 2, 1809 (187: 2); Farley to Capt. Robert Kimball, Oct. 26, 1836 (295:65), and the lot was included in the larger lot sold by Captain Kimball to Daniel Cogswell, Feb. 9, 1842 (329: 292). This lot may include the Banner house lot, and indicates probably the southeast bound of the John Cogswell grant.

Humphrey Bradstreet and Allen Perley.

(Diagram 1.)

No deeds of these lots have been found, but the Allen Perley lot is well located by a clause in the record of the grant to Mark Quilter. His house was on the knoll near the engine house of the Burke Factory, where the remains of the cellar could be seen some years ago. This house lot was "over against Allin Perley," and Perley's lot was probably near the Town land, adjoining the Peatfield house. Bradstreet's land was bounded by

the Cogswell lot on the northwest and lay between that and Perley's. Michael Farley owned several acres here at an early period, and his heirs succeeded.

Michael Farley and Dea. Jeremiah Perkins owned it and Jabez Farley and Aaron Perkins divided the large field in 1798. Perkins received the four acre lot, fronting on the Lane thirty-four rods and fifteen links, July 16, 1798 (167: 234), and Farley, the five acre lot, in the rear of this (168: 125). The widow, Susanna Farley, sold to Daniel Cogswell, July 30, 1839 (328: 7).

The Aaron Perkins land came into the possession of Col. Joseph Hodgkins, and he sold to the Town a three quarter acre lot for a gravel pit, June 10, 1824 (238: 225). Gilbert Conant acquired possession of the remainder of the lot and sold a half interest to Dr. George Chadwick May 17, 1836 (302: 32). Conant and Chadwick sold one and one half acres to Robert Kimball Oct. 28, 1836 (295: 66), who sold to Daniel Cogswell, with other land as already mentioned, Feb. 9, 1842. Dr. Chadwick sold his interest in the remainder of the lot to the Town, Jan. 24, 1843 (335: 135) and William Conant sold his interest, Jan. 25, 1843 (336: 31). This provided the Town a new gravel pit, and the old pit, which had furnished road material for many years was probably abandoned. The Town sold an acre and a half to Daniel Cogswell, Feb. 6, 1843 (336: 231). His heirs sold a house lot to Mary Peatfield, wife of Sanford Peatfield, Nov. 1, 1866 (717: 250) and Mr. Peatfield built and occupied the house, now owned by Mr. J. I. Horton. They sold another lot to Thomas Banner, on the same date (737: 213) and he built a dwelling. The Town still owns the balance of the lot, except the piece sold to Mr. Peatfield to enlarge his lot in the rear, March 2, 1869 (786: 272).

Thomas Scott and Richard Haffield.

(Diagram 1.)

Scott owned a house lot of three acres, half of which was bought of Richard Haffield, the whole bounded southeast by a house lot of Thomas French and northwest by Allen Perley. No record of a house remains, nor of the sale or conveyance of the lot. Michael Farley owned it in 1718. Palatiah and Joan Kinsman, William and Hannah Mansfield conveyed their interest in the estate of their father, Michael Farley, included in the widow's thirds, to Nathaniel Farley, "three-quarters of an acre in the Close in Scott's Lane," Oct. 5, 1764 (125: 236). Daniel Farley succeeded to the ownership and conveyed six acres to Joseph Farley, Sept. 28, 1801 (169: 126). The widow, Hannah Mansfield, sold one and three quarters acres, including the site of the Elisha Perkins house to Farley, April 10, 1802 (173: 164). A mortgage deed of Joseph to Joseph Farley, Jun., describes an estate of nine acres, Dec. 1, 1836 (294: 140). Joseph, Jr., divided the estate. He sold a lot, with a frontage of 58 ft. 6 in. to Jacob Manning, Feb. 12, 1847 (390: 111). He built the house, and Nathaniel L. Manning sold half, the other half being owned by Joseph and Ebenezer Cogswell, to Elisha Perkins, March 21, 1849 (409: 178). It is now owned by the

B. & M. R. R. Dr. Joseph N. Ames bought a lot with 100 ft. front, July 30, 1845 (397: 248). He built the House of many Gables, and his widow sold to Jabez Mann, March 4, 1864 (666: 161). Michael Ready bought the next lot, 75 ft. on the Street, April 27, 1860 (607: 206) and moved the Capt. John Lord house from the site of Hon. C. A. Sayward's present residence. Luke Murray bought a similar lot Dec. 21, 1860 (616: 287) and Patrick Riley, a lot with 150 ft. front, completing the sale of the Farley land, March 30, 1861 (621: 188). The Thomas Scott grant coincided with the southeast line of the Elisha Perkins lot.

Thomas French.

(Diagram 1.)

He had a house on this lot, which was inherited by his son Thomas, the Constable of the Town, who was arrested with the Andros resistants, and was imprisoned and fined for his participation in that affair. John Stiles and Mary, and Esther French, seamster, all of Boxford, sold Dr. Samuel Wallis "the homestead of our father French, two acres" Aug. 1, 1718 (34: 198). The widow, Sarah Rust, daughter and heir of Wallis, sold this lot to Nathaniel Rust, bounded west by Nath. Farley, Jan. 4, 1794 (158: 219). Rust sold to Aaron Kimball, and he conveyed to Robert Kimball, and Ebenezer 3d, March 1, 1814 (203: 32). Ebenezer conveyed his interest to Robert, Sept. 29, 1836 (295: 68) and it is called the "Rust lot," in a conveyance (291: 289). Captain Robert Kimball sold this lot, with the sale to the Eastern Rail Road Co. of the whole corner, Oct. 21, 1836 (295: 116). The Joseph Farley southeast bound, which was the northwest bound of the Rust lot, was 58 ft. 6 in. from James F. Mann's corner bound. This establishes the exact location of the Thomas French homestead. It covered the site of the pumping station and land adjacent.

Robert Muzzey.

(Diagram 1.)

This lot was united at a very early date with the Richard Jacob lot and will be considered with it.

Richard Jacob.

(Diagram 1.)

His house lot was "neare the Mill Street," having "a house lott of Robert Mussey's on the northwest, on the south and southeast, the highway to the common (Topsfield Road), it being about one acre, half, and eight rods, at the northeast end butting upon the Mill Street." On March 25, 1678-9, Simon Adams, a weaver, conveyed to John Kimball, wheelwright, a house and land, "which lyeth next and doth adjoyn with Capt. Appleton, his land toward ye southwest and next unto Ensign French, his land, toward the norwest . . . which said house and land was my father, Will Adams, his homestead" (14: 118). The Muzzey lot had been absorbed at this time. John Kimball sold to Moses, his fourth son, on

the occasion of his marriage with Susannah Goodhue, his house and orchard, and an acre of land, March 28, 1696 (12: 8). It continued in the Kimball family. Aaron and Daniel were in possession in 1803 (192: 214). Daniel conveyed "the homestead where I now live," with about a quarter of an acre, to his nephew Robert Kimball, Dec. 6, 1833 (274: 152), and Aaron conveyed his interest to Robert, April 18, 1836 (291: 289). Captain Kimball sold the homestead, and his lot adjoining, the "Rust lot" about three acres, to the Eastern Railroad Co., Oct. 12, 1836 (295: 116). The old mansion, which stood about on the site of the present Station, and a venerable elm of majestic size, were removed, when the railroad was built.

Moses Kimball sold to his son, Moses, Jr., a small lot, about six and one half rods, abutting on Col. Appleton's line, May 1, 1728 (51: 62). It passed into the ownership of George Dutch, then of Exeter, who sold a house, barn, and a quarter of an acre to Arthur Abbott, March 25, 1746 (91: 45). Abbott sold to James Clinton, Jan. 4, 1769 (125: 192). James Clinton, fisherman, sold to James Clinton of Wiscasset, the east side of this house, Feb. 12, 1794 (161: 8) and John Lord Jr. sold a half to Michael Farley, Aug. 20, 1797 (162: 239). Farley sold to Aaron Smith Jr., Feb. 28, 1798 (170: 65) and Smith to the Eastern R. R., Oct. 12, 1836 (295: 116). A plan of the railroad, made in 1836, shows that Smith's house stood where the excavation for the track was made.

John Appleton.

(Diagram 1.)

John was the elder son of Samuel, the emigrant from Little Waldingfield. Samuel Appleton received a grant on the opposite side of the Topsfield Road, and may have owned land on the northwest side as well, and had his home there. But his son, Captain John, is the first of the family, whose ownership and occupancy in 1678 are established by the deeds of the Kimball lot. In the division of his estate, Captain John devised to his son, John, "all that piece of land behind my mansion house, and behind my great barn, bounded by the fence adjoining to the house and barn, about six acres, together with the dwelling house my son John Appleton lately built, and a small barn near therunto, . . . it being all the land I have in that side the way (except the land my mansion house stands upon and my great barn and yard and garden, which are excepted being given to John and Samuel together."

March 13, 1688-9 (9: 231).

This record is of great value. John Appleton, Junior, was a conspicuous figure in the Andros Resistance. This deed recites that he had lately built a house on this property, near his father's. The mansion of John Senior may be located very nearly by the bequest of Col. Appleton to his son Nathaniel, "the old house and barn that was formerly my father Appleton's the land to extend northward from the said house twenty feet, and

so to run from the highway over the hill to the Turtle pond" (Pro. Rec. 324: 1-2, Dec. 10, 1739).

The inventory of Daniel Appleton, Esq., son of Col. John, in 1762 (Pro. Rec. 340: 96) included "the old house, with about four acres of land, . . . which was formerly the Hon. John Appleton Esq."

The old house and four acres were sold by the administrator to John Treadwell, Sept. 16, 1765 (116: 170). The Treadwell heirs sold to John Sparhawk Appleton of Salem, three acres, twenty-six poles, and buildings, Aug. 30, 1821 (228: 11), who also bought four acres adjoining, without a house, of widow Elizabeth Rogers, Aug. 8, 1821 (227: 220). The administrator of J. S. Appleton sold Joseph Farley, the two properties, Nov. 10, 1825 (243: 32). Joseph quitclaimed to Michael Farley, seven and one-half acres and dwelling, as "bounded by Aaron Smith's land northeast," April 11, 1826 (243: 31). Joseph Farley inherited, and built a new house, and his administrators sold to J. Choate Underhill, Oct. 25, 1871 (845: 11). In 1840 (Jan. 20) the widow Elizabeth Farley, Eunice and Elizabeth C. Farley sold to the Eastern R. R. "about three acres," adjoining that which the Railroad Co. bought of Robert Kimball (319: 12).

On this lot Lieut. John Appleton must have built his new house about 1687, and the older house of his father can probably be identified with the one which stood on a knoll to the westward, the cellar of which was discovered while gravel was being dug some years since. The earlier house disappeared, and no trace of it remains in the family deeds, which were recorded. The old house of his father, alluded to in Daniel Appleton's inventory, is in all likelihood the house built in 1687 or thereabout. This house was owned and occupied by the Treadwells, and in 1836, there was a barn standing close to the line. The house had then disappeared, but Mr. Francis H. Wade, now eighty-five years old, remembers distinctly that in his boyhood, an old house stood on this lot, and that the chimney fell in, making a complete ruin of the house. This old mansion, it may be presumed, was the place of the famous gathering on the evening of August 22, 1687.

The Railroad Co. sold this three acre lot, acquired from the Michael Farley estate, to Abraham H. Bond, April 19, 1842 (331: 163). Bond sold to James Lang, Nov. 7, 1847 (390: 148). Lang built the house now standing, the larger one to the westward, and bought of the Railroad Co. the land near the track, June 24, 1851 (489: 250). He sold to S. P. Crocker, May 11, 1857 (561: 205). Henry A. True of Marion, Ohio, sold Mary B. Vose, the same that S. P. Crocker conveyed to him, Oct. 22, 1860 (729: 245. Aug. 10, 1867), and Mrs. Vose sold to J. C. Underhill, house and three acres, Oct. 18, 1879 (1030: 214).

Samuel Appleton.

(Diagram 1.)

He received a grant of eight acres, adjoining the property of the Historical Society, but he had a large farm "containing, foure hundred and sixty acres, more or less, medow and upland as it lyeth, bounded by

the River commonly called the Mile brook on the northeast and by the great River on the northwest, on the west in part by the Land of William Warener and by a swamp on the southeast, and partly also at the same end, by the Land of Hugh Sherrat" ("entered into the Town booke — the 20th of December, 1638"). This great farm has always remained in his family, except some small portions, most of which have been repurchased by his descendants. His son, Major Samuel, built a saw mill on Mile River near the bridge. It is the only estate probably in our Town, which has descended without break to the present generation.

Mr. Appleton agreed to make a cart-bridge over the swamp toward the mill and keep it in repair for seven years, for which he received in return one and one-half acres adjoining "his six acre lot" and running to the brook (1639). He built a malt-house on the lot in 1641, and, as he promised, "to malt such corn as shall be brought to him from the people of this town at such rates as shall be thought equal from time to time," it was voted, that "no man (except for himself) is to have any made elsewhere for the space of five years now next ensuing." Captain John Appleton succeeded to the ownership of this lot, and gave his son, Samuel, the house in which he lived, a piece of land behind the malt-house, with a two-thirds interest in the malt-house. To his son, John, he gave a two and one-half acre lot, next to the Historical Society property, bounded on the other side by his malt-house lot, the malt-house being near the line, March 13, 1688-9 (9: 231).

The house, alluded to as occupied by Samuel, may be located perhaps by a cellar, which is remembered, on a knoll, about opposite the J. C. Underhill house.

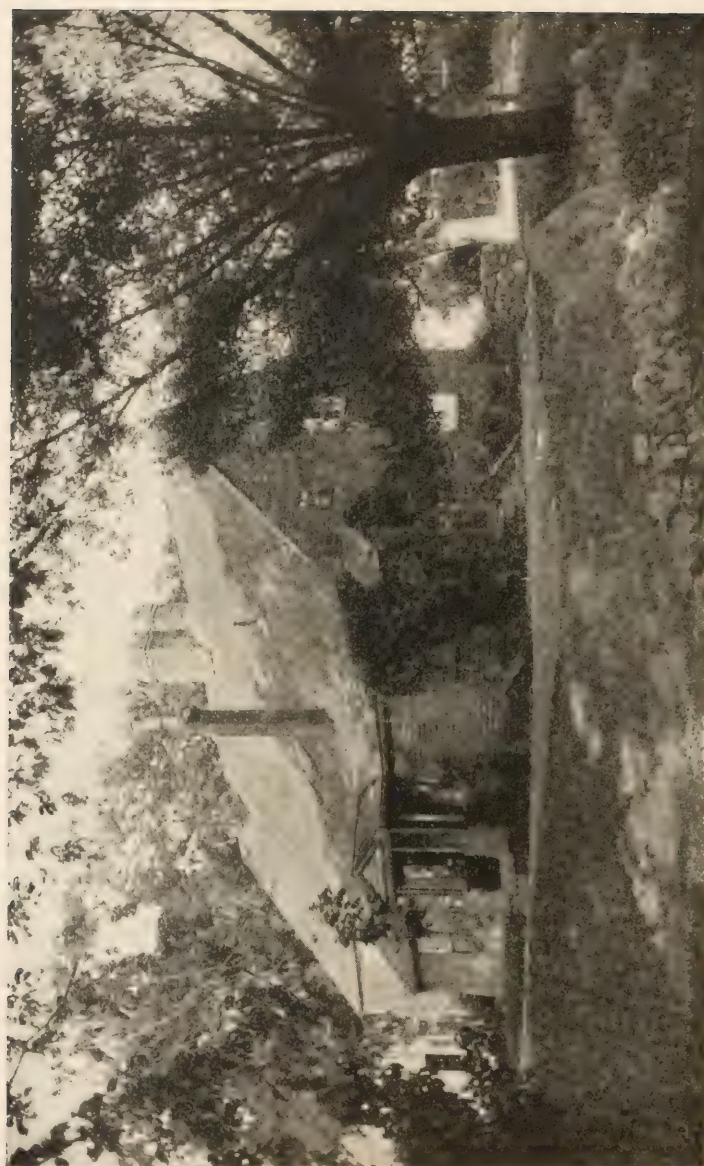
A five and three quarter acre lot of the Appleton land, on the south side of Topsfield road, was sold by John Appleton Jr., to Moses Kimball Jr., March 21, 1737 (76: 85). Here he made his home and the property descending from father to son, is now in possession of Rev. John C. Kimball. The old mansion was removed a few rods, when the present Kimball house was built, but is sound and strong today.

The Malt House lot was sold to John Treadwell by the administrator of Daniel Appleton's estate. It was inherited by Mrs. Joseph Hodgkins, and by Samuel Wade, who sold to the R. R. Co. and the railroad was built across it. A portion of the original Appleton grant is occupied by the Peatfield house, now owned by Mr. Gustavus Kinsman.

John Fawn.

(Diagram 1.)

"Granted to Mr. Fawne, a house lott, adjoyning to Mr. Appleton six acres near the Mill" (Town Record, under date, The 13th of January, 1637). The Town Clerk, Robert Lord, certifies that he has made "a true copie out of the old Towne booke." The date of the grant itself probably preceded this record several years. A subsequent record is — "Granted Mr. Samuel Appleton, by the company of freemen, as followeth Imprimis, Eight acres of Land, more or less, as it lyeth above the Mill, bounded



on the Southeast by the Town River, also having a house lott, formerly granted to John Fawn, on the northeast, also on the northwest the highway leading into the Common." "Entered into the Towne booke, folio, 16, the 20th of December, 1638." Mr. Fawn therefore had removed from Town before Dec. 20, 1638. but he had already built a house on the lot, as he gave a quitclaim deed of house and land, two acres, to John Whipple, Oct. 10, 1650 (Ips. Deeds 1: 89). Mr. Whipple was in occupancy, however, as early as 1642, as appears from the Vote of that year, "Ordered John Whipple should cause the fence to be made between the house late Capt. Denison's, and the sayd John Whipple, namely — on the side next Capt. Denison."

The house built by John Fawn is undoubtedly the western part of the House of the Historical Society. John Whipple, the Elder of the Church, was one of the foremost men of the Town. We may believe that his dwelling was frequented by the principal citizens. His early neighbor, Denison, Winthrop and Dudley, Simon Bradstreet and Ann, the poetess, Symonds and Saltonstall, Ward and Norton and all the eminent people of the time doubtless crossed the threshold and enjoyed the good cheer of the great fireplaces. Major Samuel Appleton would naturally have visited his fellow soldier, Major John Whipple. The house is recognized as the finest specimen of the early colonial architecture.¹

Elder John Whipple bequeathed the estate to his son, John, in his will, presented in Court Sept. 28, 1669 (Pro. Records). Captain John was succeeded by Major John Whipple, commander of a horse troop in King Philip's War, who bequeathed it to his daughter, Mary, wife of Benjamin Crocker (Pro. Records, 313: 458), 1722. Benjamin Crocker bequeathed to his son, Dea. John Crocker (Pro. Rec. 343: 481). Deacon John left the house, excepting certain rooms, to his son, John. His brother, Joseph, succeeded to the ownership, and the administrator of Joseph Crocker, sold to Joseph Hodgkins, who had married for his third wife, Mrs. Lydia Treadwell, relict of Elisha Treadwell, and daughter of Dea. John Crocker. Col. Hodgkins was a distinguished soldier of the Revolution and made his home here until his death. The heirs sold the house and an acre and eleven rods to Caleb K. Moore, Oct. 31 1833 (271:164) and the residue of the estate, an acre and eleven rods, to James Estes, Aug. 11, 1841, bounded then by the land of Joseph Farley, now occupied by the Mill storehouse, by the River, and land of Samuel Wade (326: 215). Moore sold to Abraham Bond, October 7, 1841 (327:157) and his son, James W. Bond, sold to the Ipswich Historical Society. May 12, 1898 (1549: 6) and July 26, 1899 (1584:266).

Jeremiah Belcher.

(Diagram 1.)

He owned a house lot between John Whipple and the River. He was the occupant of the house on this lot in 1652 (Ips. Deeds 1: 240). Mary

¹ An exhaustive study of this house and the land is contained in the Publications of the Ipswich Historical Society, No. X and The Essex Antiquarian Vol. VI, No. 1, p. 14.

Belcher, the widow of the above, sold to Samuel Belcher, her son, and the lot was bounded by "the Grist Mill River east, Mr. John Appleton's south, Mr. John Whipple's north, the other part bounded by the way to said land in part, and partly by land Major Gen. Denison set a cow house or hovel on, which Mr. Samuel Belcher hath now built upon," Nov. 11, 1692 (49:251). William Brackenbury owned in 1728, and William Brackenbury of North Carolina sold to Nathaniel Farley, "Brackenbury's lot," April 30, 1771 (129:112). It was included in the assets of the Ipswich Mills, and passed into the hands of the present corporation.

Daniel Denison.

(Diagram 1.)

Young Daniel Denison, then twenty-three years old, received the grant of the two acre lot, adjoining John Fawn's, which extended to Union street and back toward the Mill, and in 1635 he had already built his house, and fenced the lot with palings.

Denison sold to Humphrey Griffin in 1641, Jan. 19 (Ips. Deeds 1: 2). Griffin sold to John Burnham, and Burnham to Anthony Potter, 1-4-1648, (Ips. Deeds 1: 67). Potter sold to John Safford, blacksmith, and it was then "bounded with highways round," Jan. 29, 1661 (Ips. Deeds, 2: 53), the first mention of Saltonstall Street. He reserved, however, a part of the property, and sold it later to Samuel Belcher. It was bounded by the house lot of Jeremiah Belcher and with the River on the south, April 1672 (Ips. Deeds 3: 223.) This explains why Denison's land is described as "coming to the scirt of the hill next the swamp." It abutted on the River and the marshy land near the bank. In fact, the approach to the Mill, which stood about where the Stone Mill now is, was by way of Union Street, and was so wet and miry, that, in 1639, Mr. Appleton agreed to make a sufficient cart-bridge over the swamp toward the Mill and to repair it for seven years, for which he was to receive an acre and half of land. As late as 1711, the Town Record alludes to Mr. Farley's bridge, that leads to his mill. The lot remained in the possession of the Safford family many years. In the final division among the heirs, the lot on the corner of Saltonstall St. fell to Joseph Safford, and he sold a small building to Edward Brown, a tanner, May 28, 1737 (82:16). Brown built a modest house and sold to George Newman, a weaver, Feb. 20, 1738 (83:62). Newman purchased a small addition to his lot of Thomas Safford, June 9, 1753 (99: 359), and disposed of the northeast end of the house to Michael Newman, mariner, July 11, 1778 (138: 171). Edward Killam and others, residuary legatees of Abraham Killam of Beverly, sold the property, "the same formerly occupied by Michael Newman" to John Jewett, Feb. 25, 1853 (474: 95).

Jewett transferred it to his sister, Hannah J. Haskell, wife of Daniel Haskell, Oct. 25, 1858 (577: 186). She conveyed it back to him Sept. 4, 1868 (754: 232) and on the same day, he sold to the Ipswich Mills. The Ipswich Mills removed the original house and built the fine mansion for the use of its Superintendent. It was sold to James J. Goodrich, Nov. 9,



1870 (812: 8) who finished the house, and by him, to J. G. Freeman, Dec. 13, 1883 (1122: 31); by Freeman, to the Manufacturer's Fire and Marine Insurance Co. Feb. 1884 (1123: 172), and by that Corporation to Dr. Yorick G. Hurd, May 15, 1884 (1129: 220). It is now owned by the widow of the late Geo. R. Bancroft.

The main portion of the Safford estate, reaching from the Lindberg house to the house of the widow Bancroft, fell to Simeon Safford, a blacksmith, as his father was. He had a shop near the Street on the land now owned by John J. Sullivan. The site of the original homestead cannot be determined. The administrators of Simeon Safford sold Joseph Farley, Safford's interest in a half acre with buildings, July 25, 1829 (294: 160). Farley was the President of the Ipswich Manufacturing Co. and his personal affairs were much involved with the affairs of the Company. He transferred this lot to the Company, Dec. 8 1836 (294: 153), and it was conveyed with other assets of the Company to the Dane Manufacturing Co., Sept. 1, 1846 (463: 252), and was sold by that Corporation to Capt. John Lord 3d, Sept. 1, 1846 (396: 236). The old Safford dwelling was still standing. The deed also provided, "that a lot of land on the highest part at or near where the old Reservoir, erected by the E. R. R. stood, be reserved for the purpose of erecting a new reservoir for the same railroad, & for digging for pipes from the Stone Factory of Grantees across said land to the depot." The reason of this was that originally the Mill pumped water from the River into a reservoir on this spot, from which pipes were laid to the station to supply water to the locomotives.

Capt. Lord built the present dwelling in 1847. The property came into the possession of the Manufacturer's Fire & Marine Insurance Co., and was sold at auction. The house and the land adjoining it were purchased by Mr. John J. Sullivan, the present owner, May 13, 1881 (1058: 213), and the remainder of the land, by the late Curtis Damon, and Samuel Blake.

On Union St. as well, the Safford lot was gradually diminished. Indeed the first lot sold was that which John Hovey bought, a weaver, who had a shop on the land. He acquired a quarter of an acre, June 16, 1708 (27: 39), and on May 21, 1712, Sarah Safford, the widow of John, and Thomas, his son, sold Michael Farley, Junior, a piece between John Hovey and Mesheck Farley, the father of Michael (25: 142). The John Hovey lot, enlarged to half an acre, was sold by Jacob Martin of Londonderry to Samuel McFarland, June 26, 1786 (145: 307) and the latter to Enoch Pearson, clothier, June 30, 1786 (145: 307).

Pearson had previously bought Simeon Safford's house and barn on the corner of Union and Saltonstall Sts. with a quarter acre, Jan. 2, 1779 (139: 206). This lot abutted on the Hurd and Sullivan properties. Pearson acquired houses and lands and bequeathed the homestead he occupied to his widow and son Enoch; the other half acre lot on Union St. separated from his homestead by a section of the Safford land, he bestowed upon

his daughter, Hannah, wife of John Holmes Harris, for whom he had built the house on this lot (Pro. Rec. 383: 612, April 13, 1813). The widow Harris sold part of her homestead to Daniel Haskell Jr., May 7, 1844 (345: 104), who built a house, and occupied it until 1852, when he sold to Edward Andrews of Binghampton, Dec. 25, 1852 (471: 59) who settled it on Charlotte Andrews for life (471: 60). John Holmes Harris, son of Hannah, sold the homestead to Joseph Spiller, May 7, 1853 (477: 220). Both houses are still in place. The Enoch Pearson homestead was owned later by Jeremiah Lord and then by James Damon. The last lot, separating the two parts of the Enoch Pearson property, is owned by Mr. Newhall.

Mesheck Farley.

(Diagram 1.)

The Denison lot did not reach to the present Union Street, but was bounded by an open Common, where the Lindberg and Blake houses now stand. This remained until John Safford's ownership. In 1683, Mr. Farley and his son Mesheck petitioned for a small piece of land, some eight or nine rods, to build a small dwelling, "in the vacant land near the end of John Safford's orchard," and the request was granted. The occasion of this is interesting. Mesheck Farley and Sarah Burnham, daughter of Lieut. Thos. Burnham Jr., were intending marriage, and their fathers had covenanted to give the young couple a start in the world. Mr. Farley agreed to provide the land and half the expense Lieut. Burnham should incur in building the house. The marriage occurred on August 6, 1684, the bride having just turned her twentieth year, and in 1686, all the conditions having been fulfilled, the house built and paid for, the final deeds were passed (13:108). Generations of Farleys made their home here, though the present house can scarcely be older than the Revolutionary period. Gen. Michael Farley, conspicuous for his civil and military service, Delegate to the Provincial Congress at Concord, and a citizen of sterling quality, made his home here, and plied his vocation as a tanner on this spot, and land owned by him on Market Street. Susanna, the widow of Robert Farley sold to Samuel S. Farrington, June 20, 1833 (272: 18), and by an execution against Farrington, John S. Williams of Salem acquired possession Feb. 23, 1838 (Exec. No. 8, 188). His widow, Mehitable O. Williams conveyed it to John Brown of Ossipee, Jan. 1, 1850 (421: 237) who sold to Jacob Brown, April 23, 1851 (451: 119). Francis Q., William G. and Jacob F. Brown sold to Abigail S. Blake, wife of Samuel Blake May 1, 1865 (684: 56). Her heirs sold to Mr. David Grady.

On November 9, 1764, John Farley sold Nathaniel Heard a house, part of a barn, and a small lot, on which it would seem he had built a dwelling (115: 113). Thomas Dennis sold to Nathaniel Heard, distiller, the homestead of his father, Nathaniel Heard, Senior, March 25, 1831 (259: 127). Nathaniel Heard sold to Samuel P. Guilford, blacksmith, on the same date (301: 260). Mr. Guilford tore down the old house, which stood on a high bank, and built the present dwelling. He also built and owned

the blacksmith shop opposite, now owned by J. Albert Smith. The administrator of the Guilford estate sold to Marcus Lindberg, May 1, 1858 (571: 84). The Farley land surrounded this lot originally on every side, but Jacob Brown sold Capt. John Lord Jr., the strip that intervened between his property and this, Sept. 15, 1853 (490: 173). A tradition of the Farley family survives, to the effect that when the embargo was laid upon tea, and excitement ran high over the tea-ships in Boston harbor, the patriotic Gen. Michael would not allow the hated herb any place in his house, but his good wife craved her soothing cup, and was wont to slip over to her neighbor, Dame Heard, and enjoy with her the forbidden privilege.

The Mill and the Mill Garden.

(Diagram 1.)

The Grist Mill and the "Garden," which is often mentioned, were owned by the Worshipful Mr. Saltonstall. He built the first mill about on the site of the old stone mill. He had a monopoly of the business and there was much complaint for many years of the inadequacy of the accommodation afforded. It was proposed seriously to dam the river near the present Green St. Bridge and build another mill there. There was dissatisfaction with the miller as well, and Mr. Saltonstall sent over a new miller in 1675, Mr. Michael Farley. Anticipating his coming Mr. Saltonstall bought of Samuel Belcher about six rods of the land he had bought of Potter, and built a house for the miller. This house is probably the one that stood on a triangular lot, which is now covered by the large mill building.

The Saltonstall family held an interest in the mill until 1729. On April 2nd of that year, Richard and Nathaniel Saltonstall sold John Waite Jr., clothier, and Samuel Dutch, bricklayer, their interest in the Mill Garden, in a dwelling and stable, in two grist mills, one fulling mill, one saw mill, and a forty rod tract near the mill (55:62). Dutch sold his interest to Waite Dec. 1, 1729 (56: 156). John Waite conveyed to his brother Jonadab, a part of the Mill Pasture, and sold the remainder of his half interest, in land and mills to Philemon Dean, Dec. 1, 1736, who sold in turn to Benj. Dutch, Aug. 15, 1746 (89: 150). The Jonadab Waite lot, continued in the Waite Family and is still owned and occupied by the heirs of Abram D. Waite, who erected the brick dwelling. The old house it is said, was near the river.

Benjamin Dutch sold half the Mill Pasture to Michael Farley, "the other half now belonging to Nathaniel Farley of Ipswich" "beginning by Jonadab Wait, by the road northeast and northwest to a private way to the mills, and by said way to the River, reserving my interest in the part fenced in by Jonadab Waite in 1754," April 12, 1755 (101: 254). Nathaniel Farley acquired an interest in the grist mills. The fulling mill became the property of Anthony Loney and John Pinder, who sold to Enoch Pearson, the fulling mill "near the southeast end of the grist mill belonging to Benjamin Dutch and Nathaniel Farley" (139:205,206, 1772 and 1773). The fulling mill probably went out of use as the hand weaving in the weavers'

shops all about the Town gave place to factories with power looms. Farley's Mills ground the grist for many years. Joseph Farley, son of Nathaniel was moved to more ambitious employment, and built the old stone mill for the manufacture of cotton cloth. Felt says that it began operations in 1830. In 1832 it had 3000 spindles and 60 looms. It spun No 30 to 32 yarn, used 80,000 lbs. of cotton, made 450,000 yards of cloth a year, worth from nine and a half to ten cents. It employed on an average 18 males and 63 females.

The enterprise became involved, as has been mentioned already. Farley conveyed his property to the Mill Co. Dec. 8, 1836 (294: 153). The Manufacturing Co. sold to the Dane Manufacturing Co., Sept. 7, 1846 (463: 252). The Dane Manufacturing Co. sold to Augustine Heard, June 1, 1852 (463: 254). The plant was purchased by Mr. Amos A. Lawrence (605: 139; 631: 214; 711: 18) who transferred it to the Ipswich Mills Co., Jan. 16, 1868 (738: 253). Mr. Lawrence removed the cotton machinery and began the manufacture of hosiery. The business was conducted at a loss, but the secret of successful manufacture was acquired eventually and the Mill Corporation entered on a career of prosperity, which has never been interrupted.

Reverting again to the "Garden at the Mill" or the "Mill Pasture," in settling Gen. Farley's estate, there was assigned his son Jabez, his tan-yard, and part of the Mill Garden, with the slaughter house upon it, bounded northeast by John Wait and south by the great ditch,—the rest of this pasture, an acre, was bestowed upon his son John, 1794 (Pro. Rec. 363: 296). John Farley sold his portion to his brother, Jabez, Aug. 3, 1795 (159: 163). Jabez sold a building lot, abutting on John Waite to Moses Lord, Jr., Aug. 1, 1797 (171: 201). He built the house that now occupies the lot. His heirs sold to Joseph L. Ross, Dec. 15, 1834 (286: 284), and the Ross heirs still own.

A second lot was purchased by Aaron Jewett, and inherited by Joseph T. Dodge, who married his daughter. Dodge sold part of his holding to Joseph L. Ross, Sept. 12, 1866 (713: 6) and the rest to Jenness Towle, Sept. 14, 1865 (689: 149) and Towle sold a shop etc. to John P. Holland, Oct. 20, 1875 (941: 67).

A third lot was sold by Jabez Farley, with his bark mill and tannery to Samuel S. Farrington, Feb. 18, 1828 (248: 43). Suits against him resulted in the conveyance of his property to Robert Farley and George W. Heard, who sold to Woodbridge Adams, Oct. 1, 1840 (320: 274). Woodbridge Adams conveyed the same to his son Washington, May 22, 1849 (412: 284) and Washington Adams to Benjamin Newman, Sept. 9, 1865 (695: 36). Mr. Newman sold John A. Johnson, land for his shoe factory, Jan. 20, 1870 (791: 52). The residue of the Mill Pasture included in the estate of Enoch Pearson was apportioned his daughter Elizabeth Farley, and descended to her daughter Lucy M. Farley, who sold to James Damon, June 4, 1866 (742: 172).

William Fuller.

(Diagram 1.)

John Saunders received the original grant of this lot, but the Town Clerk's record under April 20, 1635, mentions that William Fuller had "a houselott he bought of John Saunders lying on the Mill Streete, having Mr. Seawall's house lott on the East, and Mr. Saltonstall's garden at the Mill on the South." In 1649, Thomas Clark received a grant of land in "exchange for a lott that lies at bridge-foot which he bought of William Fuller." It is evident that the Town took the Fuller lot to make the approach to the "cart-bridge" which spanned the River where the Choate bridge stands today. The first bridge was built in 1646, and prior to that time all travel across the river by horses or wheeled vehicles was at various ford-ways, which will be considered in their appropriate places. The Town retained ownership of some part of this land at least, and there was a public way to the River over it. Part of the land was eventually occupied by a houselot, and Mrs. Elizabeth Brown was in possession in 1792. In that year Dr. John Manning was granted a piece of land for a woolen manufactory, "in front 6 ft. from Mrs. Elizabeth Brown's house, to extend 50 ft. front toward the well, and one foot on the wall, and to extend 30 ft. in back toward the River." Dr. Manning built his factory, but asked for more room the next year, desiring the place occupied by Mrs. Brown's house, and stipulating that a passage way to the river, 24 ft. wide, should be left on the westerly end of the building. In 1794, the Town granted him 40 ft. of ground and flats, provided he would build a wall from the north corner of the northerly arch of the bridge, strong enough to ward off the ice, and that he satisfy Elizabeth Brown for the ground where her house stands. The factory was operated for a few years, apparently without profit. Dr. Manning sold Ammi Smith the northwest end of the building, Dec. 5, 1816 (212: 168), another section, Dec. 5, 1818 (218: 251). and the rest was conveyed to Smith by the administrator, Oct. 31, 1825 (241: 260). Sarah Whitney and others, representing the "Massachusetts Woolen Manufactory," finally sold their interest to Stephen Coburn, June 11, 1847 (384: 269). The Post Office, and various stores occupied the building, which was finally destroyed by fire. The lot was purchased by Wesley K. Bell, May 24, 1869 (773: 252), who sold to Joseph Wait, May 25, 1869. Wait sold half the Coburn lot to Col. Luther Caldwell, June 17, 1869 (775: 143) and the remainder to Mrs. Almira F. Caldwell, Aug. 23, 1869 (780: 118). Col. Caldwell erected at once the business block that bears his name.

Henry Sewall.

(Diagram 1.)

Henry Sewall, or Seawell or Saywell, was the grantee of the slightly three acre lot, which includes the Parsonage and Seminary lots and Mr. T. F. Cogswell's homestead. Its southeast bound was the Ipswich River and William Fuller's lot (Ips. Deeds 1: 14). Mr. Sewall was chiefly distin-

guished for his famous son, Samuel Sewall, the Judge of later days, and for his irritable temper, which brought him into frequent collisions with the authorities, and frequent arraignments before the Quarter Sessions Court. He removed to Newbury, and Mr. Samuel Symonds, coming to town to make his residence, bought this lot on the 6th day of the 1st month of 1637, with the house, and about the same time he received a grant of a farm of five hundred acres, since called Olliver's, a planting lot of six acres, and forty acres on the "hethermost side of Sagamore hill." He also bought the Argilla farm of three hundred and twenty acres, and land on the South side (Ips. Deeds 1: 13). Here this distinguished Judge and Deputy Governor made his home for the rest of his long and useful life. After his death, the estate was divided. The lower part, including an acre and a half, extending to the River on the south, was sold by Wm. Symonds, son of the Dep. Governor, to Jonathan Wade. It was a house lot, and the residence of Mr. Symonds was on the part reserved, April 16, 1679 (Ips. Deeds 4: 267). It was sold by Jonathan and Thomas, sons of Jonathan Wade, to Elihu Wardell, who had married their sister, Elizabeth, still unimproved, March 1, 1701 (30: 152). Wardell built a residence here, and in 1716 (Nov. 20) sold his grandson, Samuel Dutch, a lot on the west side of his estate, eight rods front on the Street, and four rods deep (30: 150). His son, Elihu Wardell, sold his father's house and land, about an acre, to Benjamin Dutch, March 2, 1719-20 (37: 106), and Dutch bought of Samuel Dutch the 32 rod lot, that had been sold out of the original estate, April 27, 1719 (37: 108). Benjamin Dutch, saddler, sold the whole acre and a half lot, with house, barn, etc. to Arthur Abbott, cordwainer, March 6, 1723 (42: 248). Arthur Abbott sold a lot, abutting on the highway near the Bridge, about forty-eight rods, to Samuel Williams, March 29, 1726 (59: 199). The Williams lot came into the possession of Benjamin Dutch who sold it with a house and barn, to Nathaniel Souther, Mar. 1, 1756 (103: 225) and he sold to Wm. Dodge, July 26, 1763 (120: 190). It was owned by Daniel Newman in 1766, and by Daniel Noyes later. Daniel Noyes sold a small piece near the Great Stone Bridge, out of his land, to Wm. Dennis, peruke-maker, May 24, 1768 (130: 221) and Nathaniel D. Dutch sold to Daniel Dutch of Salem the house and land, that abutted on Deacon Knowlton's, which is still remembered by some as the old Dutch House, May 15, 1815 (206: 263). Luther Parks of Boston sold to Augustine Heard, the same estate, which Daniel Dutch conveyed to Sally Parks, Priscilla and Mary Dutch in 1830 (257: 251), with all the buildings, Sept. 15, 1847 (390: 111).

Mr. Abbott sold another lot, east of that sold to Samuel Williams, to Thomas Cross, Jan. 5, 1727 (51: 181). Cross sold to John Leighton, June 7, 1732 (73: 19). Leighton sold the lot with house and barn to John Powers Nov. 16, 1747 (95: 186). Joseph Low, baker, succeeded to the ownership and mortgaged "the dwelling house, which I lately built and now live in" "on the King's highway" to Tyler Porter of Wenham, Nov. 30, 1744 (137: 90). Porter foreclosed and sold to Deacon Thomas Knowlton,

peruke-maker, a house and an acre of land Oct. 11, 1791 (154: 120). Thomas Knowlton sold to Charles Kimball, Treasurer of the Ipswich Academy, Dec. 20, 1825, and forty shares at \$50 each had been subscribed at that date (407: 264). The Academy was built a little to the east of the old Knowlton house. After a period of indifferent success, the building was leased to Miss Zilpah Grant, who opened a Female Seminary. Mary Lyon was associated with her, and the School came into great favor. Miss Lyon withdrew, and after some years, Prof. John P. Cowles and his wife Eunice (Caldwell) Cowles, who had been a pupil in the School and a successful teacher, leased the building and continued the Seminary, which attained great prosperity under their charge. Prof. Cowles eventually purchased the building and the Dutch lot adjoining, and removed the old buildings. The brick block was erected after his decease, when the property was sold.

The Arthur Abbott homestead was inherited by his son Philip Abbott, who sold the house and land, to Robert Wallis, Jan. 17, 1799 (171: 65), and he to Dr. Thomas Manning, who built the mansion, now used as the Parsonage of the First Church, Jan. 17, 1799 (185: 146). He had already sold Dr. John Manning land in the rear, April 20, 1793 (167: 132).

The remainder of the Dep. Governor's lot, including his mansion, was in the possession of Mrs. John Rogers, in 1701, as is shown by the deed of Wade to Wardell. Mr. Hammatt records that John Rogers kept a tavern in 1694 with the sign of "The Black Horse." It was conveyed by John Rogers, saddler, to his son, Benjamin, Dec. 3, 1721 (38: 215). Benjamin Rogers divided the lot. The house and land, he sold to Ammi Ruhami Wise, shopkeeper, son of the eminent Rev. John Wise of Chebacco, Dec. 4, 1723 (41: 218). The remainder, a lot 44 feet on the Street and 46 ft. deep, bounded by Dutch's land on the west, he had sold to Patrick Farrin, surgeon, Dec. 14, 1722 (39: 224). Farrin sold this small lot to Nathaniel Smith, bounded by Arthur Abbott, west, June 1, 1733 (63: 169), and on Dec. 23, 1742, Wise's house, shop, etc., then occupied by John Whitaker, peruke-maker, were sold by execution for debt, to John Smith and Thomas Newman (84: 90). Nathaniel Smith, son of Nathaniel, in a deed drawn Dec. 14, 1781 (139: 79), recites that his mother, Hannah, widow, devised her grandchildren, William and Elizabeth Homans, one-half her dwelling-house, and in codicil made provision that he should convey to the same all his right and title in the shop and land adjoining, formerly his father's, Nathaniel Smith, and conveys to them the piece his father bought of Farrin. The Wise house and lot had thus come into the possession of the Smiths and the original Rogers lot, reunited, was sold by William and Elizabeth Homans of Beverly to Stephen Lord, tailor, and Jeremiah Ross, cabinet-maker, June 26, 1798 (164: 263). Lord sold his interest to Ross, Aug. 30, 1798 (188: 35) and Ross sold to Dr. Thomas Manning, Nov. 14, 1799 (188: 36). Dr. Manning sold to Stephen Lord again, Feb. 1810 (212: 211); Lord sold to Joseph Wait, Jan. 8, 1817 (212: 211), and his heirs, to Mr. Theodore F. Cogswell. Mr. Cogswell removed the old house and built the

mansion he now occupies. His lot occupies the eastern end of the original Dep. Gov. Symonds's estate.

The ledge in front of the old Seminary building was occupied by a house and shop for many years. In 1733, John Stacey, being incapable of labor, presented a petition to the Town, setting forth "that there is a convenience on the northerly side of the Rock by Ebenezer Smith's, for setting an house upon" and "praying he may obtain a grant for setting a house for selling cakes and ale etc. for his livelihood." This singular request was granted and he built a house accordingly. His widow, Jemima, sold the house and land on the Rock, to John Wood, and he conveyed at once to Samuel Ross, blacksmith, April 29, 1737 (75: 88). Samuel Ross built a blacksmith shop, and carried on his trade. He sold his dwelling, barn and blacksmith's shop to Samuel Ross Jun., and Joseph Lakeman Ross, Oct. 3, 1794 (160: 105). Joseph Lakeman Ross, it has been said, bought the Moses Lord house in 1834, and removed the dwelling from the ledge to a place on that lot where it still stands next to the John Holland estate.

William White.

(Diagram 1.)

The next lot, east or northeast of Mr. Symonds's lot was owned by Wm. White, in 1637, when Symonds bought his town-house. White sold his house and lot to Ralph Dix, fisherman, 26th 4th 1648 (Ips. Deeds 1: 36). Thomas Manning had it later and sold to John Appleton and Samuel Appleton, Oct. 14, 1653 (Ips. Deeds 1: 131). The Appletons exchanged this lot for the adjoining three acre lot, with house, barn, etc. with John Woodam, bricklayer, and Mary his wife, "as it now lieth bounded and fenced to the ledge of rocks next the meeting house green, from the corner of the lane from the meeting house green leading to the river, etc.," May 20, 1653 (Ips. Deeds 1: 132 and 154). The property passed into the hands of Thomas Bishop.

When Bishop died, he left a dwelling house, two barns, wash-house etc., and about six acres of land. His will specified that, after his wife's decease, his son Samuel should enjoy his dwelling, with that wherein John Sparks dwelt. It was a house for two families and Sparks apparently kept an inn. But he was warned out and bought the land across the Street and in 1671, Samuel Bishop, and his mother Margaret, had their license to sell liquors renewed, while a special petition of the citizens procured for John Sparks for the first time his license to sell. But the business did not prosper, apparently, and Samuel sold the property, then occupied by his brother Thomas and himself, to Simon Lynde of Boston. The land was bounded by Reginald Foster and Capt. Appleton, east, and the Deputy Governor, west, and included the land originally owned by White, Dix, and others, June 6, 1673 (Ips. Deeds 3: 268).

Hannah Bigg of Boston, widow and executrix of John Bigg, and one of the daughters of Mr. Simon Lynd of Boston, deceased, sold Symonds

Epes, this property, with a house and land adjoining (in the rear apparently), formerly occupied by one Mr. Berry, a dyer, Oct. 8, 1691 (Ips. Deeds 5: 423). Major Symonds Epes was son of Daniel Epes of Castle Hill. His mother, Elizabeth, was Dep. Gov. Symonds's daughter, and his grandmother became the Governor's wife. His brothers, Samuel and Daniel, were Harvard graduates. Daniel was the eminent Salem school master. The Major was a Justice, as well, and member of the Governor's Council, 1724-1734. His daughter Elizabeth married Edward Eveleth, and the same year they were married, he sold Eveleth his homestead. It now included eight acres and was bounded by Saddler Rogers's land, and Col. Jo. Appleton's, Dec. 5, 1715 (29: 273). Daniel Eveleth, son of Edward, sold to Nathaniel Treadwell, Nov. 3, 1761 (109: 278). It was inherited by Moses Treadwell. The land reached down to the Cove, and included a portion of the County property about the House of Correction.

Moses Treadwell sold the County of Essex, a piece of land 28 ft. square, at the north corner of his homestead, May 27, 1816 (215: 242). The widow Susanna Kendall, sold a plot 23 by 28 ft., May 28, 1816 (215: 241) and the County proceeded to erect the brick building, used for a Probate Office for many years.¹ It was sold by the County to Agawam Lodge of Odd Fellows, Dec. 26, 1867 (739: 246). The Treadwell heirs sold the house and land to the Trustees of the Public Library, July 11, 1865 (686: 160) and the Library building was built on this lot.

After the extension of County Street and the stone bridge were built, four and three quarters acres adjoining the House of Correction lot were sold by the Treadwell heirs to Aaron Cogswell, April 23, 1862 (636: 287-288). He sold to the County, May 5, 1862 (636: 289).

John Jackson.

(Diagram 1.)

The lot on the corner of Green St. and the Green was granted apparently to John Hassall, but Jackson was in possession in 1647. Wm. White married his widow, Catherine, and appropriated his belongings, and in due time, they sold to John West, who sold to John Woodam a dwelling-house and lot, also a house lot of an acre, also another half acre lot, June 28, 1649 (Ips. Deeds 1: 65). Woodam also owned part of a house lot, bought of Thomas Manning, a portion of Mr. Symonds's house lot, which was conveyed by him to secure perpetual maintenance of the division fence, 13-8-1653 (Ips. Deeds 1: 127). All this property, except the small corner lot, was exchanged with the Appletons, as has been mentioned. The extreme corner, a four rod lot with house, he sold to John Procter Sen. and William Fellows, bounded southeast by "Master Appleton's lot," Aug. 23, 1666 (Ips. Deeds 4: 75). Joseph and Benjamin Procter, sons of John, deceased, sold their interest to the executors of Fellows, Dec. 21, 1676 (Ips. Deeds 4: 75-6). Ephraim, Samuel and Ruth Fellows, widow of Joseph, sold the lot, to

¹ For a history of the building see Publications of the Ipswich Historical Society, No. II.

William Fellows, Jan. 7, 1694 (29: 136). Fellows sold to Major Epes March 29, 1708, and Epes sold to John Whipple, Philemon Dean and Joseph Whipple, committee. The bounds are interesting—"on the S. E. side the Appleton lot, the S. W. end, land of Epes, on N. W. side, the Green, extending almost to the Great Rock behind the Town House, and on the N. E. end by the highway, commonly called the Major's Lane, etc"., Mar. 15, 1713 (39: 219). The Great Rock is remembered, a lofty pinnacle, which was blasted down many years ago. The name, Major's lane, applied to Green St., may have been derived from Major Gen. Denison, who lived on the east side of the lane or from Major Samuel Appleton, who may have lived on the lot adjoining the corner. It is frequently called "Master Appleton's lot," as if the dweller then were a schoolmaster. In 1700, some lots for horsesheds were granted on Meeting House Green "against the orchard fence where Mr. Samuel Appleton lives, beginning about two rods from ye lane corner upwards to Mr. Appleton's Barn."¹

The Hon. John Appleton, Judge of Probate, owned the whole corner, including a small house, and, by his will, provided that his widow should have the use of this portion of his estate, but it was bestowed eventually on his daughters, Elizabeth, the wife of Rev. Jabez Fitch, then of Portsmouth and Margaret, wife of Edward Augustus Holyoke, President of Harvard College. The will specifies that it was "known by the name of Louds and Fosters Lotts, bounded by the land of Mr. Edward Eveleth on the south, the River on the east, the highway on north and north-west" (Pro. Records 324: 1, 2, 1739). Mr. Holyoke, acting for the owners, conveyed this land to John Smith and John Hodgkins. Smith purchased three and one half acres with a small dwelling abutting on the Green and Green Lane, and Hodgkins had three and one half acres, now included in the County land, bounded on the east by a half acre "belonging to Daniel Appleton, lying between the afore granted premises and the River," April 15, 1756 (103: 85, 86).

Capt. John Smith, who was a man of wealth, and owned Smith's Island, Fish Island, Candlewood Island, and had interests in Grape Island, devised this corner lot to his son, Samuel, and made provision for his education at college, 1768 (345: 30).² Samuel, then a Physician, at Hampton, sold to Ephraim Kendall, April 29, 1782 (139: 135). In the settlement of the Kendall estate, this plot was assigned to Ruth, wife of George Jenkins, and they sold to Moses Treadwell, May 25, 1825 (238: 104). The heirs of Moses Treadwell conveyed to Charles Kimball, Aug. 23, 1845 (358: 208), who sold to Essex County, July 10, 1847 (385: 112). In 1860, County St. was laid out across the County land and the stone bridge by the Lower Mill was built. As this cut off part of the County land, the County sold the corner, 233 ft. on Green St. and 283 ft. deep, to N. R. Wait, W. H. Graves, and J. M. Wellington for the Methodist Church, July 16, 1859 (591: 24). Mr. Wait purchased the lot on the corner and erected his dwelling there.

¹ They occupied probably the ancient four rod house lot, which William Fellows conveyed to a Committee of the Town apparently, in 1708 as mentioned above.

² Pro. Rec.

Robert Kinsman, Samuel Hall, Richard Brown, William Avery.

(Diagram 1.)

We observed that in John Appleton's will, mention was made of the Loud and Foster lots, which were included in the seven acres he left to his daughters. The name of Foster helps to locate a house of the earliest times as it is probably Reginald Foster, whose lot is meant, and Reginald Foster's lot is frequently given as a bound of the Appleton.

On the 27th of July, 1638, Richard Lumpkin sold John Tuttell, a house and lot, "near the great Cove of the Town River, with Wm. Avery's lot on the southwest, Robert Kinsman's lot on the northwest, the Town River on the southeast, houselot of Samuel Hall's on east (*i. e.* northeast) the house built by Richard Brown now of Newbury, sold to Mr. Richard Saltonstall, and sold by him to Lumpkin." John Tuttell sold this to Reginald Foster, 26 Sept. 1638, "lying near the great Cove, beneath the Falls of the Town River" (Town Record, 1638).

In the record of grants, Robert Kinsman had an acre, with Richard Lumpkin's houselot on the southwest and John Jackson on the west. John Jackson, we know, owned the lot on the corner of Green Lane and Meeting House Green.

In 1653, the deed of John Woodam to John and Samuel Appleton, of a house and three acres describes the lot, "from the corner of the lane aforesaid to the house lot of Reonald Foster, and so over to the house lot of the widow Averill, and thence to the corner of the rockwall aforesaid *next the Meeting House Green" (Ips. Deeds 1: 132 and 154).

The widow Averill was also the eastern abutter of a neighboring lot, which Thomas Manning had sold the Appletons. The lot may be located in a general way on the Cove, not far from the County St. Bridge, and the Lumpkin-Foster house stood next toward the east. The Foster lot extended out to Green Lane in 1653, though it had no such bound in 1638, and the acre lot of Robert Kinsman had probably been added to the original lot. How was access had to the Averill lot and these others? Again, in 1691, when the Simon Lynde estate was sold to Symonds Epes, the six acres in this lot were bounded by the Meeting House Green north, the River south, Reginald Foster and Captain Appleton east, and the deed of sale included another house and lot, formerly in the occupation of Mr. Berry (a dyer), which was bounded by Capt. Appleton's northeast and on all other sides by the six acres (Ips. Deeds 5: 423).

There was some public way to these rear lots by the Cove. Possible reference to this way may be found in the record of Mar. 1685, that Thomas Low bought of the Town, "two acres with a town way through it, bounded by his own land southerly, by the Common northeast, Goodman Reginald Foster's southeast, and Robert Kinsman's southwest." This may have been in Chebacco, however. More definite allusion to an old way along the Cove is found in the deed of sale of a piece of land, about half an acre, which still belonged to the Commoners in 1722. By vote of Mar. 21, 1722, a Committee of the Town was instructed to sell several parcels, belonging

to the Commoners, and this lot was sold by them to Daniel Appleton, bounded by Col. John Appleton's land on one side, the River on the other, Green Lane east and Edward Eveleth's land west, April 25, 1723 (42: 25). Appleton sold this to Abner Harris, Dec. 7, 1757 (106: 241). Harris's administrator sold to John Hodgkins 4th, May 24, 1787 (155: 190), and Moses Treadwell sold an acre lot, including this, to James Safford, April 7, 1818, "reserving any right that the Town of Ipswich may have of towing or tracking vessels or boats up and down the river, or passing over the land for that purpose" (222: 202). Evidently there was an ancient way, continuous from Water St. and houses were built along its course. More than this, Green Lane was anciently known as Bridge Lane. Thomas Scott had a house lot "lying to the lane called Bridge Lane, near the meeting house," the house lot of Philip Fowler, southeast and Humphrey Bradstreet northwest (Town Record 1640). This lot was on the corner of County St. and Green St. where the Baker house stands. But there was never a bridge at the foot of this Street until a few years ago, and there was beyond doubt a foot-bridge that crossed the river, where the Island on which the saw mill stands, made an easy span. Foot-travel was by way of the Lane, and this ancient river path, over the foot-bridge to the South side. In later years, John Hodgkins's will bestowed his three and one half acres on the widow, his son John Jr. and his daughters Elizabeth Perkins and Salome Dennis, 1797 (Pro. Rec. 367: 504).

John Dennis and Salome sold their one and one half acre lot to Essex Co. in 1803 (173: 98) and the Stone Jail was built on this land. Isaac Stanwood, grandson of Hodgkins, inherited another lot, which he sold to Isaac Stanwood Jr., an acre, Dec. 11, 1817 (217: 42) and he to the County, Nov. 15, 1850 (438: 187). This was northwest of the Jail. John Perkins inherited his mother's portion, and sold one and one quarter acres to James Safford, on the southeast side of the Jail, May 18, 1822 (229: 270). Safford's earlier purchase from Treadwell has been mentioned. He built his modest house by the River, but disposed of his land in 1833, Feb. 1, to Frederic Mitchell (268: 45). Mitchell sold to the County, May 1, 1834, reserving the spot occupied by Safford's house (275: 21).¹ This was removed across the way to another lot owned by the County, and the sixteen poles of land were transferred to the County, Mar. 1, 1859 (584: 177). The land of the Treadwell estate which bounded the County land on the south was purchased as has been already said, of Aaron Cogswell, who bought of the Treadwell heirs in 1862. (636: 287-289).

WASHINGTON STREET, EAST SIDE

William Warner.

(Diagram 2.)

Returning to the ancient Bridge Street or Scott's Lane, we find that the land now included in the freight yard of the B. & M. R.R. and the house lot occupied by the "Stocker" house was granted as house lots at the beginning of the settlement.

¹ The House of Correction was built on this lot.

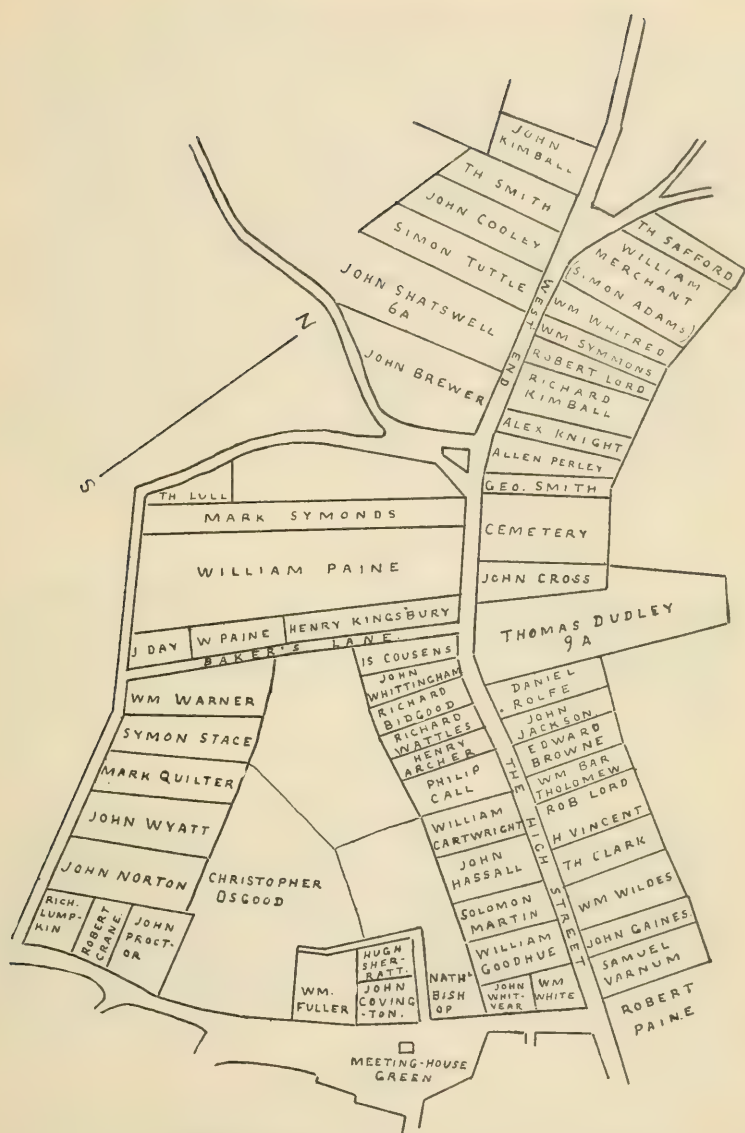


DIAGRAM No 2

The acre lot on the corner of the Lane, known as Baker's Lane, was granted to Wm. Warner, 1636. Edward Chapman owned in 1667 and sold Edward Lummus "my dwelling house wherein sd Lummus dwells" with barn and one and one quarter acres, "the Street called Mill St. toward southwest, and the house and land of widow Stacy southeast," March 2, 1667 (Ips. Deeds 5: 190). Edward Lomas conveyed to his son, Jonathan, his homestead, house, barn and an acre of land, and twelve acres purchased of Mr. Cogswell, May 25, 1682 (Ips. Deeds 4: 466). His will (Ips. Deeds 4: 476) states that the twelve acres were on the opposite side of the Street. Jonathan Lūmas sold Daniel Rogers, schoolmaster, "the house in which he now dwells" with two acres, Thos. Wait's homestead southeast, June 18, 1712 (25: 1).

This lot came into the possession of the Waits. Mary Wait sold Robert Stocker Jr., a half acre, March 12, 1792 (155: 191) on which he built the house still called the Stocker house. Mary R. Kimball, the widow of John Stalker, sold to George B. Brown, the lot on which he built a grist mill, Jan. 12, 1881 (1055: 187). She sold the house and land to Bridget Murray, Oct. 11, 1881 (1069: 261).

Symon Stace.

(Diagram 2.)

Symon Stace received a grant of the lot on the southeast of Warner in 1637. His son, Symon, we infer from previous mention of the "widow Stace," sold the house, barn, and an acre of land to Thomas Waite, Feb. 7, 1673 (Ips. Deeds 3: 297). This lot was united with the Warner lot, as has been stated.

Mark Quilter.

(Diagram 2.)

An acre lot, described as "opposite Allen Perley's," was granted to Mark Quilter, and recorded in 1638. His son, Joseph, succeeded and his heirs sold a house and six acres of land to Dr. Samuel Wallis, April 4, 1724 (43: 117). His daughter, the widow Sarah Rust, inherited and her heirs in turn. John Cole Jewett and his wife, Elizabeth, quitclaimed their interest in the buildings and three acres "known as Quilter's lot" to Moses Smith, April 17, 1789 (157: 163). It is now included in the B. & M. R.R. land and the Burke shoe factory lot. The cellar was near the brick building of the Burke factory.

John Wyatt.

(Diagram 2.)

He owned a house lot in 1638 and the Town Record describes it as "lying in Bridge Street and butting upon the south end upon the same street, having a house lott of Mr. Norton's on the east, and a house lott of Mark Quilters on the west." It was included in the Quilter lot in 1717.

John Norton.

(Diagram 2.)

The Rev. John Norton, Teacher of the Ipswich Church, received a grant of three acres, called a "house lot" in the record of grants, but later "a pasture." It was a low swampy lot, and could never have been used for building purposes. It was on "the lower side of the Mill St.," with the Street southwest, Christopher Osgood northeast, John Wyatt northwest, and "southeast by the several house lots of Richard Lumkin, Robert Crane and the 3d lot ungranted." This was inherited by William Norton, brother of John, and conveyed by him to his son, the Reverend John Norton, Pastor at Hingham, Sept. 28, 1682 (Ips. Deeds 4: 469). Joseph Quilter acquired possession and conveyed to Michael Farley, measuring 15 rods on the street, in exchange for another lot, Sept. 20, 1710 (22: 204). John Treadwell owned in 1753. Capt. John Lord owned, and Wm. G. Brown.

MARKET ST. AND NORTH MAIN ST. NORTH SIDE.

Richard Lumkin.

(Diagram 2.)

Referring to the bounds of the Norton pasture, it will be seen that, in 1638, there were three lots on Market St., as it is now called, owned by Richard Lumkin, Robert Crane, and one unassigned. The Robert Crane lot, as will be seen, is probably identical with the Daniel Warner lot of later years. Lumkin cannot be definitely located, but probably owned the corner, known familiarly as Damon's Corner. Daniel Warner owned this lot in 1682 and Isaac Littlehale was its possessor in 1710 (22: 204). John Littlehale of Dracut transferred to Joseph Littlehale of Gloucester "the estate in Ipswich by virtue of my father's will, on the occasion of the death of my brother James Littlehale," March 1, 1727-8 (51: 37).

Joseph Littlehale sold Emerson Cogswell, an acre with house and barn, Dec. 2, 1731 (98: 151). Cogswell mortgaged to Samuel Grant and widow Anne Holmes, Dec. 8, 1753 (100: 219). The mortgagees conveyed it to Thomas Burnham, Jan. 30, 1760 (108: 79) and it continued in the Burnham family until 1833, when Chas. Kimball, administrator of Thomas Burnham, sold the equity of redemption of a mortgage to George W. Heard, Oct. 10, 1833 (282: 163). George W. Heard sold to George Warner, a frame work knitter, March 15, 1836 (289: 175) and Warner to Caleb K. Moore, bounded on the southwest by "Back Lane," August 14, 1838 (307: 269). Moore sold part of the lot to James and Sanford Peatfield, Nov. 6, 1840 (321: 150). They erected the brick building which was used by a Company for the manufacture of machine knit goods. It is now known as Hayes Tavern. The Peatfield lot also included the land occupied by the Gas Works. Moore mortgaged to Jeremiah Smith, June 28, 1855 (515: 188) and surrendered the property to him June 30, 1857 (554: 220). Smith sold to Curtis Damon, July 19, 1865 (649: 56). Mr. Damon removed to this corner the old Court

House which stood near the Meeting House of the Methodist church. It was burned some years ago.

The small lot of John B. Lamson was bought by him from Jeremiah Smith, May 11, 1858 (570: 226). The building on the premises was moved there, and the low and wet nature of the location is indicated by the fact, that the building was set up on blocks, and workmen walked under the building thus supported, in building up the foundation. An open spring on this lot was used for watering cattle, but the water in the well on the spot is now some fourteen feet below the street level. The whole neighborhood was very low, and the meadow land adjoining, now drained and occupied, was originally a swamp of alders.

The lot on Market St. next the corner, perhaps a part of the original corner lot, was sold by John Warner, administrator of his father, John Warner, to Samuel Waite, clothier, with a house and barn on the half acre lot, March 20, 1735 (92: 73). Arthur Abbott sold Thos. Burnham "all that messuage I lately bought of Samuel Waite," June 7, 1744 (92: 65). Judith, widow of Thomas Burnham 4th and other heirs, sold to Moses Goodhue, March 2, 1793 (158: 115). Goodhue sold to Joseph Chapman, with 77 ft. frontage, Oct. 1, 1812 (198: 211), and the widow Hannah Chapman to James Damon, Nov. 2, 1866 (714: 1). Mr. Damon sold a strip of this estate to Josiah H. Mann, March 23, 1867 (722: 29) and a small piece more the next year (768: 265). Mr. Mann erected a building and sold to Harriet E. Lord, wife of Daniel Lord, March 27, 1870 (874: 154). The remainder of the Chapman lot was inherited by Fred Damon and sold by his widow to Mrs. Ann Hayes, July 2, 1885 (1153: 112). She conveyed to Isaac J. and John M. Potter, April 24, 1886 (1172: 74) and they to George G. Young, who erected the building, April 18, 1890 (1275: 255).

The lot now occupied by the blacksmith shop was originally part of the Warner-Waite lot. During Burnham's ownership of it, he sold a half acre to Nathaniel Heard, whose homestead was on the site of the Lindberg house. Thomas Dennis sold this to his sister Mary Dennis, "the same conveyed by Thomas Burnham 3d to Nathaniel Heard, on May 13, 1797" May 12, 1831 (262: 40). Mary Dennis sold to Gilbert Conant, Nov. 17, 1834 (289: 180). Conant sold to Daniel P. Nourse, Aug. 27, 1836 (298: 105), Nourse to Samuel P. Guilford, May 21, 1844 (343: 261). Guilford built and occupied the Lindberg house and also the blacksmith shop on this site, now owned by J. Albert Smith.

Robert Crane.

(Diagram 2.)

The lot on Market St. which was granted to Robert Crane, was owned by Daniel Warner in 1666. Part of the lot was sold by Philemon Warner, a half acre with dwelling, blacksmith's shop and barn, to Jonathan Prince, Sept. 8, 1710 (21: 227). Prince disposed of the property to John Heard Jun., May 1, 1776 (134: 262.) John Heard, Junior, the son of John, presumably, sold part of the homestead to Moses Lord Jr., chair

maker, Dec. 21, 1790 (152: 239) the widow Abigail Heard occupying a tenement in the house. Nathaniel Heard, administrator of John Heard Jr., sold the southwest end of the dwelling to Richard Manning, clothier, Oct. 16, 1798 (164: 151). Aaron Kimball acquired an interest in the estate prior to 1797, and Captain Robert Kimball purchased of William Heard, the same that he had bought of Moses Lord, by deed of April 18, 1835, May 11, 1836 (291: 290). Captain Kimball built the present dwelling, now owned and occupied by his heirs. One portion of the original house was removed by Ephraim Harris, the builder of the new structure, to his own land on Mineral St., and incorporated in the house that stands on the north corner of Mineral and Central Sts.

Daniel Warner conveyed to his son in law Edmund Heard and his daughter, Elizabeth, wife of Heard, the use of the northeast end of his house and provided that after his decease, "all my said dwelling house and out-houses, that shall be then standing upon the house lott that was my uncles, reserving still the privilege of the right of commonage, and the most of the house lot that was Robert Crane's, . . . provided he pay 10£ each to his son, William Warner and his daughters, Abigail and Susanna," Sept. 10, 1675 (Ips. Deeds 4: 45). Edmund Heard built a new house on the estate prior to 1715, as the conveyances reveal. He left three sons, Edmund, Nathaniel and Daniel. Edmund, "having purchased by right of redemption all the estate of my honored father, Edmund Heard, deceased, and part of the same belonging to my brothers Nathaniel and Daniel," conveyed to Nathaniel, "the southwest end of the old dwelling house where he now dwells and half ye shop and one third part of the land or homestead." This old house stood on the site of the Jeremiah Smith house, and the land included, measured $3\frac{1}{2}$ rods 6 ft. from Jonathan Prince's, now Kimball's, line. To Daniel, he conveyed the northeast end of the house he then occupied, "the old house," with equal part of shop and land, and the same frontage, Sept. 12, 1715 (30: 80). The new house he reserved for himself.

Dan'el Heard sold his interest in the old Edmund Heard house to Nathaniel, May 1, 1758. Samuel, son of Deacon Daniel Heard, inherited a portion from his son Benjamin Heard, and sold a part of the house to Samuel, Jr., and Ebenezer Heard, May 19, 1803 (174: 228, 229). John Heard sold Gilbert Conant, a schoolmaster, the house and half an acre, July 15, 1834 (289: 179). Conant conveyed to Capt. Joseph Gardner, July 1, 1843 (338: 188); Gardner to the widow Elizabeth Boardman, July 24, 1852 (465: 16); her heirs to Jeremiah Smith, July 21, 1862 (641: 42). The present dwelling cannot be identified with the old house, but the date of its erection is not known. Edmund Heard sold his house, probably the one built as we have mentioned, before 1715, to Jabez Treadwell, cooper, Nov. 23, 1761 (119: 117). His heirs sold to Jabez Farley, Jan. 20, 1792 (154: 167) and the estate remained in the Farley ownership until its recent purchase by Mr. John W. Goodhue.

Edmund Heard sold Robert Potter, a tailor, a small plot, about $2\frac{1}{2}$



An ancient map, made in 1717, showing the houses and house lots on Market Street and Washington Street, and the ancient foot-way, which had been obstructed by Capt. Beamsley Perkins. Photographed from the original, now in the possession of the Essex Institute.

The long note appended to the map is as follows:

Some part of this draught was done by rule so as to be sufficient to shew what was it petitioned for. Manning's lot, in which is the compass, as record said, hath Sherard's lot nor easterly, the highway so westerly, which must needs be ment the way leading from Scot's Lane up to Quilter's house and barn, which barn stands on Manning's lot and so according to the draught runs into the lane called Pinder's lane (by Graves land) comes into the broad common called Meeting House green, where the meeting house is. These lots here marked out and the houses on them lying southeasterly of the way petitioned for were set as was accounted when granted for number of acres, but being much more may not suit right standing by what here is done by rule, for that was done to signify how far to the meeting house it is either to go in the lane by Baker's or in Scot's Lane up to the meeting house further than in the way petitioned for, for from the brook against French's corner it is thirty rods that the way is stop't, 22 rod of ye thirty is fenced out and apple trees in some part set where we used the way to go to meeting, as our predecessors did before us, without molestation which 30 rods is in the possession of Captain Beamsley Perkins, who it is molests us the lots of Proctor and Ausgood being in his possession. And the squared loggs that were laid over the brook and the low watery mirey ground to the brook have been taken from thence. Then this draught does but only signify such a way for a foot way in ancient times granted and used by a considerable number of the town inhabitants, but now deny'd to be and molested therein by Captain Beamsley Perkins.

(A second map of the same territory is inserted at page 349.)

rods on the Street, and 4 or 5 rods deep, beyond the brook, the spot occupied by the Ezekiel Peabody house, April 7, 1717 (51: 159). On May 5th 1726, Potter petitioned the Town for a grant of "a small piece of land in front of Edmund Heard's land, on the N E. side of Heard's Brook, to sit a house partly thereon." The Town granted a lot that extended 10 ft. from Edmund Heard's land next to the Brook, "and 6 feet from the said front forms the dividing line between the said Heard and Mr. Wainwright's land, and so on a straight line on the highway" (Town Record). The line of the ancient street was very uncertain, it would seem, to admit of so large a piece being taken from the highway. Robert Potter did not build the house he had planned when he secured the enlargement of his lot, but sold it to Thomas Cross, June 3, 1732 (68: 246). Cross did build a dwelling but disposed of the house and the 12 rods of land to George Dutch, Dec. 4, 1735 (71: 1). Dutch sold the northeast half of his dwelling to Daniel Leighton, March 14, 1740 (87: 152), and Leighton sold the same to Daniel Heard Junior, March 9, 1742 (87: 149). He enlarged the lot by a quarter acre, purchased of the Richard Rogers estate adjoining, Oct. 19, 1744 (87: 153). Elizabeth, widow of Daniel Heard and John, their son, sold the property, "the garden and homestead of Mr. Daniel Heard, deceased, the husband of Elizabeth and father of John," to John Jewett, whitesmith, March 12, 1798 (165: 81). John Jewett, Jun., of Rowley sold the same to Samuel Smith, April 1, 1802 (169: 250), and at Smith's decease, Charles Simonds sold to Ezekiel Peabody, cordwainer, reserving the dower of the widow Hannah, Aug. 6, 1817 (215: 167). This estate includes the land on which the clothing store of Mr. Robert Jordan stands. The present dwelling is evidently not the original one.

John Proctor and Christopher Osgood.

(Diagram 2.)

In 1635, Christopher Osgood had received a grant, bounded by John Proctor south, John Robinson north, Wm. Fuller east, the swamp west. He bequeathed his house and land to his son Christopher, April 19, 1650 (Ips. Deeds 1: 77). He removed to Andover, and sold the homestead a house and four acres, "neare to the brook running into the Mill River," to Thomas Metcalfe, Oct. 2, 1666 (Ips. Deeds 3: 108). Metcalfe sold Isaac Littlehale, blacksmith, 17 rods, "at the uppermost corner of my homestead," "adjoyning to the land of John Sparks," March 1, 1690 (Ips. Deeds 5: 588). Littlehale located however, on the Damon corner, and the lot reverted to the original estate. Metcalfe sold his whole property, about six acres, including the low land in the rear, to Jacob Davis, a potter by trade, Nov. 21, 1699 (16: 97). The potter, Davis, sold "a certain parcel of upland ground" about an acre and a half, to Col. John Appleton, the Lieut. of Andros times, now become a Colonel and Judge of Probate, Feb. 25, 1707 (22: 144), and the balance of the estate, five and a half acres and buildings to Capt. Beamsley Perkins, April 17, 1710 (21: 170). The Captain carried matters with a high hand. An ancient footway led from Scott's

Lane across his rear land, up the hill to Loney's Lane. He obstructed this way and forbade travel and the matter was carried to Court. A rude map of the region was drawn and presented to the magistrates in 1717. The original has escaped destruction and a reproduction will be inserted when the narrative has proceeded farther. A note appended to this map states that the Perkins lot included the original Proctor and Osgood lots.

Dr. John Perkins, son and heir of Capt. Beamsley, sold his estate, reserving an eighth of an acre on Col. Appleton's line, to John Wainwright, April 13, 1725 (49: 231). This small lot, with other property, the Dr., then a resident of Boston, sold to his son, Dr. Nathaniel Perkins, also of Boston, Dec. 1, 1740 (80: 302). Wainwright's administrator sold to Richard Rogers, "a dwelling house and land in present possession of Mrs. Christian Wainwright," about five and a half acres, May 6, 1741 (80: 302) and Dr. Perkins sold his eighth of an acre to Rogers, Oct. 14, 1741 (80: 303). Rogers, or his widow and administratrix, Mary Rogers, sold the house and a quarter acre abutting on the Heard property, to Samuel Wainwright, son of John, before 1744, though no record of the deed was made. Elizabeth Wainwright, daughter of Samuel, conveyed to Dr. Parker Clark, of Newburyport, her house and quarter acre bequeathed her by her mother, May 1788 (155: 199). She also became the wife of Dr. Clark, who took up his abode in the dwelling thus provided. Dr. Clark sold the house and land to John Baker, Jr., Sept. 15, 1798 (164: 169). His heir, Manasseh Brown, removed the old house to the Topsfield road, where it was afterwards burned. The new house erected is still the property of his heirs, and the estate includes the office building of Hon. Chas. A. Sayward and the dry-goods store of W. S. Russell and Son.

The widow Mary Rogers sold the four acres remaining without any buildings to Rev. Nathaniel Rogers, Pastor of the First Church, March 1, 1744 (89: 36) and he sold to Benjamin Dutch April 4, 1753 (104: 78). Dutch built a house which was subsequently enlarged, and sold to Nathaniel Perley, "the whole of the westerly new dwelling house with chamber and garret in the west end of the old dwelling, both of which houses are joined together," June 8, 1778 (138: 6). Rev. Ebenezer Dutch of Bradford sold to Richard Dummer Jewett, trader, "the west lower room of the old dwelling of my father, Benjamin Dutch, part of the garden, also the shop and storehouse near said house," "formerly called by the name of fore yard," June 8, 1795 (159: 117) and Samuel Bacon and others, heirs of Nathaniel Perley, sold to Lucy, wife of Richard D. Jewett, the whole interest of Perley in the house and land, March 2, 1798 (163: 171). The old house, with its two front doors, which stood on the site of the present dwelling, owned and occupied by the Jewett heirs, is remembered by the older folk.

John Appleton.

(Diagram 2.)

On that part of the old Christopher Osgood lot, which Col. Appleton purchased, in 1707, he erected his mansion, which has suffered remodellings



and additions, and wears a very modern look, despite its age. He bequeathed it to his son Daniel (Pro. Rec. 324: 1, 2, approved Dec. 10, 1739). Elizabeth Appleton, daughter of Daniel, married Rev. John Walley, first Pastor of the South Church. Mr. Walley and the other heirs sold the Appleton homestead, the house and two acres, to Daniel Noyes, Jan. 19, 1768 (121: 239). The house was a three storied affair, and much decayed when Mr. Noyes bought it. He removed the upper story, put in new windows and window frames, and repaired it thoroughly. William Dodge purchased the estate. His widow married Mr. Abraham Hammatt, the Antiquarian. Her daughter Wilhelmina, the wife of Dr. Asahel Wildes, inherited, and the Wildes heirs sold to the present owner, Mr. M. B. Philipp of New York. Mr. Noyes sold a building lot, abutting on Benjamin Dutch, to William Dennis, a peruke-maker, May 24, 1768 (130: 221). The heirs of Dennis sold the house and its quarter acre lot to William Heard, Nov. 5, 1827 (248: 46). The cellar of this house is on the vacant lot, corner of Central and North Main Sts. The house was burned in the fire that swept Central St.

William Fuller.

(Diagram 2.)

William Fuller's grant was next to Christopher Osgood's on the northeast by the record of 1635. William Fuller, gunsmith, was "lately possessed of one house lot, half an acre of ground, to which he added one house lot, half an acre more, also a parcel in the same place bought of Christopher Osgood, all which as they lye together, being about five roods, the highway to the Mill on east and southeast, the house lot of Thos. Rowlinson northeast, the land of Christopher Osgood south and southwest touching upon the house lot of Hugh Sherrat, north." This lot, with one small dwelling, he sold to John Knowlton, shoemaker, Oct. 1639 (Town Record). The Fuller-Knowlton lot came into the possession of William White, who sold two acres here, with "house, barn, orchard, garden and parrocke or inclosure of earable land adjoining," to John Sparks, "Biskett Baker," Feb. 15, 1671 (Ips. Deeds 3: 216). Samuel Graves abutted on the northeast, Thomas Medcalfe southwest. Sparks had served as an apprentice with Obadiah Woods, a "biskett baker" on East St. and had kept an ordinary leased of Thomas Bishop near where the Public Library stands. He had received his first license for a year in Sept. 1671 to sell "beere at a penny a quart, provided he entertain no Town inhabitants, in the night, nor suffer to bring wine or liquor to be drunk in his house" (Records Ipswich Quarter Sessions Court). Here he kept a famous hostelry for twenty years. Judge Sewall on his circuits tasted its good cheer, and many a man of renown tarried about its wellspread board. Officers and soldiers were quartered here in time of danger from Indian attacks.

As the location of this ancient ordinary has been discussed our study of this locality may be extended beyond the ordinary limit. Sparks sold his property here to Col. John Wainwright, May 1, 1691 (12: 118) described as a message or tenement, bake-house and barn. The dwelling

was not included, nor was the acreage the same. Sparks bought two acres and sold one and a half. These are always approximate measurements, and the identity of the land is determined by the abutters mentioned in the deed, John Potter on the east, Thomas Medcalf on the west, etc. Thirteen years later, March 12, 1704-5, John Roper sold Col. Wainwright, "a dwelling house . . . formerly in possession of Mr. John Sparks, now in possession of Mary, widow of John, and also two roods of ground which sometime since I bought of Thomas Medcalf of Ipswich, adjoining the land on which the house stands" (18: 16). It seems that Sparks remained in occupancy of his house after the sale, and when Col. Wainwright sold his estate of about three acres here to Deacon Nathaniel Knowlton, Feb. 6, 1707-8, he specified that there were two messuages or tenements, one of which was in occupancy of Thomas Smith, innholder, and the other was occupied by the widow Mary Sparks, "which she is to possess during her natural life, with a garden plot as it is now fenced in, and is situate at the southeast corner of said tenement" (20: 145). There was consideration also of an annuity payable to the widow Sparks by John Smith, cordwainer, and Thomas Smith, cooper-Deacon Knowlton sold Ephraim Smith, son of Thomas Smith, tailor, a lot on the northeast side, abutting on John Potter, and on the same day, Nov. 20, 1710, he sold to Ebenezer Smith, a small dwelling house and land, on the southwest side bordering on Col. John Appleton (now owned by Mr. Philipp) with six rods frontage, about three quarters of an acre. On Nov. 30, he sold the middle lot, containing an acre, with house and land to John Smith, shoemaker (23: 22 and 23). The lot sold Ebenezer Smith was the same that the widow Sparks occupied. The "small house" may be the same that is mentioned in Wm. Fuller's deed of sale.

Ebenezer Smith owned this lot thirty seven years and when he sold he deeded half a dwelling house, land, etc. with line running through the front door, with privilege of a cartway on the northeast end, and a spring in the cellar, to Ebenezer Stanwood, peruke maker. Evidently he built the house now occupied by Mr. Chas. A. Brown, during his ownership (90: 203). Smith sold Stanwood 20 rods more July 5, 1748 (93: 184). Stanwood sold to Daniel Rogers, 1766 (120: 81). It was bequeathed by him to his son, Daniel A. Rogers (Pro. Rec. 391: 63). Rogers sold his title to a half of this property to Moses Lord, July 5, 1833 (271: 39), and other heirs sold the other half to Steven Warner, Aug. 21, 1835 (338: 253). Warner sold to Thomas Lord of Boston, July 5, 1845 (640: 290), and it was sold by him to Benjamin C. Brown, father of the present owner in 1862 (640: 291). The other half, devised by Daniel Rogers to his four daughters, was sold by their attorney to Mark R. Jewett of Rowley, May 13, 1840 (318: 247). The assignee of Jewett, in insolvency, quitclaimed to John N. Ellsworth, Oct. 1, 1844 (356: 57). Thus the southwest limit of the original Wm. Fuller grant is determined, and the location of the John Sparks dwelling, which disappeared when Ebenezer Stanwood built the present dwelling.

Before Ebenezer Smith sold his house to Stanwood, he had sold a lot,

with fifty feet frontage, to Daniel Tilton, March 1, 1732-3 (68: 149) Tilton sold to Christian Wainwright, June 2, 1741 (80: 295). In 1748 (June 22), this lot with a house was conveyed by Christian Wainwright, widow of John, to Daniel Staniford, Nathaniel Treadwell, abutting on the northeast (90: 239). Dummer Jewett purchased from the estate of Staniford. Thomas Manning, guardian of the widow, Mary Thorndike,¹ sold the house and land to Jacob Lord, Oct. 16, 1820 (231: 123); Lord to Capt. Wm. Haskell in 1826 (240: 299); Haskell to Samuel N. Baker, in 1832 (263: 131); Baker to the widows, Hannah and Ann Brown, Aug. 21, 1837 (302: 24); and they, to Joseph Baker, April 29, 1845 (355: 215). Mr. Baker owned the Treadwell property adjoining. He sold the house, which occupied the lot, and it was removed to the corner of Market and Saltonstall Sts. It was torn down by the Historical Society, after the corner was purchased.

John Smith divided his lot. His house, a tavern, as he is called "Taverner," with a half acre, he sold to Jacob Boardman, March 28, 1734 (69: 198). This "house" can hardly be identified with the "bakehouse" of John Sparks. If John Sparks occupied his "bakehouse" as his ordinary, it had probably disappeared by this time, as no mention of such a building occurs. It may be the same that is now owned and occupied by Miss Lucy Slade Lord. Boardman sold to Patrick Farrin, barber or periwig maker, and James McCreelis, lately removed from Marblehead, April 19, 1736 (68: 165). By division, McCreelis received the house, and Farrin the northeast half with a new shop, a cartway 13 ft. wide between house and shop being reserved for access to the back land. McCreelis sold the house and a quarter acre of land, 84½ ft. frontage, to Nathaniel Treadwell, innholder, Sept. 14, 1737 (73: 256), and Farrin sold his three quarter acre, 63 ft. front, to James Macom of Marblehead, May 2, 1737 (73: 62). Macom sold to Anthony Loney, April 11, 1739 (77: 273). Loney sold to Nathaniel Treadwell, May 15, 1742 (84: 263). Jacob Treadwell inherited from his father, Nathaniel, and his administrator sold to Moses Treadwell, the house and land, "being all that said deceased owned in that place, commonly called the old Tavern lot," Aug. 10, 1815 (208: 110). The executors of the Moses Treadwell estate sold the house and land to Joseph Baker of Boston, March 25, 1834 (277: 277). The heirs of Joseph Baker sold to Mrs. Lizzie G. Hayes (1176: 159); Mrs. Hayes to George K. Dodge, July 2, 1888 (1227: 508); Dodge to Mrs. Lois Hardy, May 4, 1897 (1514: 11), who transferred to Miss Lucy Slade Lord, the present owner.

John Smith, the Taverner, sold the rest of his lot, about a quarter of an acre, to Edward Eveleth, March 9, 1732 (68: 177). Eveleth sold to James McCreelis, Sept. 10, 1736 (73: 193), and McCreelis to James Gordon of Boston, Oct. 19, 1737. Gordon built a house and sold house and land to Deacon James Foster of the South Church, the first Postmaster, June 20, 1759 (106: 206). John Hodgkins of Bath sold Moses Treadwell "the

¹ Mary Staniford married, first, Dummer Jewett and after his death, Larkin Thorndike.

lot formerly owned by James Foster," Aug. 12, 1817 (213: 175). Treadwell's executors sold part of this to Timothy Souther (275: 186), who mortgaged to Otis Holmes, Jan. 1, 1835 (278: 277). Holmes foreclosed the mortgage, March 1, 1842 (329: 240), and sold to Stephen Coburn, April 15, 1845 (357: 298). He erected the house, which is still owned and occupied by his daughter, Miss Lucy C. Coburn. The Deacon Foster house with land was sold by the executors of Treadwell to Elisha Perkins (276: 286), and by him to Charles Kimball, July 28, 1834 (276: 287). He built the house, now the property of the Trustees of the Manning School, on the site of the old dwelling.

The eastern end of the old Sparks homestead was sold by Ephraim Smith to his mother, Martha Smith, Dec. 8, 1713 (29: 67), and Thomas Smith sold the same, as the deed expressly declared, to Aaron Potter, cooper, Feb. 17, 1723 (42: 166). Benjamin Dutch came into possession of a part of this very soon and probably built the house. He conveyed his estate to his sons Benjamin and Nathaniel, March 12, 1741 (83: 126) and Benjamin sold his interest to Nathaniel, Jan. 16, 1750 (101: 38). John Manning became owner of an interest in the Nathaniel Dutch property, and sold the north half to Nathan Jaques, May 2, 1807 (181: 181). Daniel Dutch sold the south half to Robert Farley, Aug. 29, 1833, and Farley to Col. Charles Kimball, June 28, 1834 (276: 288). The deed describes the property, "being one half the homestead formerly of Benjamin Dutch, which by a deed bearing date, March 12, 1741, he conveyed to his sons Nathaniel and Benjamin, the estate being the same which was owned by Nathaniel Dutch and which was conveyed to me by Daniel Dutch, Aug. 29, 1833." This marks the eastern boundary of the old Fuller-Sparks Wainwright property. The old Dutch house or Jaques house has been torn down within a few months by the Trustees of the Manning School, who have erected a new business edifice on its site.

John Covington.

(Diagram 2.)

The western corner of North Main St. and Loney's Lane was granted to John Covington. This appears from the entry of Hugh Sherrat's house lot of an acre with a house, the location of which can be easily identified on "Pinder's lane," in the rear of the Agawam House and property of the Trustees etc. It was bounded southeast by the house lot formerly granted John Covington, now in the possession of Thomas Rowlinson, and the house-lot formerly granted William Fuller southwest (Town Record 1639).

Rowlinson's lot became the property of Jane Kenning, and at her decease, Theophilus Wilson and his wife, Elizabeth, sold to Samuel Graves, hatter, the dwelling and half acre of land "which was the house of Jane Kenning, lately deceased," near the meeting house, bounded by the house of John Knowlton on the southwest end and John Wyatts, northeast with Goodman Pritchett, who then owned the Sherrat lot, northwest, Dec. 1,

1654 (Ips. Deeds 1: 210). Graves sold to Anthony Potter, Jan. 26, 1673 (Ips. Deeds 4: 483), and in 1691, it was occupied by John Potter (deed of John Sparks, 12: 118). In 1723, it was the homestead of Aaron Potter (42: 166). Ebenezer Potter of Kensington sold an acre and a half with buildings to Thomas Pickard,¹ May 22, 1788 (148: 257).

He sold to John Hodgkins, Jr., Oct. 13, 1797 (162: 248). Hodgkins sold a half of this lot with house to Nath. Treadwell, 3d, innkeeper, Sept. 26, 1806 (179: 140), who kept an inn here for many years. He sold his tavern-house, barn, stables, etc., to Moses Treadwell, Feb. 9, 1818 (216: 13). It was owned later by Frederic Mitchell and then by William G. Brown, and, in its remodelled form, serves the public as the Agawan House.

"The northeast half of the Potter close so called," was conveyed by Joseph Manning to his brother Thomas, March 10, 1802 (170: 185). Thomas conveyed the north part of the lot to Wm. Oakes, "for Sarah F. Treadwell, a minor under 21," the balance being sold to Wm. Sutton, Nov. 7, 1835 (287: 281). Mr. Oakes sold the corner of Loney's Lane and North Main St. to Samuel Newman, and on the same day, he sold the other part of his lot, adjoining Mitchell's, to Wm. Pulcifer, Sept. 21, 1836 (293: 140). Elizabeth Boardman, widow, sold Josiah Caldwell, the north part of the brick building, Dec. 23, 1845 (362: 190), and Catherine Underhill and others conveyed land with brick and other buildings to Josiah Dudley and W. H. Kinsman, April 9, 1878 (995: 225).

Hugh Sherrat.

(Diagram 2.)

This house lot became the property of John Pritchett, as has been already mentioned in connection with the Covington lot. It was included in the Taverner Smith's lot, before 1717.

PINDER'S LANE.

Loney's Lane, as it has been called, but formerly Pinder's Lane, was originally an open thoroughfare which descended the hill back of the North Main Street lots. Seventy-two years ago, an old map shows a way that passed between the house of Charles W. Brown and Miss Lucy Slade Lord's and connected with this. But this was not of ancient date. Originally the old Pinder Lane crossed the present Central St. and led across the low land to the ancient Bridge street. Allusion to this has already been made in the notes on Capt. Beamsley Perkins, and two ancient maps made on that occasion are inserted here. While destitute of artistic merit, they define every house-lot and building of any importance, and give the name of owner or occupant, from Potter's house to the corner of Scott's Lane and Mineral St. The quaint reflection, "Had there been a little more room in this side,

¹Potter made a similar conveyance to Dr. Joseph Manning, Nov. 30, 1797, and Dr. Manning conveyed half to John Hodgkins Jr., May 27, 1799 (165: 52).

jointed as to keep out all creatures from doing any damage to the land of mine forever more", "a square piece out of my homestead $4\frac{1}{2}$ rods each way, bounded northeast by High St., southeast by Common St. leading Bostonwards." April 2, 1715 (27: 141).

Lovell sold the remaining acre and a half, with a dwelling to Stephen Perkins, shopkeeper, and James Brown, yeoman, in 1721, Oct. 5 (39: 61). The house lot abutted on High St. and on North Main St. as the Shannon lot included only the corner of his land. It was bounded southeast and southwest upon land of his brother, Alexander Lovell, "till it comes to land now in possession of Samuel Graves." Thomas and Alexander Lovell had previously sold Stephen Perkins, mariner, an acre and a half of mowing ground in the rear of the house lot, fronting on High St. (36: 209). Perkins and Brown divided the land. Brown retained the house and land on North Main St. Perkins had the quarter acre fronting on High St. and £80, Jan. 31, 1722 (39: 230). James Brown's estate fell to his heirs, Elizabeth, wife of Samuel Sawyer, Eunice, afterward wife of Timothy Thornton, Elizabeth, wife of Capt. Robert Perkins and Sarah. Sawyer and his wife quitclaimed to the others their right in the dwelling, March 12, 1760 (111: 94). He seems to have built a house on part of the lot, however, as he sold a half acre and dwelling to Ephraim Kendall, Nov. 26, 1771 (129: 215). This continued in the Kendall family until Mr. Harry K. Dodge bought the homestead of the widow Margaret S. Kendall, of her heirs, March 27, 1886. He tore down the old house and erected his present dwelling.

The other heirs of James Brown held the Town property in common until 1773, when Timothy Thornton, for Eunice his wife, petitioned for a division. The estate included a fifty acre farm in Candlewood, pasture lands, and two houses with a three quarter acre lot in the center of the Town. Captain Robert Perkins, in behalf of his wife, Elizabeth, and their minor children received one house, adjoining the Kendall estate, Feb. 1773 (131: 213). Benjamin Perkins of Eaton, N. H., sold the southwest half of the house, excepting such part as was set off to Sarah, the widow of Capt. Robert, to Thomas Kimball, who already was in possession of the other half, March 4, 1803 (172: 156). John Kimball and other heirs sold to Thomas Morley, June 7, 1854 (498: 40), and he, to James Damon, Aug. 5, 1866 (719: 1). Mr. Damon took down the old dwelling and built the house now owned by the heirs of Frederick Willcomb.

The other house, assigned to Timothy Thornton, was inherited by James Brown Thornton and Thomas G. Thornton. James sold his half, the northeast end, to John Hodgkins 3d, June 30, 1796 (164: 222). Thomas had already sold his half to Capt. Aaron Staniford, Jan. 31, 1791 (156: 242). Hodgkins sold a piece of land, bounded by the Street and Nathaniel Smith's garden, to Nathaniel Treadwell 3d, Feb. 8, 1799 (163: 272). His part of the house he sold to Benjamin Glazier, Oct. 18, 1800 (168: 46). The heirs of Capt. Staniford sold to Thomas Morley, June 20, 1845 (355: 298). He cut off his end of the long house, turned it end to the street and made it

into a separate dwelling on part of the land, adjoining the Damon estate. The Glazier house became the property of Albert P. Hills, and is used in part for the Hills' grocery.

On the lot, which Treadwell bought of Hodgkins, he seems to have built a store, as is evident from his deed of sale to Joseph Hale, March 5, 1799 (163: 272) although only a month after his purchase. The heirs of Joseph Hale sold the land, store and a house, to Ebenezer Burnham, Oct. 21, 1831 (271: 153). Ebenezer Burnham sold the same to another Joseph Hale, of a later generation, Oct. 18, 1851 (452: 63) and Hale sold to Sylvanus Caldwell, May 10, 1854 (513: 96). Other heirs of Sylvanus Caldwell conveyed their interest to their sister, Emeline Farley, wife of Nathaniel R. Farley, June 23, 1871 (831: 126). The dwelling was not built earlier than 1799.

The corner lot, sold by Lovell to Shannon, as we have seen, was sold by Shannon, then of Portsmouth, to Francis Clark of Salem, 74½ ft. on the highway, "leading from ye meeting-house up to ye dwelling house that was formerly Col. Francis Wainwright's, deceased, and now in tenure and occupation of Samuel Staniford," Sept. 27, 1716 (30: 178). Clark sold to Thomas Calton or Carleton Jr., of Salem, Oct. 8, 1726 (48: 155), who sold in turn to Richard Rogers, still 4½ rods on each street, Feb. 4, 1728 (51: 245). Capt. Rogers built a house, and made his home here until his death. The house still occupies the corner, but it stood originally on the line of the sidewalk, and nearly on the same level. An old time buffet or "bow fat," of very beautiful design, remains in the west front room. An execution for debt was made against the widow Rogers by Joseph Green and Isaac Walker of Boston, merchants, July 28, 1747 (91: 24). The lot is described as bounded northwest by Lovell's Close, and it is mentioned that Rogers occupied the house at the time of his death. Rev. Nathaniel Rogers, who owned and occupied the old Manse, now the property of Mr. John B. Brown, became the purchaser, Aug. 10, 1747 (97: 45). Mr. Rogers sold to Joseph How, April 16, 1759 (109: 250); How to Sarah Jewett, Jan. 5, 1762 (111: 65). Nathaniel Smith succeeded to the ownership, and his heirs.

This property was conveyed by Sarah Jane and Nancy M. Kent to Joseph Wait, and by him to Richard Dodge, Oct. 6, 1852. On Dec. 14, 1854, Manning Dodge sold Richard T. Dodge the smaller house on the same lot on High St.

HIGH STREET, WEST SIDE.

High Street was called High Street from ancient times. But it was also known as "ye Hill Street," the great Street, the broad Street, the long Street, and sometimes, as the King's highway. Beyond the burying ground, the name West-end was anciently used, and East-end for the eastern section. The former title has been lost but the latter is preserved in the name East Street. "Puddin Street," survives as an old nickname, derived from the mischievous fun of the High Street boys who stole a pudding from an oven, and kicked it as a foot-ball up and down the road.

William White.

(Diagram 2.)

White owned the corner, known familiarly as "Dodge's Corner." This lot has been considered already on North Main Street.

William Goodhue.

(Diagram 2.)

He received a grant of a house lot, next to William White. His name, however, has no further connection with the lot. It was included in part, at least, in the Lovell lot, already considered. The Lovells sold to Capt. Stephen Perkins, an acre and a half of mowing ground on High Street. The Perkins heirs sold "Lovell's Lot," one and a half acres to Col. Thomas Berry, the Autocrat of his time, Magistrate, Military leader, Physician and Statesman. He lived on the site of the late Joseph Ross's residence. He bought this lot, Oct. 10, 1741 (102: 287), and his widow, Elizabeth, sold it Jan. 2, 1764 (113: 91) to Daniel Lord. Nathaniel Lord came into possession. Nathaniel Smith acquired part of this original lot, by purchase from Daniel Rogers, a quarter acre, Oct. 9, 1790 (153: 259), which he sold to his son, Dr. Nathaniel, Nov. 1803 (172: 275). Mark R. Jewett sold an acre and an eighth of acre to William Oakes, the famous naturalist, who owned and occupied the present Rectory, Jan. 20, 1832 (266: 253). It was purchased by Mr. Joseph Ross, who built the residence owned and occupied by his son, Joseph F. Ross. The remainder of this lot was owned by Dr. John Manning, then by Dr. Thomas Manning, then by Joseph Manning, of Charleston, South Carolina. Joseph E. Manning of Boston sold one half of the "Hay Scale Lot," the northwest half, to Joseph Ross, Sept. 10, 1856 (538: 59), and the other half to James H. Staniford, May 24, 1858 (571: 49), who sold to Mr. Ross, Sept. 13, 1859 (596: 15). On this the residence of his son, Frederick G. Ross, was built and the small office building.

Solomon Martin and John Hassell.

(Diagram 2.)

Martin may have acquired the lot granted to William Goodhue, but no record of the sale of Goodhue's lot is preserved. Definite location of Martin's lot, is made, however, by his deed of sale of the house lot, "wherein George Palmer and wife now dwell," the house and lot of John Hassell northwest, the land and house of Thomas Lovell southeast, to Thomas Lovell, May 7, 1652 (Ips. Deeds 1: 117). Martin was then a resident of Andover. John Hassell was the original grantee of his lot. It was acquired by Philip Fowler, who sold Roger Darby, "sope-boyley" his dwelling and two acres, on the "south side of the Street, commonly called Hill St.," bounded by John Brown's house lot on the west, Jan. 16, 1672 (Ips. Deeds 4: 74). The Darbys or Derbys were Quakers, much persecuted for their faith. They removed to Salem and sold their estate to William Stewart, March 25, 1692 (Ips. Deeds 5: 492). William Payne of Boston, and Elizabeth, his wife, only daughter and heir of Wm. Stewart, sold to





Rev. Jabez Fitch, the Pastor of the First Church, July 7, 1704 (17: 34). Mr. Fitch increased his frontage by a rod on the back side of the house, bought of Francis Young, his neighbor on that side, May 5, 1708 (26: 268). He also purchased the Solomon Martin lot of the Lovells, Dec. 28, 1719 (36: 202). When he removed to Portsmouth, he sold his property here to Job Harris, Nov. 22, 1727 (46: 151), a house and two and three quarters acres, bounded east on Stephen Perkins. Harris sold 18 rods in the corner of the estate with the house to Caleb and Daniel Lord, March 25, 1751 (120: 41), and it still remains in that family. The house stands on the north corner of High and Manning Streets.

Job Harris sold his son John, the southern half of his dwelling, Jan. 6, 1770 (129: 29). This was the old house, now known as the Jacob Manning house on the corner of Manning St., and was probably erected by Harris before 1751, when he sold the older mansion to the Lords. At their father's death, John received this house and the western half of the land, and James, his brother, the eastern part, April 4, 1772 (131: 124). John Harris sold his land (two acres) and house to the Town, July 10, 1795 (166: 106). It was occupied as the Town Poor House, until the Poor Farm was purchased. The Town then sold the "work house" and land to Jacob Manning Jr., May 10, 1818 (224: 176), and the long, yellow house is known still by his name. He built the house between the work house and Mr. George A. Lord's.

The James Harris homestead, built about 1772, was sold by his heirs to Thomas Staniford Ross, May 15, 1826 (241: 227) and by him to his father Thomas Ross, Jan. 29, 1830 (254: 274). It was then owned by Aaron P. Ross, who sold Mr. George Augustus Lord, the land on which he built his residence, May 2, 1857 (551: 229). The remainder of the estate with the old house, was purchased by Mr. William S. Russell, who removed the James Harris homestead and built his new house on the site. These houses probably occupy the original lot, sold by Martin to Lovell. The ancient house, sold to Deacon Caleb Lord is probably the same that was owned by Mr. Fitch, and by the Stewarts as well, and it may have been built by Philip Fowler, or by John Hassell, the original grantee. In any case Mr. and Mrs. Stewart, whether they were dwelling here before they purchased, or elsewhere, were favored with a visit from John Dunton, the book-peddler, who came to Ipswich in the course of his saddle-bag peregrinations, in 1685 or 1686. The gossipy letter, he wrote his wife, affords a rare glimpse of an old Ipswich home, and a complimentary description of the personal appearance of his entertainers.

"My Landlady, Mrs. Wilkins, having a sister at Ipswich which she had not seen for a great while, Mrs. Comfort, her daughter (a young gentlewoman equally happy in the perfections both of her body and mind), had a great desire to see her aunt, having never been at her house, nor in that part of the country; which Philaret having a desire to see, and being never backward to accomodate the Fair Sex, profers his service to wait upon her thither, which was readily accepted by the young lady, who felt herself

safe under his protection. Nor were her parents less willing to trust her with him. All things being ready for our ramble, I took my fair one up behind me and rid on our way, I and my Fair Fellow Traveller to Mr. Stewart's whose wife was Mrs. Comfort's own Aunt: whose Joy to see her Niece at Ipswich was sufficiently Expressed by the Noble Reception we met with and the Treatment we found there; which far outdid whate'er we could have thought. And tho myself was but a stranger to them, yet the extraordinary civility and respect they shewed me, gave me reason enough to think I was very welcome. It was late when we came thither, and we were both very weary, which yet would not excuse us from the trouble of a very splendid supper, before I was permitted to go to bed; which was got ready in so short a time as would have made us think, had we not known the contrary, that it had been ready provided against we came. Though our supper was extraordinary yet I had so great a desire to go to bed, as made it to me a troublesome piece of kindness. But this being happily over, I took my leave of my Fellow Traveller, and was conducted to my apartment by Mrs. Stewart herself, whose character I shant attempt to-night, being so weary, but reserve till to-morrow morning. Only I must let you know that my apartment was so noble and the furniture so suitable to it, that I doubt not but even the King himself has oftentimes been contented with a worsers lodging.

"Having reposed myself all night upon a bed of Down, I slept so very soundly that the Sun, who lay not on so soft a bed as I, had got the start of me, and risen before me; but was so kind however as to make me one of his first visits, and to give me the *BON JOUR*; on which I straight got up and dressed myself, having a mind to look about me and see where I was: and having took a view of Ipswich, I found it to be situated by a river, whose first rise from a Lake or Pond was twenty miles up, breaking of its course through a hideous swamp for many miles, a harbor for bears; it issueth forth into a large bay, where they fish for whales, due East over against the Island of Sholes, a great place for fishing. The mouth of that river is barred. It is a good haven town. Their Meeting House or church is built very beautifully. There is a store of orchards and gardens about it, and good land for Cattel and husbandry.

"But I remember I promised to give you Mrs. Stewards Character, & if I hadn't yet, gratitude and justice would exact it of me. Her stature is of a middle size, fit for a woman. Her face is still the magazine of beauty, whence she may fetch artillery enough to Wound a thousand lovers; and when she was about 18, perhaps there never was a face more sweet and charming—nor could it well be otherwise, since now at 33, all you call sweet and ravishing is in her Face; which it is as great a Pleasure to behold as a perpetual sunshine without any clouds at all; and yet all this sweetness is joined with such attractive vertue as draws all to a certain distance and there detains them with reverence and admiration, none ever daring to approach her nigher, or having power to go farther off. She's so obliging, courteous and civil as if those qualities were only born with her, and rested

in her bosom as their centre. Her speech and her Behaviour is so gentle, sweet and affable, that whatsoever men may talk of magick therein none charms but she. So good a wife she is, she frames her nature to her husband's: the hyacinth follows not the Sun more willingly, than she her husband's pleasure. Her household is her charge. Her care to that makes her but seldom a non-resident. Her pride is to be neat and cleanly, and her thirst not to be Prodigal. And to conclude is both wise and religious, which makes her all I have said before.

"In the next place I suppose yourself will think it reasonable that unto Mrs. Stewards I should add her husband's Character: whose worth and goodness do well merit. As to his stature tis inclining to tall: and as to his aspect, if all the lineaments of a sincere and honest hearted man were lost out of the world, they might be all retrieved by looking on his face. He's one whose bounty is limited by reason, not by ostentation; and to make it last he deals discreetly; as we sowe our land not by the sack but by the handful. He is so sincere and upright that his word and his meaning never shake hands and part, but always go together. His mind is always so serene that that thunder but rocks him asleep which breaks other men's slumbers. His thoughts have an aim as high as heaven, tho their residence be in the Valley of an humble heart. He is not much given to talk, tho he knows how to do it as well as any man. He loves his friend, and will do anything for him except it be to wink at his faults, of which he will be always a severe reprovcr. He is so good a husband that he is worthy of the wife he enjoys, and would even make a bad wife good by his example.

"Ipswich is a country town not very large, and when a stranger arrives, tis quickly known to every one. It is no wonder then that the next day after our arrival the news of it was carried to Mr. Hubbard, the Minister of the town, who hearing that I was the person that had brought over a great Venture of Learning, did me the honor of making me a visit at Mr. Steward's, where I lay, and afterwards kindly invited me and my fellow traveller to his own house, where he was pleased to give us very handsome entertainment. His writing of the History of Indian Warrs shews him to be a person of good parts and understanding. He is a sober, grave and well accomplished man—a good preacher (as all the town affirm, for I didn't hear him) and one that lives according to his preaching.

"The next day I was for another ramble in which Mr. Steward was pleas'd to accompany me. And the place we went to was a town call'd Rowley, lying six miles North-East from Ipswich, where most of the Inhabitants had been Clothiers. There was that Day a great Game of Foot Ball to be playd, which was the occasion of our going thither: There was another Town that playd against them, as is sometimes Common in England: but they played with their bare feet which I thought was very odd: but was upon a broad Sandy Shoar free from Stones, which made it more easie. Neither were they so apt to trip up one anothers heels, and quarrel as I have seen em in England."

William Cartwright.

(Diagram 2.)

Cartwright was the original grantee, apparently, of the lot which Thomas Bridgen of Charlestown, cooper, sold, with a house, to John Woodam, bricklayer, in 1659 (Ips. Deeds 1: 224). Woodam sold to John Brown, in 1663 (Ips. Deeds 2: 194). Brown sold Thomas Lull the northeast part of his lot and Robert Paine, the northwest, March 20, 1674-5 (Ips. Deeds 3: 335), and Paine sold his holding to Lull, Aug. 31, 1677 (Ips. Deeds 4: 111). Lull sold the lot to Robert Lord, March 15, 1677 (Ips. Deeds 4: 165), who bequeathed it to his son, Nathaniel (1683 Pro. Rec. 304: 16-18). Francis Young was the owner, in Mr. Fitch's time, as we have seen, and Young conveyed this and other property to his son-in-law, John Knowlton, June 15, 1713 (35: 106). The widow, Rebecca Knowlton, owned in 1721 (39: 100) and Nathaniel Lord, by his will made in 1818, bequeathed the east end of his dwelling to his widow, and the west end to his son, Nathaniel Lord 3d (Pro. Rec. 393: 37). Heirs of the family still own it. The adjoining house on the west is built on a part of the original estate.

Philip Call.

(Diagram 2.)

Philip Call owned a house on this lot in 1659, and, by the deed of Woodam to Brown of the adjoining lot, in 1663, he was still in possession. Brown's deed of the abutting lot to Paine, gives the owner of this lot as Philip Call's widow, Mary, then the wife of Henry Bennet. Nathaniel Lord sold this lot to his son-in-law, Joseph Bolles, March 29, 1710 (26: 176). Bolles also bought of Joseph Fowler, owner of the abutting lot, a house and an acre of land, March 5, 1722 (42: 79). Charles Bolles sold his grandson, John Manning 3d, surgeon, an acre and house, bounded by Nathaniel Lord east, and Capt. Ebenezer Lord west, the estate of his deceased father, Jan. 16, 1786 (161: 55). Dr. Manning sold the western part of the lot with a house, that he probably built, to Daniel Lord 3d, April 23, 1798 (163: 117), and the heirs of Lord sold to Abraham Caldwell, whose heirs still own the property. Dr. Manning sold the eastern part and house to Ammi R. Smith, April 25, 1798 (163: 117). Smith bought a small piece of Nathaniel Lord 3d on the east of his lot, Dec. 9, 1820 (225: 219). Abby H. Smith, the executor of Samuel R. Smith sold this estate to John G. Caldwell, being the same conveyed to him by Zenas Cushing in 1850, July 25, 1876 (958: 194). The Caldwell heirs still own.

Henry Archer.

(Diagram 2.)

Henry Archer seems to have been the original grantee of the lot, which John Andrews sold to Mr. Richard Dummer, a house and house lot of about an acre, with three acres more of pasture land adjoining, "which said house and land is situate, lying and being in Hill St. . . . called by the

name of the White Horse," land of Richard Wattles, northwest, house and land of Philip Call, southeast, May 14, 1659 (Ips. Deeds 1: 231). The White Horse inn was the occasion of much contention among the good people of the town. Corporal John Andrews offended the sensibilities of his neighbors by keeping open doors or open bar until past nine o'clock, encouraging young men in devious ways. A petition of protest against the renewal of his license was presented to the Court, and his license was renewed only "until Salem Court." At the Court in Salem in June, 1658, a second petition from the citizens was filed.

"The Court having considered of the petetion of many of the Inhabitants of Ipswich, with one formerly presented to ye Court at Ipswich, together with y^e complaint and information of divers strangers for want of needfull and convenient acomodation and entertaynment at the other ordinarye and the intymation of the selectmen of the need of two in that town, have thought meet to license Corporal Andrews to keepe an ordinary for the entertaynment of strangers only till the next Court at Ipswich, and not longer, provided that the Inhabitants doe at the sayd Court present some meet pson to keepe an ordinary their wch will accept of the same and the Court shall approve off, only he hath liberty in that tyme to sell wyne and beere to townsman out of dores."

Deacon Moses Pengry was nominated as a suitable person, and received his license on Sept. 7, 1658, and Andrews was permitted to continue his ordinary until the following March. The Corporal proved to be a stubborn and refractory character. The Court Record of April 28, 1659, reveals his misdeeds.

"Corporal John Andrews for several misdemeanors complayned of to this Court viz. for selling wine by retail without license upon pretence selling by the gallon and three gallons, and yet drawing it by the pint and quarte, and for entertayning Townsmen at unseasonable tymes, as after nine of the clock, and for entertayning men's sonn's and entertayning strangers as an ordinary and this after prohibition of the Court to keepe an ordinary. The sentence of the Court is that he is fined 20^{lb} and to bound to his good behavior till the next Court held at Ipswich."

Another charge was brought against him on the same docket, on which he was also sentenced.

"Corporal John Andrews stands bound to ye Treserer of this County in the sum of fiftye pound upon condition the sayd John Andrews shall appeare at the next Court held at Ipswich to answer to what shall be objected against him about a vehement suspicion of severall misdemeanors and facts as pulling down the signe of Moses Pengry and his gate and Mr. Browne his gate and dore and Lieut. Sam. Appleton his gate."

The petition which is reproduced is evidently the second one, which was presented on June 4, 1658, at the Salem Court. It was found by Mr. Daniel Fuller Appleton in an Antiquary's store in New York City and presented by him to the Historical Society.

The humble peticon of sundry of y^e Inhabitants of y^e Towne of Ipswich whose names

are subscribed

Sheweth

That whereas at y^e last Court held at Ipswich, there was presented to [] Hon^d Court, a serious and earnest request upon weighty grounds for removin and suppressing one of y^e Ordinaries, found to be many wayes prejudiciall [] good of the place which peticon found such acceptance with this Hon. [] as they where pleased to grant and continue no longer leave and liberty for [] continuance of y^e said Ordinary, then to this next Court at Salem. We are emboldened and encouraged (the causes of our greivances still continuing and increasing) to entreat this Hond Court to recall and review our former request and supplications tenderd to them in y^t particular. And according to our hopes then conceived, no longer to continue or grant any license for upholding and keeping y^e same ordinary. Which we verily believe will be an affectual meanes for y^e remooving of much sin and evill and minister cause of joy and thanksgiving to many of gods people, amongst us.

Samuell Appleton Sen^r

Marke Simonds

Tho Smith

John Appleton

Samuell Appleton

William Adams Sen.

Edward Chapman?

Robert Payne

John Whipple Senior

William Goodhue

Moses Pengry

Richard Kimball Sen.

William Bartholomew

Ezekiel Cheever

Anthony Potter

Reginold Foster

Thomas Nowlton?

Jacob Perkins

John Warner

Edward Thomas

Edward Browne

Robert Day

William Adams Jun.

Daniel Warner

Mathew Whipple

Tho. Stace

John Adams

Andrews sold his establishment, and John Paine was in possession in 1671, by the deed of the adjoining property and Philip Fowler in 1678. Philip sold his son, Joseph, his dwelling house, barns, shop and orchard, "which I have owned since 1677," extending to the ditch that parted from Philip's land, April 2, 1715 (27: 132), and Joseph Fowler sold to Jeremiah Lord, Jan. 7, 1723, 74 rods, the rest of the original lot that remained after his sale to Joseph Bolles (43: 106). Jeremiah Lord sold the east half of his

The humble petition of the petitioners
 sheweth that the petitioners
 are the petitioners

Sheweth

That whereas at a last Court held at Ipswich there was presented to the
 Court a petition & request upon weighty grounds for remission
 & suppressing one of y^e Ordinaries found to be many wayes good & well
 for the place which petition found such acceptance with this Hon^{le}
 as they were pleased to grant & continue no longer than y^e liberty for
 continuance of y^e said Ordinary, than at this next Court is done. We
 are indebted & encouraged (the more our grateful and continuing &
 increasing) to intrust this Hon^{le} Court to recall & revive our former
 requests & applications tendered to them in y^e particular. And according
 to our hopes then conceived, no longer to continue or grant any licence
 for upholding & keeping y^e same Ordinary. Which we truly conceive will
 be an effectfull means for y^e remission of much sin & evil ~~to~~
 & minister cause of joy & thanksgiving to many of Gods people, amongst us.

Samuel Aygleton for

made good

Robert Payne

John Smith

John Drayton

John Whipple

Samuel Aygleton

William Goodwin

William Adams

John Adams

Richard

Richard & Thomas

William Hartshorn

Ezekiel Cheever

Anthony Potter

William Popple

Thomas Handcock

John

John

John

John

Robert Day

William Adams

Samuel

William

William

John

John

John



dwelling to his son, Jeremiah Jr., May 30, 1757 (121: 22). He enlarged his lot by the purchase of 2 rods 10 ft. front of the Wm. Caldwell estate, adjoining on the southwest, July 11, 1763 (124: 1). He inherited the remainder probably, and was succeeded by his son, Ebenezer Lord, 1771 (Pro. Rec. 347: 153). Another Ebenezer inherited and Luther, son of Ebenezer, whose heirs still own.

Richard Wattles.

(Diagram 2.)

Richard Wattles was the earliest owner, of whom there is record, of the next lot, northwest. He is mentioned in a deed of the adjoining property in 1653, and sold in 1663, his house and an acre of land "in the Hill St." to Henry Russell of Marblehead, April 18 (Ips. Deeds 2: 149). Russell, "sope-boyley," sold to Margaret Bishop, Oct. 13, 1671 (Ips. Deeds 3: 301) and Margaret, and her son, Samuel, joint executors of Thomas Bishop, sold to Thomas Lull, March 14, 1678 (Ips. Deeds 4: 140). Wm. Caldwell married a daughter of Lull, and after Lull's decease, his daughter Elizabeth, wife of William Herbert, sold Caldwell, her brother-in-law, half the homestead, bounded northwest by John Holland, Nov. 21, 1733 (Family Deeds), and on July 10, 1753, Elizabeth Herbert, then a widow, conveyed to him the balance, then bounded northwest by Daniel Ringe. The estate was inherited by Benjamin, son of Wm. who sold his son, Nathaniel, one half of the property, Jan. 28, 1805 (Family Deeds). Nathaniel inherited the remainder of the property, and it is now owned by his heirs.

Richard Bidgood.

(Diagram 2.)

Two acres here were owned originally by Richard Bidgood, then by Robert Paine and John Whipple. They sold a house and land to Mr. Wm. Norton, and he sold to William English of Boston, shoemaker, Dec. 9, 1653 (Ips. Deeds 5: 41). Bonest Norton sold to Thomas Lull, the house and land given him by his father, Wm. Norton, deceased, April 9, 1695 (11: 121). Lull conveyed it to John Holland, May 22, 1708 (23: 9). John Holland, son of John, sold the east half of the estate of his father, abutting on Caldwell, to Daniel Ringe, "and ye house as it is now finisht standing there." Nov. 6, 1742 (84: 201). John Holland and George Newman, the executors of the will of their mother Elizabeth, sold Ringe the other half of the property, with a house, Jan. 31, 1743 (86: 31). The language of the deeds seems to imply that the house sold in 1742 was just completed at that time, while the other was the original homestead. Daniel Ringe sold the northwest corner to his son John, beginning at the south corner of his land, where his shop stands (he was a chaise maker), Oct. 19, 1793 (168: 12). The widow Ringe, who died about a century ago, gave a homestead to her son, and daughter, Anna, wife of Elisha Newman. It is said that they built the house still known as the Ringe house. Nathaniel Caldwell married the daughter of Elisha Newman, who became heir of half the

Paine's land, Feb. 26, 1668 (Ips. Deeds 3: 153). This deed is of especial interest, showing that at that period the thoroughfare variously known as Scott's Lane or Bridge Lane or Mill St. reached only a little beyond the corner of the present Mineral St. Mr. Hubbard transferred the property, containing eight acres, with house, "barns, stables, sellers, out houses etc." on the 16th of the following February 1668-9 to John Perkins (Ips. Deeds 3: 126). Perkins sold his son Samuel half an acre, on Baker's Lane, with John Day's lot on the south; the lot alluded to as occupied once by the widow Rofe, May 14, 1679 (Ips. Deeds 4: 285); and to Samuel Moses a small lot, 2 rods 4 ft. wide, 5 rods 4 ft. deep, abutting on High St. and the Marshall Robert Lord's land, Nov. 20, 1682 (Ips. Deeds 5: 176). Moses built a house, which he mortgaged to Mr. Joseph Bridgham of Boston, March 16, 1685 (Ips. Deeds 5: 186). John Allen Jr., of Marblehead sold this house and the quarter acre of land, "formerly Samuel Moses late of Ipswich" "in ye long street so called" bounded by land of Mr. Abraham Perkins to Edward Eveleth, Nov. 15, 1708 (21: 19) and Eveleth sold to Jonas Clay, March 14, 1716 (36: 165). Clay sold to Mager or Major Gould, an acre of land and a house, Feb. 7, 1729 (61: 92). Mager Gould Jr. bought the northeast end on April 22, 1755 (104: 4) and inherited the remainder and it continued in the Gould ownership until Elizabeth Holland, alias Gage, sold to Abigail, wife of Frederic Porter, May 18, 1821 (277: 29). She quitclaimed her right in the dwelling of her late brother, Daniel Gould, as conveyed by his will. This estate is now occupied by John Dudley Harris, though the residence is modern.

Abraham Perkins sold his son, Stephen, a house and three acres on the corner of Scott's Lane and the present Liberty Street, bounded by the land of Mrs. Hannah Perkins, widow, March 13, 1721-2 (40: 18). John Perkins, brother of Stephen, sold him the house and three acres, fronting on High St. "now occupied by Hon. mother, Mrs. Hannah Perkins," Feb. 2, 1722 (41: 25). Doctor John Perkins inherited the estate and his executor sold to Michael Farley, tanner, a two acre lot, on April 2, 1760 (109: 181). Scott's lane was the southwest bound. The John Day lot was then owned by Richard Farrin. The original Marshall Lord property was then owned by Samuel Lord 3d, of the same family line. Elizabeth Lowater, daughter of Capt. Stephen Perkins, and Daniel Giddings held some of the original Perkins land. Stephen Lowater, son of Elizabeth (Perkins) Lowater, sold three acres with a house adjoining the Gould property to Samuel, James and Nathaniel Foster of Boston, Jan. 28, 1788 (147: 120). They were already owners, probably by inheritance, of the balance of the Perkins property, some three acres, and they conveyed the whole estate, six and one half acres with buildings, to John Harris, July 7, 1795 (164: 236). Col. Nathaniel Harris inherited a portion. He acquired the Gould property as well and occupied the old house, which was burned about 1858, when a fireswept off a number of buildings in this neighborhood. Nathaniel Harris sold two acres with buildings on the west of his homestead to Edward Harris (May 14, 1816) (209: 159), who had already purchased a small

piece from Lakeman adjoining. Edward sold two and a quarter acres with buildings as the deed says, "set off to him from his father John Harris's estate," to Mark R. Jewett, March 5, 1833 (269: 76) whose heirs are still in possession.

Mark Symonds.

(Diagram 2.)

The remainder of the land in this square was owned originally by Mark Symonds. His executor, John Aires, sold a house and three acres, to Edward Chapman, son in law of Symonds, Nov. 24, 1659 (Ips. Deeds 3: 351). Chapman sold his son, John, a house and 10 rods on the corner, bounded by his land on two sides, Sept. 1677 (Ips. Deeds 4: 153). Samuel Chapman acquired the balance of the estate. Samuel sold an acre on the northeast side to his neighbor, Abraham Perkins, to enlarge his property, June 23, 1687 (7: 152); an acre and house, fronting on the Street, to Samuel Wood, Dec. 2, 1687 (12: 119); and an acre and a quarter of land in the rear, to Thomas Lull Jr., Dec. 6, 1687 (8: 100). John Chapman sold his corner and house, his land increased now to 40 rods, to Caleb and John Kimball, April 6, 1719 (36: 22) and they sold the same to John Wood, on April 8, 1719 (35: 156). By this purchase John became next neighbor to his father, Samuel Wood, and inherited his property (50: 253). John Wood's widow, Martha, was allotted the northeast part of his estate, bounded by the Capt. Stephen Perkins' land, and measuring $4\frac{1}{2}$ rods on High St., Nov. 19, 1752 (Pro. Rec. 331: 126). Retire Bacon and his wife Margaret acquired possession, and sold a house and one and a half acres, the whole of the John Wood estate probably, to Isaac Martin, Aug. 7, 1765 (117: 29). Martin sold to John Lakeman, Oct. 31, 1765 (126: 43), the northeast corner of the property abutting on Nathaniel Foster, and another piece on April 19, 1773 (160: 159). It was owned by Nathaniel Lord, and by his son, Abraham, and the northwest part is still in possession of his heirs.

The triangular plot, now owned and occupied by Mr. Thomas H. Lord, affords an interesting study. Up to this point, we have seen that the lands had been granted in small lots, at the beginning of the settlement. But in this locality, a considerable tract between the Aaron Lord property and the corner occupied by the Burnham grocery was still unimproved. On May 19, 1687, the Town granted Francis Young, about 16 ft. of land in breadth from the stone wall, against Samuel Chapman's land, and 26 ft. long to set a cattle barn on etc. He had already built a house, it would seem, and on Jan. 19, 1693/4, he was granted a small piece, near his house, bordering on Lamberds, southeast to Thomas Lull, and on Jan. 15, 1694-5, the Town gave a clear title to the squatter, some 15 rods of Town Common, part of which he had taken and inclosed by his house, and now bounded southeast by Samuel Wood's land, and southwest by a narrow piece of land lately sold Thomas Lull Jr. Lull had bought an acre and a quarter and 29 rods of Samuel Chapman, as has been mentioned, and this probably included in part what is now Central St. and the Erastus Clark property etc. A cellar was discovered when Mr. Clark erected

his buildings which belonged probably to Lull's house. The Town had granted him a small piece bordering on "Lamberds" southeast in Aug. 1693. Nathaniel Lord, Thomas Safford and Thomas Lull representing the proprietors, sold Lull, Jr., "a certain corner of land, known by the name of Lamberd's corner, in the South part of Turkey Hill Eighth and ye Eighth next Rowley half an acre & 32 rods, bounded northeast upon Thomas Lull Jr.'s land, southeast Capt. Stephen Perkins land, west and northwest upon y^e highway, being 10 rods $\frac{1}{2}$ wide at y^e northeast end and 2 rods wide at southwest end," Dec. 27, 1726 (75: 128). This included the land on the east side of the present Liberty St. apparently, and was still included in the divisions into which the Common lands had been divided.

Young's son-in-law, John Knowlton, Jr., took the property, having assumed his father-in-law's debts, June 15, 1713 (35: 106). His widow, Rebecca, sold to Joseph Smith, Jan. 10, 1719-20 (37: 118). Smith exchanged this for another property with Nathaniel Knowlton, now 20 rods, bounded north and northwest by the County Road and the way to Thomas Lull's, by land of Thomas Lull's south, and Samuel Wood's land southeast, Sept. 25, 1724 (51: 135). Encroachments were made so easily that five rods could have been added by setting out his bounds. Knowlton sold the house and 20 rods to Daniel Choate, Nov. 5, 1728 (51: 136). Daniel Choate, a son perhaps of the former Daniel, conveyed the southeast half of his homestead to his daughter, Mary Choate Feb. 10, 1808 (187: 25).

This deed mentions for the first time the road that now separates this property from the Aaron Lord property, and it defines the bounds as about 6 rods on this way. It must have been a mere cart-path, however for in the division of Abraham Lord's estate in 1808, it is bounded northwest by Daniel Choate. Mary Choate received the rest, and sold the whole to Robert Stone, March 29, 1822 (237: 27). His mortgagee, Moses Shatswell, sold to Asa Lord, March 29, 1826 (241: 160). Mr. Lord enlarged the buildings to their present form.

The spot now occupied by the Payne School house is remembered by our old citizens as a knoll or small hill, on which a small house stood, near the front fence of the school yard. This was also part of the Common land and was granted to Aaron Day. John and Lucy Lefavour of Marblehead, heirs of Day presumably, sold William Lakeman, Jr., "a certain piece of land granted to Aaron Day, cabinet-maker, by the commoners, with a small dwelling, being at the southwest corner of the Town's land of Little Hill, so called, thence running southwest to Scott's Lane, to the road leading to Linebrook Parish, thence about 7 rods northwest on the road leading to Linebrook, then northeast on the back lane to the Town land first mentioned," Jan. 1796 (160: 159). It was Gander Hill, in later years, and the reason of this name may be found in the title "Goose Pasture," of a piece of pastureland on the other side of Boxford road, in the inventory of John Wood's estate. The committee of the proprietors of the "Turkey Hill Eight and ye Eight next Rowley," sold Wood for £11, a three quarter acre lot, which may be included in the field used as a ball-

ground, now owned by Mr. Thomas H. Lord, "the Highway to be left full 2 rods and a half wide from y^e proprietor's fence as it now stands," May 21, 1736 (75: 208). The school house stood near the present Hose House sixty years ago, and was moved to the present spot and enlarged after the Hill had been levelled.

John Brewer.

(Diagram 2.)

From the corner, now occupied by Mr. Nathaniel Burnham's grocery, to the railroad crossing, lots were assigned and houses built at the beginning of the settlement. This corner was known as early as 1728, and probably much before, as Brewer's Corner. In Feb. 1662, the constables were "ordered to pay John Brewer 20s. for charges he is out about building the fort," and on Oct. 2, 1683, John Bruer was chosen Town Clerk and instructed to copy the two old Town Books (Town Records). In 1728, the Town granted "the first or Town Parish" "the land lying and being between Bruer's Corner, and the dwelling house of Thomas Lull, so as not to obstruct and hinder a good high-way."¹ The Brewer house lot was of goodly size, and Mr. Brewer sold it in several pieces. To Daniel Low, he sold a quarter of an acre on the corner, with a dwelling, and the land on Boxford road extended to the ditch that drains the lands, June 13, 1717 (32: 237). A lot on the northwest side, abutting on "the widdow Setchwell," and bounded by the County Road northeast and the "County Road leading to Topsfield or however otherwise," he sold to Capt. Stephen Perkins at about the same time (32: 172). Francis Sawyer was in possession of the intervening tract in 1734, and he may have bought it when the others made their purchases. Sawyer and his wife, Susanna, being administratrix of Daniel Low, mariner, sold the Low homestead on the corner to Samuel Williams, saddler, on Dec. 5, 1743 (89: 142). It came later into the hands of Nathaniel Hart. The executors of Sarah Hart sold to Hannah Goodhue, widow, the east part of the present dwelling, June 10, 1805 (177: 44) and Isaac Kimball sold the western end to Jonathan Haskell, with a quarter acre, Jan. 11, 1817 (238: 236). These owners are still remembered. The house is of venerable age, but it is doubtful if it is the original Brewer house.

The middle part of the Brewer lot came into Francis Sawyer's possession, we have said. The executors of Capt. Perkins sold him their interest in the third division, abutting on the Shatswell property, June 27, 1734 (81: 257). Sawyer sold Moses Lord, chair-maker and turner, "a certain messuage near a place called Bryer's Corner, from Nathaniel Hart's land by the County Road, 4 rods 7½ ft.," to Shatswell's line, Nov. 3, 1757 (113: 206) and on Dec. 21, 1770, he sold Lord the rear land, which was not included in the earlier sale (128: 189). Lord built the ancient house

¹The Parish still owns a pasture in the rear of the house-lots near the railroad track, but it does not correspond to this description. It may be that this grant was exchanged for the one still owned.

that still stands, probably about the year 1757. It was owned later by his sons Jacob and Moses, and Jacob sold his interest to his brother, July 21, 1818 (217: 255). It was owned at a later date by John Lane. Some time later than 1770 part of this homestead was sold to Joseph Smith, and his house was built between the Moses Lord and Shatswell houses. It disappeared many years ago.

John Shatswell.

(Diagram 2.)

John Shatswell was one of the earliest grantees, and under date, April 20, 1635, he is mentioned as owning six acres of ground, where his house is built, between Mr. Wade's house lot east and Mr. Firman's on the west, Goodman Webster's lot, northeast. I cannot identify this with the present Shatswell location. This early grant was on the north side of the highway wherever it was, and if another house lot bounded it on the northeast it could not be located on High St. as the lots on the other side of the highway are on the hill side. On the 21 May, 1685, John Day bought one and a half acres and the line was laid, "from said Daye's fence corner by his brick house," near Mr. Tuttle's and Richard Shatswell's. The Day lot, which still shows the refuse bricks of an ancient brickyard, is probably included in the western part of Mr. John Cogswell's pasture on the Linebrook road. It touched on the land of Shatswell and Tuttle. Shatswell may have been in possession many years at this time. The estate was divided between the sons John and Richard in 1695, and it was bounded by Brewer's land east and Mrs. Tuttle's west (24: 40). Its later history is given under that of the adjoining lot.

Simon Tuttle.

(Diagram 2.)

The lot, called Mrs. Tuttle's, adjoining Shatswell on the west was sold by "Stephen Minot of Boston, Stephen Minot, Jr., son of Stephen by Sarah, his wife late deceased, eldest daughter of Francis Wainwright deceased, and Samuel Waldo of Boston and Lucy his wife, youngest daughter of Francis Wainwright," being "the house and land 2 acres, inherited from Simon Tuttle," to Francis Goodhue, Dec. 6, 1732 (66: 255). Goodhue sold it to Joseph Fowler, Feb. 19, 1745 (94: 247) and the heirs of Fowler sold an acre and a half, probably the whole of the same lot, to Nathaniel and Moses Shatswell, March 25, 1807 (236: 309). It is still owned by the Shatswell heirs. The east end of the house was sold to Capt. John Lord, in 1824. The family tradition is that the original house was burned. When Capt. John, great grandfather of the John and Nathaniel of today, was to be married, the western end was built, and the three families, who then occupied it, made common use of the single long and narrow kitchen, with its one capacious fireplace. In later years, the three houses on the west have been built on the Shatswell land.

The neighboring Fowler property has been a family inheritance for generations. It was originally in the Tuttle family, and Simon Tuttle sold a house and one and three quarter acres to Joseph Fowler, carpenter, June 30, 1720 (39: 118). He bought the adjoining land in 1745, and for more than sixty years, both estates remained in the Fowler family. The original lot, bought in 1720, still belongs to the Fowler heirs. The original trade of the Fowlers was tanning, and it is said that some of the old vats were found many years ago on the lower end of this lot. The gambrel roofed house, now on the spot, old "Sir" Smith used to say, was moved from Mineral Street to this spot, perhaps a century ago.

John Cooley.

(Diagram 2.)

The two venerable houses beyond the Fowler location are on the ancient house lot of John Cooley, who was in possession in 1638. Richard Kimball, then of Wenham, sold to Caleb Kimball, the house, late John Cooley's, deceased, bounded by Simon Tuttle southeast, Robert Day southwest, Thomas Smith northwest and the Street, southeast (by error for northeast) in 1665 (Ips. Deeds 4: 257). Caleb, probably the son of Caleb, conveyed to his son John, a third of the homestead, containing two acres in all, "on that side of the homestead next Simon Tuttle's, 4 rods 6 ft. and a half next the Street," on June 1, 1715 (36: 23). The residue of his estate, Caleb bequeathed to his son Benjamin (Pro. Rec. 320: 261-3), Feb. 28, 1736. Lieut. Jeremiah Kimball succeeded to the John Kimball estate, and at his death, the northwest part was allotted to his widow, and the northeast to his eldest son, Jeremiah (Pro. Rec. 351: 458, 1765). His son, Jeremiah, inherited it, and in the division of his estate, it was allotted to his sons, Jonathan C. and Charles, March 25, 1831 (264: 103), who sold to Thomas Staniford, Oct. 3, 1832 (266: 246). This ancient dwelling was probably built by John Kimball, soon after the year 1715.

The other part of the estate was sold by Benjamin Kimball, son perhaps of the earlier Benjamin, to Capt. Daniel Goodhue, March 1, 1775 (160: 54). But it returned to its old family line. Capt. Goodhue sold it to Jeremiah Kimball Jr., with an acre of land, June 25, 1801 (170: 24). He sold to William Heard, Dec. 7, 1819 (228: 197) and Heard to Abraham Lord, Dec. 6, 1827 (246: 306). It is impossible to determine when the ancient dwelling was built, but it was probably erected long before the Revolutionary War.

Thomas Smith.

(Diagram 2.)

The Town Record, under 1638, credits Thomas Smith with a house lot of an acre, at the west end of High St., the house lot of John Cooley on the southeast and the Common, near the Common fence gate, on the

northwest." This was the end of the Town, and beyond was the great ungranted area of unimproved Common land, in which all householders had rights of pasturage and fuel. A fence was built around the Town, to define the limits of the Common land, and to prevent cattle from straying into it unguarded. The gate that gave admittance to the Commons, we are informed, was near Smith's house.

Thomas Smith, shoemaker, sold his acre and a half lot to Thomas Dow, a soldier under Major Appleton and wounded in the Great Swamp Fight, March 9, 1676-7 (Ips. Deeds 4: 83). In his deed of Feb. 4, 1691, Thomas Dow states that his brother Jeremiah, was associated with himself in the purchase of the lot, that they built the dwelling together, and that he conveys his interest to his brother (50: 130). It was bounded by Caleb Kimball and John Day. "But all other ways doth adjoin (as it is also bounded) by the said Ipswich Common." Jeremiah's will, probated June, 1723 (Pro. Rec. 313: 639-40) gave a yearly stipend of £4 a year to his widow provided she relinquished her claim upon the estate, and gave the real estate to his only child, Margaret, not yet eighteen years old. Margaret made an early marriage and on Nov. 2, 1727, Henry Greenleaf, her husband, and Margaret, sold the homestead to Benjamin Dutch, "bounded northwest partly on the Town's Pasture and partly upon a highway to sd. Pasture" (49: 250). Dutch sold it to her mother, the widow Susanna Dow, Jan. 3, 1728 (51: 222). Susanna Dow's will mentions her daughter, Margaret Lull (Pro. Rec. 329: 19, 20 Oct. 1749). The Town Record informs us that John Lull and "the widd^e Margaret Greenleaf" both of Ipswich, were published the 8th of December, 1733. Deeds of the adjoining property mention John Lull as the owner of this estate, and it came to him by his wife. David Lord succeeded to the property, and his grandson, George Harris, is the present owner. In digging the cellar for a barn, Mr. Harris hit upon the foundation of an ancient chimney, and the old well. This defines the location undoubtedly, of the house, the brothers Thomas and Jeremiah Dow built in 1676.

John Kimball.

(Diagram 2.)

After the Common lands were distributed, and the Common fence ceased to be, John Kimball acquired possession of a lot, beyond the Smith-Dow location. On May 25, 1752, he deeded to his son, John, "the south-east half of my lot of land, on which my said son John's house and barn now stand, together with the orchard & buildings on the premises, bounded east on the lane leading to the Parsonage Pasture, south on said Parsonage Pasture (101: 141)." The house still stands, and near the house on the east, a lane leads over the railroad track to the Parsonage Pasture, which is still enjoyed by the old First Parish. The property was inherited by Charles Lord and by Eben Kimball his son-in-law.

HIGH STREET, EAST SIDE
from Green's Point Road to East St.

William Merchant.

(Diagram 2.)

Crossing to the north side of the old Highway, the stately mansion, now owned by Russell heirs and Mr. Austin L. Lord, is in itself, evidence that people of substance built their comfortable houses against the hill side. On or near this spot at an early period lived William Merchant. At his death, he left a widow and a daughter Mary, his only child, wife of Henry Osborn, between whom the Court divided the estate. The widow bequeathed her portion to her daughter, at her decease, for the benefit of her daughter's children. On April 20, 1694, Henry Osborn conveyed the estate to his son, John, on condition of being supported by him (11: 147). On Nov. 29, 1705, Peter Barbour of Boston, sold James Lord, the west side of this estate, bounded northwest by Major Wainwright (21: 188), and John Bartlet of Newbury sold Lord the other half, July 4, 1709 (21: 140). It seems to have passed from Lord's hands temporarily, perhaps by mortgage, as Anthony Lowden deeded to James Lord, the house where he now lives and two acres, bounded by Thomas Safford northwest, June 26, 1730 (57: 20). James Lord, by his will, bequeathed his real estate to his son James, 1734; and this James, in turn, sold to his son, James Jr., laborer, the west end of his dwelling, April 24, 1762 (132: 209). James Lord sold to Samuel Sawyer, April 13, 1789 (159: 250). Sawyer sold to Benjamin Lord and Henry Russell. Upon the death of Mr. Lord, his administrator sold his half to John Lord, 4th, grandfather of the present owner, May 16, 1819 (247: 195). The mansion cannot be the original dwelling upon this site, but its architecture denotes probably a century and a half. Henry Russell and his wife, Katherine Sutton, came here to dwell in Jan. 1787, it is said. They lived fifty six years together. He died, Dec. 16, 1843, aged eighty-six; she, on Dec. 17, aged seventy-eight, and the two coffins lay side by side, and were buried in a single grave. Nine of their children grew to mature age.

Thomas Safford.

(Diagram 2.)

To the northwest of this house lot, as the deeds recite, was another, which was owned by Major Wainwright in 1705. At a later date, it was owned by Thomas Safford, blacksmith, who conveyed to his son, Daniel, one half his dwelling and land, and his "shop where y^e Loom standeth with y^e Loom and all my weaver's tackling," July 19, 1733 (66: 162). Daniel left a widow and son Ebenezer, to whom it was given (Pro. Rec. 389: 91, 92 March 1816). The stone gate posts, beyond the Russell house, mark the entrance to this almost forgotten homestead.

Simon Adams.

(Diagram 2.)

Next to the Russell-Lord mansion, we find the house owned by John Lane, and still in possession of his heirs. Henry Russell made deed of the house and 30 rods of land to Mary and Sarah Russell, Jan. 18, 1802 (170: 172). Much earlier, it was in the possession of Simon Adams, who is located here by ancient deeds of the adjoining (Jewett) property in 1707 and 1742, and Daniel Adams, 1761, but the pedigree is obscure.

William Whitred.

(Diagram 2.)

Under the date, 1639, it is mentioned in the Town Record, that William Whitred had sold Thomas Smith, his house lot in the Street called West end, William Purrier southwest, another lot of Whitred's northeast, which was formerly granted to William Simmons, and sold by him to Whitred. Thomas Smith sold Aaron Pengry, one and one half acres and a house, bounded northwest by the widow Marchant, and southeast by other land of Pengry's, May 31, 1671 (Ips. Deeds 3: 205). John Pengry sold the same to Philip Fowler, bounded northwest by Simon Adams, May 11, 1707 (20: 105). Philip Fowler conveyed to his son Benjamin, "the house now occupied by him," March 5, 1715 (30: 13), and Benjamin sold to Francis Goodhue Dec. 14, 1733 (64: 215). Goodhue sold to Josiah Martin, with Simon Adams's homestead northwest, Feb. 4, 1742 (82: 223). Samuel Lord 3d and Lucy quitclaimed to Daniel Giddinge their interest (one-seventh) in the estate of their father, Josiah Martin, Aug. 1, 1761, and Giddinge probably gained possession (109: 225). John Cole Jewett owned it in 1767, by deed of the adjoining property, and his children sold to David Lord, Jan. 28, 1813 (255: 202). Philip Lord owned in 1830, and Nathan Jewett, 1835. No trace of the ancient dwelling remains.

William Symmons.

(Diagram 2.)

The Town Record, as cited under Wm. Whitred, states that Symmons sold this lot to Whitred. It was owned by Aaron Pengry, in 1671. George Smith of Portsmouth, sold it, three quarters of an acre of upland, to Caleb Kimball Jr., March 23, 1710-11 (35: 113). William Kimball succeeded him, and was proprietor in 1760. Nathaniel Haraden of Gloucester and Mary sold it to Nathan Low March 23, 1764 (114: 269), and in 1767, May 8, Nathan Low sold it to Daniel Lord Jr. (127: 80). Daniel Lord and others sold to Moses Jewett, Jan. 28, 1830 (286: 117); Moses to Moses Jr., May 8, 1835; and Moses Jr., to Joseph Wait, Oct. 1, 1835 (286: 118). It is now in possession of the Jewetts, but there is no old house.

Robert Lord.

(Diagram 2.)

The adjoining lot seems to have been owned by Robert Lord, and his heirs sold to Thomas, their brother, April 27, 1714 (39: 216), but the identification is not certain. On Jan. 6, 1727, Thomas Nason, laborer, Robert and Esther, singlewoman, quitclaimed their right in the estate of their father, Willibe Nason, to their brother Willibe, for maintaining their mother in old age (56: 161). Esther and Martha sold their interest to Willibe, June 25, 1760 (109: 27). Willibe Nason sold to John Lord, felt-maker, April 7, 1760 (110: 133); the heirs of John Lord to Sewall P. Jewett, Jan. 23, 1830 and Sewall P. to Mark R. Jewett, March 19, 1831 (260: 111). The Jewetts still own.

Richard Kimball.

(Diagram 2.)

Richard Kimball received a house lot, adjoining Goodman Simons in the original apportionment, and it was recorded in 1637. He may have been the original owner of the two lots, which John conveyed to Richard Kimball in 1696 (12: 114). Certainly Richard Kimball owned the lot next in order, and in his will, probated Dec. 25, 1752, he bequeathed his real estate to his son Richard and daughter Elizabeth, both minors (331: 107). Elizabeth married Philip Lord,¹ and, after his death, she sold one eighth of an acre and part of her house to John Kimball Jr., Dec. 25, 1806 (186: 147); the same that John Lane Jr. sold to Benjamin Fewkes, March 21, 1832 (264: 87). This house, now owned and occupied by Mr. Nathaniel Burnham, was built probably by Philip Lord. A narrow drift-way or cow-path bounds this property on the west. It is mentioned in the deeds of this vicinity for two hundred years. Originally it turned to the right and ran along the hillside to the Cemetery, bounding the house lots on the north. Richard Kimball sold the original Kimball house, with a half acre to Isaac Lord, felt-maker, Feb. 26, 1784 (142: 213), and Elizabeth Lord sold him a small piece, Dec. 5, 1805 (180: 219). Isaac bequeathed his property to his nephew Joseph, whose heirs own the house now standing, but the original house stood on the site of Mr. Thomas H. Lord's, and was occupied by his widow, when it had fallen into a very ruinous condition.

Alexander Knight.

(Diagram 2.)

Alexander Knight owned the house lot east of Kimball's, and after him, John Gamage, was in possession. Richard Kimball bought a third of the lot, on the east side, and sold it to his son Richard, Feb. 9, 1715-6 (28: 205); but Richard 2nd sold it back to John Gamage, May 9, 1721 (39: 191). Wm. Gamage, executor of the will of his uncle, John, sold the house and barn and one and one half acres to Jacob Perkins, Oct. 26, 1753 (104: 92). Jacob Perkins sold to Deacon Nathaniel Kimball of the South Church,

¹ She married Nath. Warner, pub. Nov. 12, 1768; then Philip Lord, pub. Jan. 1, 1774.

Feb. 17, 1757 (103: 235). It continued in the same family, and was set off to Jonathan, in 1820 (Pro. Rec. 396: 145-148). Deacon John Kimball occupied the house for many years. The architecture denotes age, and it was probably built a century and a half ago.

Allen Perley.

(Diagram 2.)

Allen Perley, the original grantee, sold his house and land to Walter Roper, Sept. 3, 1652 (Ips. Deeds 2: 44). John Roper succeeded, then Benjamin Dutch. Dutch sold the northwest half of the homestead, two acres in all, lately of John Roper, to John Brown, 4th, Feb. 3, 1737 (77: 33), and the northeast half to Nathaniel Lord, June 16, 1741 (84: 202). Lydia Thornton, widow, sold half an old house, bequeathed her by her former husband, Mr. John Brown, to Nathaniel Lord, latter, Jan. 23, 1796 (181: 237). Nathaniel thus came into possession of the whole. At his decease, the northwest half went to the heirs of Abraham and the southeast half to Isaac, sons of Nathaniel (Pro. Rec. 379: 62, 1800). Isaac succeeded to the whole, eventually. His son, Levi, inherited, and Levi's son, George, now owns. The old house stood about 30 ft. further back. Levi Lord tore down the northeast half, moved the northwest half forward, and built a new half on the northeast side about 1847.

George Smith.

(Diagram 2.)

The lot next the Burying ground was owned by George Smith. At his death, his son, Samuel, received the northeast side and Thomas the northwest. Samuel sold his half to Nathaniel Caldwell, 1713 (30: 43). The administrator of John Caldwell sold the property to Jeremiah Day, May 20, 1793 (159: 20). Benjamin Kimball was a later owner. Thomas Smith sold his interest to Andrew Smith, May 24, 1787 (146: 307). This old house disappeared many years ago. The first allusion to the small gambrel-roofed house near the burying ground is the conveyance by Eunice Ripley, widow, to William Gould, Sept. 16, 1811 (196: 10).

John Cross.

(Diagram 2.)

The "burying place" was agreed upon as the westward limit of the settlement in 1634 (Town Records). The first lot eastward was assigned to John Cross, with six acres on the hill adjoining. Richard Kimball Sen. owned here in 1671. It was inherited by his son-in-law, Simon Adams, and sold by him to Shoreborne Wilson, with house and barn, June 6, 1698 (13: 88). Half an acre had previously been sold to the Town to enlarge the burying-place. During Wilson's ownership, the Town enlarged the burying-place again by buying "a quarter and half a quarter of an acre," April 3, 1707. The balance was sold by him to Daniel Rogers, the School-

master and Judge, July 18, 1709 (21: 102). Rogers sold to Capt. Stephen Perkins, Sept. 15, 1715 (27: 205). The Perkins heirs sold to Edward Eveleth, Feb. 13, 1734 (70: 143), and he to Nathaniel Caldwell, Dec. 3, 1735 (70: 243). John Caldwell, son of Nathaniel, inherited his real estate (Pro. Rec. 322: 365, 1738). Thomas Cross sold the same to James Foster, Nov. 10, 1741 (82: 247), and this deed gives the boundary on the north side, "extending one rod from the back side of the house towards the Town Hill, on land lately deeded to the Parish for a burying place." This was the third encroachment on the burying-ground, and nothing remained of the original two acre lot but the narrow strip separating the cemetery from the street. Mr. Foster lived in the house till his death, and his heirs sold to Isaac Martin of Gloucester (110: 21). Martin sold to John Lawson the quarter acre lot, with house and well, Nov. 15, 1769 (127: 11), who sold in turn to Samuel Lord 3d, Oct. 1, 1772 (122: 209). Small as the lot was it was divided again. Eight years after he bought it, Mr. Lord sold about eight square rods with half the house, the northwest half, to Jonathan and William Galloway, Dec. 25, 1780 (138: 278). The Galloway heirs sold to Andrew Russell, cabinet-maker, April 20, 1847 (399: 54). He lived across the way, in part of the Ephraim Harris house, and had his shop for cabinet making on this side. The old Galloway house in ruinous condition is remembered by the old people on High St. Andrew Russell sold to Francis and Lisette Ross, July 17, 1867 (744: 254). The cabinet shop was remodelled into a dwelling and is now occupied by Mr. Timothy B. Ross, the present owner. The northeast half of the old house was sold by Samuel Lord Jr., to Polley Choate, seamstress, June 5, 1790 (168: 25). She sold to Nathaniel Treadwell, and he to Elisha Gould, Dec. 28, 1811 (208: 39). Gould sold to Timothy Ross Jr., Oct. 11, 1814 (207: 51). When Samuel Lord 3d bought, the eastern bound was the Lummus property, but when Samuel Lord Jr. sold to Polley Choate, this lot was bounded by Robert Stone's land. This was part therefore of the Samuel Lord 3d property. Robert Stone sold to William Robbins, Nov. 3, 1807 (182: 292); Robbins to Timothy Harris of Rowley, July 8, 1812 (199: 29); Timothy and Daniel Harris to Daniel Caldwell, April 16, 1828 (252: 65), and he to William W. Rust Jr., on Dec. 13, 1851 (466: 43). The heirs of Rust own and occupy the estate. The house is first mentioned in Stone's deed, 1807.

Thomas Dudley.

(Diagram 2.)

"Given and granted to Thomas Dudley Esq. in October, 1635," "one parcell of ground containing about nine acres lyeing between Goodman Cross on the West and a lott intended to Mr. Broadstreet on the East. Upon parcell of weh. nine acres, Mr. Dudley hath built an house," with other lands, "all which premises aforesayd, with the house built thereon and the palinge sett up thereon, the sayd Thos. Dudley Esq. hath sold to Mr. Hubbard and his heirs &c." (Town Record). Thos. Dudley is the redoubt-

able Governor Dudley, who removed his residence from Cambridge at this time, and removed to Roxbury a few years later.

"Mr." Hubbard is undoubtedly Mr. William Hubbard, a prominent character in our early town history, Feoffee, Deputy to General Court, and Justice of the Quarterly Court. He removed to Boston about 1662. He died in 1670, leaving three sons, William, the Pastor of the Ipswich church and Historian of the Indian wars, Richard and Nathaniel. Johnson's tribute to him was, "a learned man, being well read in State matters, of a very affable and humble behaviour, who hath expended much of his estate to helpe on this worke. Altho he be slow in speech, yet is hee downright for the businesse." (Felt, Hist. of Ips., p. 75). His son, Richard, sold Symon Stacy the dwelling, and nine acres of land, bounded by High Street on the southwest, by Richard Kemball's land on the northwest, and Robert Collins on the southeast, July 5, 1671 (Ips. Deeds 3: 253). This house-lot was the largest ever granted by the Town, and its size alone would identify it with the Dudley lot.

The administrators of Captain Stacy, William Baker and John Staniford, sold the homestead, bounded west by "Shoarborn" Wilson and east by Sergeant Robert Lord, to Jonathan Lummus, Sen., June 18, 1712 (24: 236). Lummus bequeathed his lands to his son Jonathan, by his will, approved Aug. 17, 1728 (Pro. Rec. 316: 378-80). He bequeathed his son Daniel, "a small piece of land out of my homestead adjoining to his homestead, to make him a convenient way to his barn, and so to extend from the northerly end of his homestead, until it come to the cross fence as it now stands," and "the residue of the real estate, save a part of the house reserved for Margaret his daughter, to his son Jonathan." Approved sept. 25, 1769 (Pro. Rec. 345: 529-531). Jonathan, the third successive owner bearing this name, bequeathed the ancestral property, to his nephews, Isaac and Daniel (will approved, June 7, 1791) (Pro. Rec. 360: 476).

Isaac quitclaimed to Daniel his interest in the western half of the estate, with half of the house, April 9, 1799 (217: 19), and a piece of land at the west corner of the homestead, beginning at an elm tree by the road, 3 rods, 13 feet north to the barn, 6 rods 14 feet west to the burying ground. Daniel was the son of Daniel mentioned in the will of the first Jonathan as his son. His father had already sold him one-half of his house and barn with a half acre of land, April 4, 1770 (129: 16).

The Committee appointed to divide the estate of Daniel Lummus, son of the first Daniel, assigned to the widow, Anna, the eastern half of the Daniel Lummus homestead, bounded by land of Samuel Baker; to his son Daniel, the other half of the homestead, and to his daughter Anna, wife of John Hodgkins, Jr., the eastern half of the house now known as the Low house, May 4, 1813 (Pro. Rec. 383: 622); at his mother's death, Daniel received her half of the house, and at his death (about 1843) his sister, Mrs. Anna Hodgkins, inherited it. She bequeathed it to her daughter, Mary wife of George Willett. She left it to her children, George A. and Mary E

Willett wife of George Tozer. George Willett had sold a strip of land on the southeast corner, thirty-four by sixty-four feet, to Sophia A. Tyler, wife of James S. Tyler, June 2, 1873 (886: 62). Mr. Tyler removed the house that stood on the site of Mr. John A. Johnson's present residence, and placed it on this lot. The homestead is owned still by George A. Willett and William H. Tozer. The house is probably the original, built by Daniel Lummus before 1769.

Isaac Lummus bequeathed the western half of the old Jonathan Lummus homestead to his nephews John and Abraham, sons of Wm. Lummus (approved 1849) (Pro. Rec. 415: 16). Abram Lummus, son of Abraham, and other heirs sold to John C. Low, May 12, 1882, and it is described as still containing eight acres more or less (1113: 99). It was sold by him to John B. Brown, and by Mr. Brown to Chester W. Bamford. The house, which has lately been remodelled, was built in all probability during the Lummus ownership. The small piece adjoining the Wallis Rust land was sold by Capt. John Hodgkins to his son John (451: 204), and sold by Caroline E. Hodgkins to Olive R. Ross, Nov. 5, 1869 (811: 211). I am aware that some transfers of minor importance have been stated in a general way. My purpose is, not to establish the legal title of present owners, but to show that the original Lummus estate had a frontage on High St. from the Wallis Rust property to the Samuel Baker estate, and that this is the identical nine acre grant to Governor Thomas Dudley.

Daniel Rolfe.

(Diagram 2.)

The next grant was in possession of . . . Rofe or Rolfe (Caldwell Records) in 1652 and Robert Collings, in 1654 (Ips. Deeds 2: 128). Abraham Perkins sold to Robert Lord, Sen. "my dwelling house, barn etc. and three and three quarters acres of land, which I lately purchased of Robert Collins of Haverhill," bounded by Simon Stacy on the west and John Caldwell on the east, April 11, 1682 (15: 115). The will of Robert Lord Sen., probated in 1683, bequeathed "to my youngest son, Nathaniel, my dwelling, barn, land wth the close I purchased of Thos. Lull which lieth on the other side of ye street . . . whereas I am out £40 for ye house I bought of Abraham Perkins, my will is that my grandchild, Robert Lord, Tertius, paying of y^e £40 to me or my heirs, shall have said house, in which sd Robert now dwells (Pro. Rec. 304: 16, 18)."

Robert Lord, blacksmith, left his estate to his son Samuel and his six daughters, by his will approved in 1735 (Pro. Rec. 320: 177-178). Samuel Lord Sen., blacksmith, left certain lands to his only son Samuel, and mentions that the rest of his real estate was entailed by his father. His will was approved in 1755 (Pro. Rec. 333: 217, 352). In 1765, the estate was finally divided (Pro. Rec. 343: 499). The widow received her dower, which I do not find recorded. The remaining two-thirds of the dwelling and so much of the land adjoining "to begin at the corner by Daniel Caldwell's

land so running northwest by sd road 57 feet to a stake, thence across the middle of the well up the Hill ward 65 feet to a stake, thence on a square 65 feet to a stake, thence on a square 55 feet to Daniel Caldwell's land," and a two acre piece above the widow's thirds, were assigned to the daughter Mary Lord. About 136 poles in the homestead, between the part assigned to Mary Lord and the Lummus property, was assigned to Samuel Lord. Martha and Abigail received other portions of the estate.

Samuel Lord, the fourth, and others, legal heirs of Samuel Lord, blacksmith, sold to Samuel Baker, felt-maker, their father's homestead, with 5 rods 4 feet frontage, extending from the Lummus land to the well, Jan. 14, 1775 (140: 40). Samuel Baker left the southeast half to the children of his son John Baker, the other half after his widow's decease to his daughter Elizabeth and Mary (Pro. Rec. 392: 1).

Mary Lord sold to her brother-in-law, Elijah Boynton, husband of Martha, her share with all the upper part of the dwelling, Dec. 7, 1772, (131: 118). Elijah Boynton sold the same to Dr. John Manning, Aug. 14, 1782 (140: 23). Samuel Lord, 3d, and Mary sold Samuel Lord, 4th, about six rods and half a house, "beginning at the highway opposite the middle of the chimney of the house, on a line through the middle of the chimney," etc., April 23, 1784 (137: 212). Samuel Lord, 4th, conveyed the same to John Manning, Jan. 8, 1787 (146: 200) and Dr. Manning thus became sole owner. He sold to Thomas Dodge Jr., Oct. 3, 1796 (161: 69); Dodge, then of Londonderry, to John Cooper of Newburyport, Feb. 13, 1815 (206: 177); Cooper to Elizabeth Jewett, wife of Mark R. Jewett, March 8, 1828 (269: 74); the Jewetts to William Russell, June 5, 1833 (307: 256). Lewis Titcomb and Sarah sold to Martha S. Russell, a small piece on the corner of the lot, where a felt-maker or hatter's shop stood, June 9, 1851 (486: 20).

Martha S. Russell sold to Daniel S. Russell, May 17, 1866 (704: 300). He reconveyed it to Martha S. Russell, Nov. 13, 1872, (869: 52) and she sold it on the same date to Carlton Copp (869: 52). He sold to Mary A. Rutherford, the present owner, Oct. 6, 1894 (1424: 482). The house now stands end to the street, but the deed of Samuel Lord, 4th, to Doctor Manning in 1784 specifies a line of division, which shows that the old Samuel Lord house stood with its front to the street. If the present building is the same, a remodelling is evident.

John Jackson—Simon Bradstreet.

(Diagram 2.)

It was specified in the record of Dudley's grant and sale, that this land lay between Goodman Cross's and "a lot intended for Mr. Bradstreet."

The earliest owners of this adjoining lot, however, who are known to us, are Daniel Rolfe, who occupied or owned in 1652 and Robert Collins, who was in possession in 1654. Bradstreet may have owned this lot and the adjoining one, or, it may be, he never owned the immediately adjoining

ing lot, but settled on the one next beyond, which came into the possession of the Caldwell family at a very early period.

The one conclusive link of evidence that connects Bradstreet's name with this lot, is the record of Edward Brown's house-lot, of one acre, that it was bounded southeast by the lot granted to William Bartholomew and northwest by the house-lot now in possession of Mr. Simon Bradstreet (1639) (Town Records). It was granted originally to John Jackson, as his lot was "on the side of the hill next to Edward Brown's at six rod's broad" (1637).

In connection with this record of Edward Brown's house-lot the deed of Richard Betts, published in the Caldwell Records, is of conclusive weight.

"This present wrighting witnesseth that Richard Betts of Ipswich and Joana his wife, of Ipswich in the County of Essex for and yn consideration of thirty pounds by bill and otherwise in hand payd before the sealeing heereof Have Granted Bargayned, & Sould and bye these presents doe fully Grant, Bargayne and Sell vnto Cornelius Waldo of the same Town and County, Marchant, all that his dwelling-house situate and being in Ipswich, aforesayd, with all the yards, fences and lands about it, haveing the house and land of Edward Browne toward the southeast, the house and land late . . . Rofes (Daniel Rolfe?) toward the norwest, abutting on the street toward the southwest, and on the land of Thomas Lovell, toward the Nor-east, etc. etc.,

this 14th of September, 1652"

Cornelius Waldo sold to John Caldwell for £26 "the house I bought of Richard Betts the land of Edward Brown southeast. the street southwest, house and land of Robert Collings, northwest." Aug. 31, 1654 (Ips. Deeds 2: 128).

Thus it appears that Bradstreet was bounded southeast by Edward Brown in 1639, and that Betts, Waldo and Caldwell, were bounded by the same in 1652 and 1654, and that the Bradstreet lot is identical with the Caldwell.

It is generally believed that Mr. Bradstreet removed to Andover in 1644. He was certainly resident there in 1647 as the deed of William Symons to Simon Bradstreet of Andover, makes evident (Ips. Deeds 1: 35).

John Caldwell's will was proved Sept. 28, 1692 (Pro. Rec. 303: 84-85; Inven. 154). It gave his wife Sarah the use and improvement of all the estate during her widowhood, with the privilege of disposing of it or any part of it for her necessity, and if she married again, she should have her third part. After her decease, his son John was to have a double part, *i. e.* two parts out of eight, with the dwelling house if he desired it, paying to his brothers and sisters what belonged to them.

The widow made her will as follows:

"having for many years past had supply of her son Dillingham Caldwell, for ye supply of her necessities, & durning her naturall life not knowing how or where boet better supplied and taken care of, he and his wife

being att all times ready to supply his necessities." As he had advanced her £100 she deeded him the dwelling, barn, etc.,

"with all the said homestead containing one acre more or less, bounded by Street on one end, the other end by land of Lovels formerly, ye one side bounded by land of Robert Lord, ye other side by land formerly Joseph Brown's, except during sd Sarah's natural life, yt the use and Improvement of yt end of ye dwelling house wherein she keeps and lodges" (19 January 1709). John Caldwell quitclaimed to Dillingham. The widow died Jan. 26, 1721-2, aged 87.

Dillingham Caldwell was a weaver by trade, and a man of influence and wealth. He died May 3, 1745, aged 79 years. His will, dated Dec. 21, 1742 (Pro. Rec. 326: 290-2), left his widow the improvement of the eastern end of the dwelling, and provided for her maintenance very quaintly:

"also I give unto my wife yearly and every year she shall remain my widow, ten bushells of Indian corn, two bushells of Rie, two bushells of Malt, one hundred pounds of pork, eighty pounds of beef, one barrel of cyder, a milch cow that shall be kept for her use, winter and summer, and the calf such cow may bring, and four ewes kept for her use, summer and winter, and ye lambs such ewes may bring, and six pounds of Flax Year, and so many apples as she shall want for her own use, and sufficient firewood for her use, brought to her door, cut and carried into her room, where we now dwell. Also two gallons of oyl."

The estate, real and personal, not otherwise bestowed, was given to his son Daniel. He died childless and the house and land became the property of John, his only brother, and his heirs, Daniel, John and Elizabeth, wife of Capt. John Grow.

John Caldwell Jun. sold to his son Daniel Caldwell Jun., mariner, the northwest end of the house, and an undivided half of the land, Oct. 31, 1797 (164: 233). He was lost, probably on Ipswich bar, in November, 1804, at the age of 34 years, leaving two minor children, Daniel, six years old, and David H., 17 mos., who inherited his estate (Pro. Rec. 376: 117; 373: 421). Daniel died when about twenty years old, and David H. inherited his half. David sold or transferred his interest to Daniel Smith, who died insane, but bought it back again, and his widow, Emmeline, sold it to Charlotte M. Jones, wife of William Jones and daughter of Elizabeth (Caldwell), Grow, the daughter of John, Feb. 4, 1868 (759: 136).

John Caldwell occupied the eastern end of the house until his death, and his unmarried daughters, Lucy and Mary, made it their home until their death. Mary died Jan. 26, 1861, aged 84, and Lucy died in April 1868, aged 85. Their niece, Eliza, daughter of Elizabeth Caldwell and Capt. John Grow, lived with them and received this part of the house at their death. She married Charles Dodge, and her interest in the house fell to her daughter, Harriet Lord Rogers Dodge.

The age of the venerable mansion is uncertain. It cannot be assumed with any confidence that it is the original Bradstreet home. Unless there is positive reason for believing it to be of such great antiquity, the proba-

bilities of the case point to a lesser age. A significant item in its history is that Richard Betts sold for £30 in 1652, and John Caldwell bought of Waldo for £26 in 1654. His will was proved Sept. 28, 1692, and the inventory of the estate included

House and lands at home and three acres of land,	£109-0-0
Oxen, cows, horses, sheep and swine,	40-0-0
Implements of husbandry, carts, plows,	48-0-0
Bedsteads, bedding linen,	19-8-0

The three "acres of land" are identical probably with "foure acres be it more or less, within the Common fields, neare unto Muddy River," which he bought of William Buckley and Sarah, his wife, Aug. 31, 1657 for £7, and which Buckley bought of Thomas Manning (Caldwell Records, p. 6). The homestead was valued then at about £100, and for this sum the widow sold it to her son Dillingham. There is nothing to indicate any especial depreciation of the currency in the valuations of stock, tools, etc. in the inventory and the only way to explain the enhancement of value from £26 in 1654 to £100 a half century afterward is to assume that John Caldwell replaced the house he bought, the house owned and occupied by the Bradstreets, with a new one of far greater value. But there seems no room for doubt that the Bradstreet home was on or near this spot, and the tablet has been located with confidence.

Edward Brown.

(Diagram 2.)

The Edward Brown lot of one acre, southeast from Bradstreet, has already been mentioned. He had a son John, who resided in Wapping, England, in 1683, when he sold land in the common fields left by his father Edward, (Ips. Deeds 4: 533). The widow Sarah Caldwell's deed to Dillingham gives the eastern bound "land formerly Joseph Brown's." From the Probate Records, we learn that Joseph Brown died before 1691, and that his estate was divided to his sons, John and Benjamin (Pro. Rec. 313: 559, 560), in 1721.

John Brown, Turner, granted in his will, proved in 1758, to Elizabeth, his wife, "all the household goods she brought to me, and all the linnen shee hath made since I married her to be at her Disposal;" to his son John, the improvement of the two lower rooms and the northeast chamber and some real estate; to his daughter Esther Adams, and the children of his daughter Mary Lord, the household goods; and all the residue of real estate to his son Daniel (Pro. Rec. 335: 229). The house, barn and land were valued at £60 (Pro. Rec. 336: 17).

Daniel Brown bequeathed the improvement of his property to his widow Hannah, during her life or until her second marriage. He made his nephew, Daniel Smith, his sole heir. The will was approved, Jan. 4, 1796 (Pro. Rec. 364: 232). Daniel Smith's will, proved in 1844, provided for the division of his estate among his sons, Daniel Brown Smith, Thomas

and Benjamin, and the Probate Record contains this interesting item: "Daniel Smith was a Revolutionary pensioner, that he died on the 28th day of January, 1844, that he left no widow, and that he left seven children and no more, viz. Daniel B., Thomas, Benjamin, Polly Lord, Elizabeth Treadwell, Sarah Perkins, & Anna Kimball, and that they all of them are living and each of them is of full age" (Pro. Rec. 412: 315, 316).

Thomas received the homestead, and occupied it until his death at a great age, when he bequeathed it to his nephew Charles Smith, who removed the old buildings and built his present residence in the rear of the site of the homestead. Daniel B. received a part of the house-lot and built a house upon it, which he sold to his son, Nathaniel P. Smith, March 1, 1866 (707: 16). It is now owned and occupied by his widow.

William Bartholomew.

(Diagram 2.)

Bartholomew received the grant of this lot apparently, as well as another on East St. No record of the transfer of this lot can be found, but it was owned by the Lord family at an early date. Daniel Lord married Eunice, the daughter of Mark Haskell, and Haskell conveyed to him the house and an acre of land, Feb. 24, 1767 (124: 224). Daniel Lord, whose will was probated in 1780 (Pro. Rec. 354: 47), bequeathed the house, the southeast half to his widow Eunice Goodhue, the northwest half to his nephew, Joseph, son of his brother Nathaniel. Joseph Lord, son of the preceding, perhaps, owned the house not many years ago. The Josiah Lord property, as it is still known, abutting on the estate just described, was owned by Capt. John Lord, and sold by him to Josiah Lord and Richard L. Weymouth, March 7, 1827 (247: 180). He inherited from Ebenezer Lord Jr., probably, and Ebenezer Jr. inherited from Capt. Ebenezer, whose will was probated in 1810 (Pro. Rec. 379: 384). Ebenezer was son of Philip, and this estate was probably part of the original estate, which had then been divided into several.

Robert Lord.

(Diagram 2.)

This lot was granted to Robert Lord, but came into the possession of Robert Roberts, who sold Thomas Lord, shoemaker, on Feb. 22, 1658, a house and ground, bounded by Thomas Clark southeast, the Street southwest and Wm. Bartholomew northwest (Ips. Deeds 2: 9). Philip Lord was in possession later, and his homestead is alluded to in a deed of the adjoining property, Nov. 19, 1738 (81: 259). The Philip Lord estate was inherited by his sons. Philip sold to Samuel Lord of Gloucester half a dwelling with land, "extending tow feet from ye easterly end of ye house, towards my father, Mr. Philip Lord, late of Ipswich, & 2 rods 9 ft. from the north-east corner of sd. house towards the barn, then on a square one rod & 6 ft. to Samuel Lord Jr.'s land and by said Lord's land through the chimney

to the County Road," about 6 rods, Nov. 1, 1754 (137: 211). Philip Lord left two minor sons, John and Ebenezer, upward of fourteen, under the guardianship of Charles Bolles, May 14, 1755 (Pro. Rec. 333: 98). Ebenezer may have inherited part of the estate and built the house, now owned by heirs of Ross and Lord.

Samuel Lord 3d sold to Asa Lord, the northwest half of his house, with half an acre of land, bounded west by Capt. Ebenezer Lord, Sept. 9, 1797 (167: 275). This old house stood on the site now occupied by Mr. John A. Blake's residence and is well remembered by the older people. Asa Lord owned the northwest part. Polly Lord had an interest in the middle, and Samuel Lord, who died in 1813, aged 91, owned the northeast part.

The present residence of Mr. John Blake was purchased by him and his father, Asher Blake, of Capt. Wm. Lamson, and his wife Maria, daughter of Deacon Daniel Bolles Lord, June 1, 1868. The guardian of Daniel B., Samuel A. and Ann M. Lord, children of Daniel Bolles Lord, cabinet maker, sold to Wm. Lamson, two-fifths of the house and three-quarters of an acre of land, late the dwelling of Daniel B. Lord, which descended to him from his father, Samuel, Dec. 22, 1847. This is identical with the Philip Lord homestead of earlier days, and the earlier Robert Lord. The house is of the 18th century beyond a doubt.

Humphrey Vincent and Thomas Clark.

(Diagram 2.)

The Robert Lord grant of a house lot was bounded east by Humphrey Vincent, in the record made in 1637. The deed of Roberts to Lord Feb. 22, 1658, gives Thomas Clark on the southeast. The Clark lot, which may have been identical with Vincent's grant, was sold by Samuel Symonds to John Edwards, the house and land late Wm. Wildes, northeast (should be southeast) and land of Robert Lord northwest, July 7, 1668 (Ips. Deeds 3: 81). John Edwards, the son of John, married Margaret, daughter of Thomas Lovell, whose dwelling was on the other side of the street, just opposite. Prior to the marriage, in the fashion of the time, the parents covenanted to provide a home for the young couple. John Edwards bound himself to give his dwelling to his son, and Thomas Lovell agreed to give the pasture on the hill back of the house, April 11, 1693 (11: 179). Upon the death of Edwards, the estate was divided. Jonathan Whipple and others sold to Thomas Berry, their wealthy neighbor, their interest in "the dwelling house of our brother & uncle, John Edwards, 87 feet on the road from sd. Berry's garden," etc. Nov. 19, 1732 (59: 176). Thomas Waite and others, heirs of two-fifths of the real estate of John Edwards sold their interest in the homestead, comprising house and one and a quarter acres to Francis Sawyer, "also two-fifths of the land to be set off on the northwest side of sd. homestead to extend from said Philip Lord's homestead 58 or 9 ft. upon the front next the road, then to run up through the homestead," Nov. 19, 1738 (81: 259). Joseph Willcomb

came into possession before 1762, and his heirs and Josiah Kimball owned it for many years.

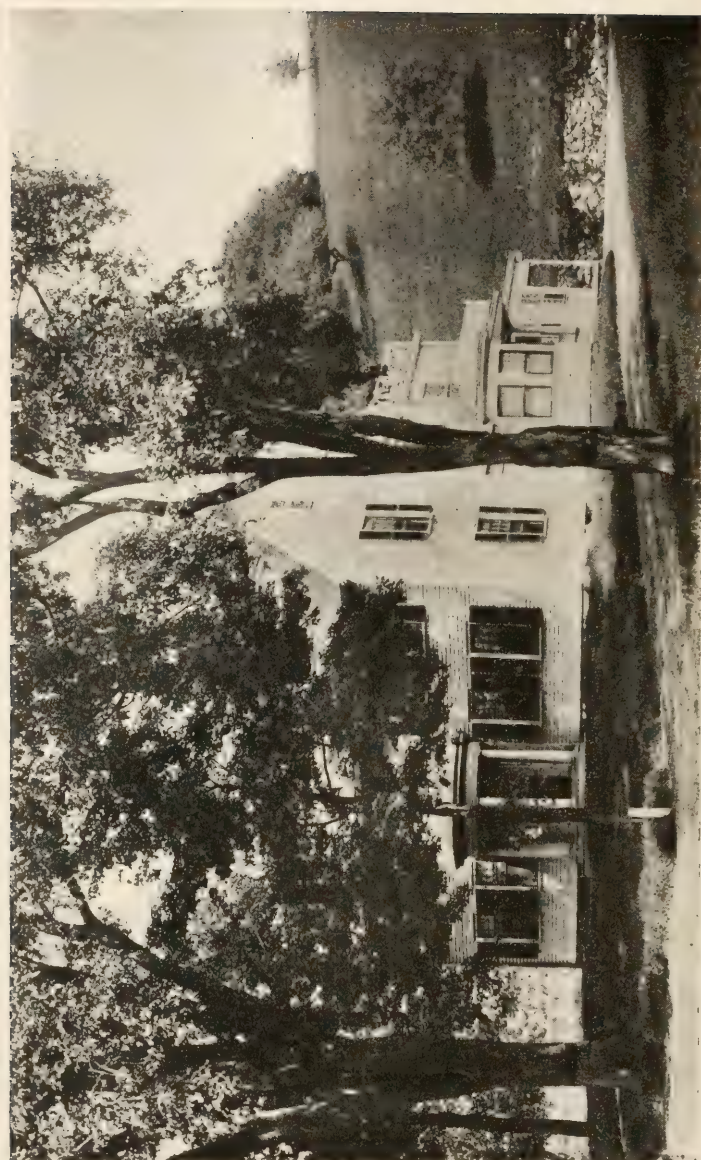
William Wildes.

(Diagram 2.)

The Edwards lot, as we have noted, was bounded southeast by the house and land, lately owned by Wm. Wildes, deceased, in 1668. As the quitclaim deed of Edward Bishop and others, heirs of Wild or Wildes, recites, William gave his lands to his nephew John, son of his brother John, and said John, deceased, had made conveyance to John Harris, locksmith. The children of John, in this deed, quitclaimed to Harris their interest in the house and an acre of land, sold to Harris, Dec. 14, 1685 (15: 119). John Harris of Ipswich, tailor, and Samuel Harris of Marblehead, joiner, sold to Dr. Thomas Berry, "the dwelling house wherein he now lives," with barn, bounded south on the highway about 10 rods, May 16, 1721 (41: 1). Dr. Berry enlarged his lot by the purchase of an acre of orchard land of Robert Holmes, bounded north by heirs of John Baker, east by John Gaines, southwest and west on a small road that Joseph and Philip Fowler improve to their pasture on Town Hill, March 1, 1725-6 (52: 160). Holmes bought this orchard (100 rods) of Thomas Lovell, June 14, 1710 (35: 205) and Lovell bought of Henry Gould and Philip Fowler, his attorney, Dec. 27, 1677 (Ips. Deeds 4: 136). The deed of Holmes to Berry describes this land as "running south to a point." Evidently, a cart-path wound up the hill on a slant, and this cut off the frontage of the orchard.

This ancient private way may be a clew to the understanding of the deed of sale, entered April 16, 1638, in the Town Record by Samuel Appleton to Thomas Firman, of a house lot bounded south by High St., east by Edmund Gardner, and west by "a cross-way leading to the meeting house," with house etc. No existing street could be described in this way, and the ancient "cross way" may be identical, with this private way that ascended the hill near the residence of the late Joseph Ross. It may have been used as a short way to the meeting house by the dwellers in the ancient Hog Lane or Brook St.

Dr. Berry enlarged his lot on the west, as we have noted, by the purchase of 87 ft. in depth from the Edwards estate in 1731. He acquired the farm, now owned by the Town and used as a home for the Poor, and Lovell's close, on the other side of the street. He died in 1756, and his goodly homestead was divided. The orchard property bought of Holmes, one-half acre, measuring 63 ft. from John Gaines, "to land formerly used as a private way up the hill," was sold to Samuel Williams, saddler, Feb. 26, 1746 (153: 171). The homestead was sold by the son, John Berry (125: 142), and by the widow Berry, Nov. 23, 1762 (123: 174), including the house, warehouse and 12 acres of land etc. to Dr. John Manning Jr. The widow Elizabeth Berry sold part of the Col. Berry homestead, abutting on Joseph Wilcom's land, to Samuel Newman, Nov. 23, 1762 (120: 84). He built the house which has descended to his heirs and



is now the residence of Mr. Daniel R. Harris. The original chimney stack has been removed. Dr. Manning sold to Samuel Lord 3d, Aug. 22, 1771 (129: 117), and Manning and Lord both conveyed to widow Abigail Berry, land abutting on Newman, with house, "part of the real estate of Dr. Berry," and liberty to use the cartpath at the east end of the house, Sept. 22, 1774 (133: 268).

Samuel Williams built a dwelling on his lot, which was inherited or purchased by Joshua Williams, before 1768. John and Samuel Williams sold a quarter acre and half the house to Thomas Ross, saddler, who already owned the other half, with a small shop, March 24, 1801 (171: 165). This old saddlery stood on the east side of the Joseph Ross homestead, and many remember the saddler, busy with the harnesses of the Stage Company that were under his care.

The New England Lace Manufacturing Company acquired the Dr. Manning property, and for a few years a prosperous business was carried on, and many girls and women found employment.¹ The Lace Company sold its property to Joseph Manning Smith, Nov. 11, 1835 (294: 267); Smith to Philip H. Kimball, April 23, 1847 (381: 107) and Kimball to Joseph Ross, one and three quarters acres and buildings, bounded west by land of Samuel Newman, now of L. W. Manning, Aug. 2, 1853 (481: 130). Mr. Ross built the mansion, utilizing the building of the Lace Factory. He bought of Nathaniel L. Manning, a lot with 50 ft. frontage, abutting on Newman, April 26, 1854 (492: 298) and also acquired the Ross homestead and removed the buildings.

John Gaines.

(Diagram 2.)

John Gaynes or Gaines was the first owner we identify with the lot now owned by the Episcopal church and occupied as the Rectory. His heirs were in occupancy in 1768, as the deed of the Berry estate to Manning has shown. Joseph Fowler Jr. sold the house and one and one half acres to Dr. Nathaniel Smith of Boston, July 9, 1803 (172: 248). Smith conveyed to Wm. Willcomb, July 2, 1808 (184: 174), the heirs of Willcomb to Caleb Oakes, Aug. 6, 1825 (239: 292). William Oakes, a famous naturalist, made his home here until his death. The Oakes heirs sold to Elizabeth K. Lathrop; she conveyed to Dr. John M. Bradbury June 11, 1872 (860: 93).

Samuel Varnum.

(Diagram 2.)

The old Manse, the home of Rev. Nathaniel Rogers, Pastor of the First Church, is on the lot sold by Samuel Varnum Sen. to Edward Deare, with a house, April 8, 1665 (Ips. Deeds 2: 246). In 1727, Rev. Nathaniel Rogers petitioned the town for a grant of "12 or 14 feet to the front of the land he lately purchased for an house lot of the widow Deer, for the more

¹See Publications of the Ipswich Historical Society XIII. Fine Thread, Lace and Hosiery in Ipswich.

accommodable scituation of his house." The Town granted "13 feet on the front of his land next to Mr. Staniford's and 12 feet next to Mr. John Gaines out toward the street." He built his fine mansion on this spot in that year, 1727, it has always been said.

Daniel Scott of Boston, physician, and Mary, his wife, John Dutch and his wife, Mary, sold Jacob Treadwell two-thirds of the "estate of our grandfather, Rev. Nathaniel Rogers," May 6, 1778 (139: 203). Jacob Treadwell sold to Joseph Knight of Newburyport, Aug. 24, 1797 (162: 243).

Henry Cogswell Knight, of Rowley, sold fourteen twenty-fourths of his property, a dwelling and 7 acres, to William M. Rogers and Nathaniel Wade, guardian of Antonio Knight, a minor, son of Joseph Knight, sold the balance to the same, Dec. 9 and 10, 1813 (202: 275, 276). Rogers sold the southeast corner of his homestead, abutting on the Staniford heirs to Ammi R. Smith. The lot measured 35 ft. on High St. and 40 feet deep, and there was a store upon it, March 15, 1817 (212: 276). Isaac Bangs and others, mortgagees, sold to Nathaniel Lord Jr., the estate Rogers had mortgaged to them, and Rogers executed a conveyance, Jan. 6, 1820 (222: 108, 109). "Squire" Lord, as he was called, was a prominent citizen for many years. His son, Otis P., attained distinction as a jurist, and Justice of the Supreme Court of the Commonwealth. The store, mentioned above, was changed into a dwelling and removed by a recent owner of the property. Benjamin Kimball, executor of the estate of Otis P. Lord sold the house and land to Samuel H. Baker June 17, 1885 (1152: 262). Baker sold a small piece to Mrs. Bradbury, who owned the Rectory lot, and the rest of the estate, the house and five acres, to Miss Jennie T. Cogswell Feb. 12: 1890 (1268: 131), who conveyed to Mr. John B. Brown, the present owner.

Robert Paine.

(Diagram 3.)

The lot which included the brick house of the heirs of John Jewett, which was recently torn down, and the present estate of Mr. Harry B. Brown, was owned originally by Mr. Thomas Brecy, then by Robert Paine, "Elder to ye church of Ipswich," a man foremost in zeal for the educational advancement of the community. He conveyed his mansion and three acres of land, with orchard, garden, etc., to his son Robert, Feb. 12, 1689 (Ips. Deeds 5:590). Robert Paine Jr. and Elizabeth, sold the dwelling and two and three quarters acres to Mr. Francis Wainwright, Sept. 30, 1690 (Ips. Deeds 5:326), reserving a quarter acre which he had bought of his father in 1689, on the east corner. Matthew Whipple Jun. and Dorcas sold this twenty rod lot to Mr. Wainwright, "the land we had of our father Mr. Robert Pain," June 20, 1702 (15:216).

The Wainwrights were a famous family. Francis, the immigrant, served with great distinction in the Pequot war, in his young manhood. He became a prosperous merchant and prominent citizen. He died on

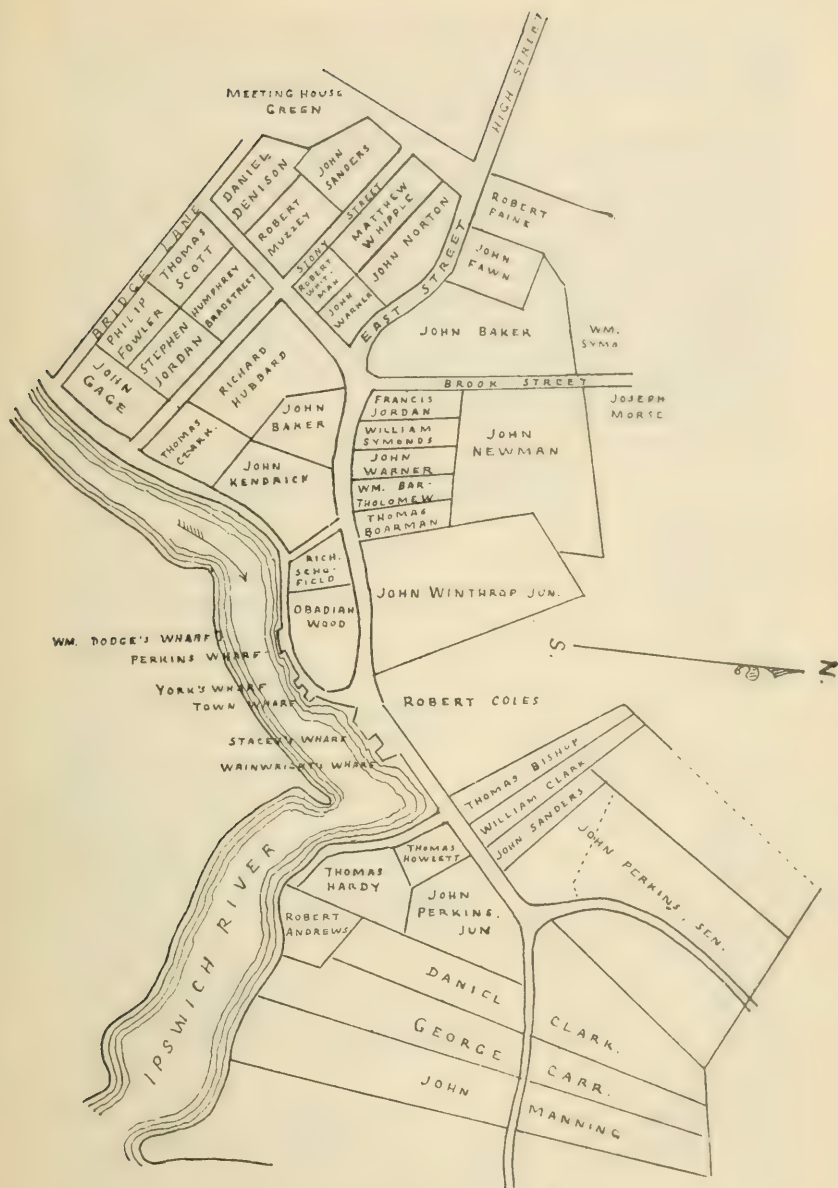


Diagram No. 3.

May 19, 1692. His son, Francis, was graduated at Harvard College in 1686. He was the Colonel of a regiment, Town Clerk, Representative in General Court, Feoffee and Justice of the General Sessions Court. He died on Aug. 3, 1711, in the forty-eighth year of his age.

The deeds do not reveal whether the purchaser of the Payne homestead was Francis Wainwright, Senior, or Francis, Junior, but the latter owned and occupied it, and his youngest daughter, Lucy, wife of Samuel Waldo of Boston, attorney, sold the house and four and a half acres, then in the tenure of Jabez Sweet, to Thomas Staniford, Feb. 28, 1740 (83:4).

Capt. Thomas Staniford "Gentleman" occupied the house until his death. His will was filed Sept. 7, 1778 (Pro. Rec. 353:206), and the inventory of his estate, filed Dec. 9, 1778 (353:316) reveals the furnishings of one of the fine mansions of the Revolutionary period, at the inflated values that prevailed at that time. Some items are of interest, which specify the wardrobe of a gentleman of that day and various articles of furniture.

The mansion house and 12 acres	£3500 - 0 - 0
About 1½ acres mowing land adjoining to Pulcifer's (the old Hovey estate on Water St. and Hovey's Lane)	150 - 0 - 0
½ Pew In the South Meeting House	10 - 0 - 0
a suit of brown broad cloth	13 - 0 - 0
1 dark col ^d homespun coat and jacket	10 - 0 - 0
1 cotton velvet jacket	48 - 0
a wigg 6/ 2 white jackets 24/	30 - 0
a pr. of leather breeches	3 - 0 - 0
a gold ring 36/ gold buttons 2½ pwt. watch £18 Sword £16	
a black walnut oval table	£7 - 0 - 0
a small black walnut oval table	36 - 0
a maple oval table	40 - 0
an old fashioned black walnut table	30 - 0
a small maple tea table	20 - 0
an old fashioned oak chest and drawers	7 - 6
an old desk	30 - 0
a large looking glass	6 - 0 - 0
a Dutch looking glass	24 - 0
an old fashioned case of drawers	30 - 0
6 cane back chairs and one great chair	63 - 0
6 hour glasses	12 - 0
3 brass candlesticks	18 - 0
one bed, bolster, and 2 pillows	20 - 2 - 0
one bed, bolster, and 2 pillows	24 - 3 - 0
(Five other beds, bolsters and pillows, appraised from £14 14 - 0 to £10 - 3 - 0	
Blue curtains with muslin linings, vallens, head-cloth, teister, curtain rods, under bed, bedstead and cord	20 - 0 - 0
a press bedstead, sacking bottom and curtain rods	6 - 0 - 0

a brass chafing dish	24 - 0
1 stove	10 - 0
1½ tons English hay	£37 - 0 - 0
4 tons and 16 hundred salt hay	48 - 0 - 0
a mare	20 - 0 - 0
a cow	17 - 0 - 0
The total valuation was	£5063 - 18 - 1

Capt. Staniford bequeathed his property to his four children, Mary, then the wife of Dummer Jewett, afterwards wife of Larkin Thorndike,¹ John, James and Ebenezer. John Staniford, then of Windham, Conn., conveyed his interest in the mansion and a half acre lot, to his brother James, April 23, 1779 (145: 82), and his interest in eleven and a half acres and a barn, to Richard Dummer Jewett, April 30, 1780 (142: 34). Lucy Staniford, widow of Ebenezer, conveyed her interest in the home lot to her father, Joseph Fowler, Feb. 15, 1787 (153: 92).

Capt. James Staniford occupied the mansion, which is often alluded to as the "old brick," because it had brick ends, and kept an inn. He also purchased of Richard Dummer Jewett an undivided half of five and three quarters acres of the land adjoining, May 28, 1803 (172: 178). The heirs of James Staniford and his son James, sold "the brick house" and eight and a half acres to Dr. Thomas Manning, June 10, 1830 (259: 76). He sold "the old brick" to his son, Dr. Joseph Manning of Charleston, S. C., Dec. 27, 1830 (266: 73) and he conveyed it to John Jewett, Dec. 9, 1835 (290: 121). Mr. Jewett tore down the old mansion, which was still in excellent preservation, and built on its site the brick dwelling, which was purchased a few years ago and torn down by Mr. John B. Brown and Mr. Harry B. Brown.

The Staniford land, east of the homestead, was sold as house lots. James Staniford sold a half of an undivided lot, with sixty-three feet front, to Dr. George W. Sawyer, May 10, 1806 (310: 222), and Dr. Sawyer sold the same to William Willcomb, June 1, 1808 (184: 175). The widow Mary Thorndike sold her half interest in this lot to the widow Susanna Willcomb, March 27, 1814 (203: 33). On May 20, 1824 (235: 176), the widow Willcomb sold her lot to the Trustees of the Methodist Episcopal Church. A Meeting House was built, and used by the Society until the present edifice was erected.

The old lot was then sold by the Trustees to Robert Jordan, May 17, 1862 (639: 104). He bought another piece adjoining, Oct. 5, 1863, and a small piece of John Jewett, Nov. 6, 1863 (660: 126). The dwelling he erected is now owned by Mr. Harry B. Brown.

A lot adjoining the Sawyer-Willcomb lot was sold by the widow Thorndike to John H. Dodge, as she mentions in her deed of her interest in "Brick House Hill" to Thomas Kimball, April 9, 1814 (203: 77). This lot was acquired by James Staniford, whose heirs sold to Joseph Wait, June 16, 1830 (259: 235). A lot, measuring forty feet on the front, abut-

¹Dummer Jewett and Mary Thorndike, pub. Oct. 11, 1754.

Larkin Thorndike of Beverly and Mrs. Mary Jewett, pub. Nov. 26, 1791.





Capt. Matthew Perkins house. Page 389.



The Hovey house. Page 395.

ting on the land of Daniel Russell, was sold by Wait to the Trustees of the Methodist Church, "with the buildings, the same having been built by subscription, and by said Trustees, their committee," May 6, 1831 (259: 236). This was the Parsonage of the Society as long as the old Meeting House was used. It was sold by the Trustees to Moses Spiller, Sept. 20, 1873 (889: 193) and was conveyed by him to his son, Augustine H. Spiller, Jan. 19: 1882 (1075: 210). The remainder of the lot was sold by Mr. Wait to William Oakes, July 19, 1836 (300: 233), and by the administratrix of the Oakes estate to Daniel L. Hodgkins, June 18, 1849 (602: 297). It is now included in the estate of Mr. Harry B. Brown.

John Fawn.

(Diagram 3).

The lot on which the ancient house stands, that has been identified erroneously with the house of John Fawn, Rev. John Norton and Rev. Thomas Cobbet, was granted originally to Mr. John Fawn, sold by him to Thomas Firman, and by Firman, with a house, to Rev. John Norton, the Teacher of the Ipswich Church, in 1638 (Town Record). Mr. Norton occupied it until he removed to Boston, and it was then occupied and eventually purchased by his successor, Rev. Thomas Cobbet. His son and heir, John Cobbet, sold the house and three acres to Francis Wainwright, June 29, 1696 (11: 155). Wainwright sold the house and four feet of land on the sides and rear to John Annable, March 9, 1696-7 (15: 55). The remainder of the three acres, an orchard lot, was sold by Major Wainwright to Capt. Matthew Perkins, Oct. 11, 1701 (17: 108).

The old Cobbet house, with its four feet of land about it, was sold by John Annable to Wm. Stone, March 16, 1707 (20: 108). It was owned successively by Robert Holmes and his heirs, Nathaniel March and his son, and Daniel Russell, who bought the house and land in 1818. Mrs. Susan Lakeman the daughter of Daniel Russell, was born in the old mansion still standing, in 1815. She remembers that it was always said that her father tore down an old house close by in 1818, called "the March house." This was the original Norton - Cobbet house.

The present Daniel Russell house was built so near the site of the old Norton-Cobbet house that it covered the ancient well, which is still in the cellar, and furnishes water for the neighboring stable. The spot is of thrilling interest as the place where Norton lived, and wrote his learned works, and where Mr. Cobbet gathered his neighbors for prayer for his captive son. Here, too, Mugg, the Indian chief, came to see the Pastor, on his way to Boston to confer with the Governor.

Capt. Matthew Perkins built a house for himself on the orchard lot, which he retained. It descended to his daughters and was owned successively by William Dodge, Samuel Williams, Benjamin Brown, Jonathan Newmarch, Ephraim Kendall, Samuel Sawyer, Richard Sutton, Abraham Caldwell and Daniel Russell. The deed of Esther Eldwell for herself and her brother Abraham Perkins to Richard Sutton, specified that it was the homestead of their great grandfather, Capt. Matthew Perkins, July 26,

1768 (127: 84). The southeast half of the house was owned by Mr. Daniel Hodgkins, and he built a new residence on land to the eastward of the ancient dwelling, which had been originally used as the barn yard.¹

John Baker.

(Diagram 3.)

John Baker owned, by grant, from the Cobbet property to the corner of Brook St.² or Hog Lane, as it was called. On May 30, 1670, he sold a quarter acre on the corner of Brook St. and the highway to John Knowlton Sen. (Ips. Deeds 4: 171). John Staniford purchased a house lot west of this, of John Baker, a quarter acre, extending to Hog Lane, bounded east by land of Deacon Thomas Knowlton, now in occupation of Nathan Knowlton, Sept. 7, 1687 (33: 31). John Baker sold John Baker Junior, a half acre out of his lot adjoining Staniford's, May 31, 1698 (33: 181). To his son Thomas, he conveyed the house where he lived and the remainder of his land, June 14, 1698 (35: 44). The other heirs of Thomas conveyed their interest in the estate of their father to John Baker, Tertius, Dec. 27, 1727 (59: 206).

John Baker Junior sold eight acres with buildings, largely land on the hillside, to Nathaniel Jones Jr., May 3, 1742 (105: 57). Jones had previously bought of Joseph Grow, a house and one and a half acres on Brook St., Oct. 22, 1733 (66: 261). Jones sold the northwest end of his dwelling and two acres of land, seven rods frontage, to George Newman Jr., weaver, March 1, 1756 (105: 56); the rest of his estate was mortgaged to Henry Wise, March 27, 1758 (105: 58). Wise foreclosed and sold to John Henderson, Nov. 10, 1763 (114: 244). Henderson sold to Peter Freeman, a small dwelling and a quarter acre, Aug. 12, 1760 (160: 192). The heirs of Freeman sold to Samuel Colman, April 27, 1784 (160: 192) who mortgaged to Thomas Manning, Nov. 29, 1816 (212: 149). Manning gained possession (218: 244) and sold to Stephen Low, June 26, 1824 (235: 278), who sold to Thomas Ross, guardian of John Newmarch, Jan. 19, 1828 (248: 53). Newmarch sold to Richard Lakeman. Lakeman built the house, which was purchased a little later by his brother, Capt. Eben Lakeman, whose heirs still own and occupy it. The old house was located back of the present dwelling.

The northwest part of the Jones estate, sold to Geo. Newman Jr., came into the possession of Samuel Eveleth, who sold to Richard Lakeman Jr., April 21, 1810 (190: 139). Lakeman sold to Nath. Harris Jr. The Harris residence is the old house west of the Lakeman dwelling. Mr. Edward W. Choate built his house on a part of the Harris land.

The half acre lot, sold by John to John Baker Jr., came to Samuel Baker, and his widow, Sarah. It was acquired by Ebenezer Staniford, March 8, 1806 (177: 201). Staniford mortgaged the house and land to

¹ See a detailed study of the Norton-Cobbet location in the Publications of the Ipswich Historical Society, v: pp. 69-75.

² Brook Street was the ancient name of Spring Street.

Mary Dennis and Lydia Newmarch, in 1813 (201: 118), and his administrator quitclaimed to Mary Dennis and Lydia, formerly the wife of Newmarch, but then the wife of John H. Dodge, Jan. 1818 (222: 175). It is still known as the Dodge house. The eastern half of the lot came into the possession of John T. Caldwell, who sold to Thomas Sweet, Oct. 31, 1866 (744: 35), who sold in turn to Moses A. Fellows and Sarah G. Hodgkins, May 9, 1873 (936:1). Mr. Fellows built his dwelling on this spot.

Capt. Jeremiah Staniford inherited the homestead of his father, Capt. John. Daniel Staniford received the homestead (179: 114) and sold to Nath. Lord 3d, March 5, 1811 (193: 115). Nath. Lord sold to two women, whose names are well remembered, Lucy Fuller and Polly Dole, April 29, 1837 (301: 268). The administrator of Lucy Fuller's estate sold to Daniel S. Burnham, Aug. 23, 1865 (692: 195).

The corner lot, sold by Baker to John Knowlton, was acquired by Nathaniel Knowlton, who sold his house and land to John Caldwell, Feb. 1, 1689 (Ips. Deeds 5: 404). Caldwell sold to his brother-in-law, Jacob Caldwell, half of the house and land, July 11, 1723 (42: 185). John Caldwell 4th, school master, sold to Philip Hammon Jr., mariner, Feb. 7, 1787 (149: 233). Capt. Hammon or Hammond died at sea, and his widow Abigail sold to Capt. Wm. Treadwell, Nov. 5, 1823 (232: 301). His heirs are still in possession. The present dwelling was unfinished when Capt. Treadwell bought, but much material from the older house was evidently used in its construction.

BROOK ST., OR HOG LANE

as it was called in the early times.

On the west side, beginning with East St., John Baker was the original owner of a tract which had its front on East St., and its eastern bound was the Lane. The corner lot was sold by him to John Knowlton, in 1670, and the successive owners of this lot have already been traced.

The lot which Baker sold to John Staniford in 1687 (33: 31) and which has been fully described, was bounded on one side by Hog Lane, north of Knowlton's land. This was owned, as we have already said, by several generations of Stanifords, Nath. Lord, Lucy Fuller and Daniel S. Burnham. The cottage house north of the Treadwell lot is on this estate.

Another section of the John Baker land, north of that sold to Staniford, was retained in the family line and inherited by Samuel. His widow, Lucy, married George Newman Jr., and he united with her, as administratrix of her late husband, Samuel Baker, in selling a threequarter acre pasture "beginning at Jeremiah Staniford's land at Hog Lane up said lane to Nathaniel Jones land," to George Newman, May 2, 1758 (138: 118), and this was conveyed to George Newman Jr., May 5, 1758 (138: 119). The widow Lucy Newman and Benjamin Warner sold this to Samuel Evely or Eveleth, May 20, 1794 (159: 43). He sold this and his house lot on High St. to Richard Lakeman Jr., April 21, 1810 (190: 139) and Lakeman to Nathaniel Harris Jr., July 14, 1810 (190: 139). Caleb Lord

and the heirs of Nathaniel Harris sold two and a half acres to Abraham C. Sherburne, Sept. 12, 1845 (359: 98) and he sold the same to Essex County, "part of the Nathaniel Harris homestead," Sept. 27, 1845 (359: 99).

The County improved the fine spring on the land and laid a pipe to the House of Correction. A new well was sunk some years since to supplement the springs.

William Symonds.

(Diagram 3.)

North of the Reservoir lot, owned by the County, William Symonds owned two house lots. He sold a house and a three quarter acre lot to John Woodam, bricklayer, Mr. Baker's land south, his own land north, March 31, 1654 (Ips. Deeds 1: 158), and his house and an acre lot to Woodam, Dec. 19, 1656 (Ips. Deeds 1: 183). Joseph Morse had a house and lot, which his son John inherited in 1646. John Morse's house lot bounded this on the south. Woodam enlarged his lower lot on the north end by the addition of a half acre, with an orchard, bought of Edward Nelaup "Irishman", 12-10-1664 (Ips. Deeds 4: 76), which Neland had bought of John Baker, April 28, 1664 (Ips. Deeds 2: 270). Mary Woodam, relict of John, sold the upper house and a quarter acre lot to Robert Lord, March 29, 1679 (Ips. Deeds 4: 336).

The balance of the Woodam lots, and the Robert Lord lot as well, perhaps, came into the possession of John Grow. In 1722, July 26, there was presented to the Town,

"A petition of Doctor Thomas Berry, shewing as it has been found by experience, that a cold bath is of great service to mankind, and there being a suitable and convenient place to erect a bath-house at the upper end of the spring in Hogg Lane, so called, nigh the house of John Grow, praying that the town would please to make a grant to him and his heirs, of twenty feet of ground, below the bank at the foot of the upper spring, to erect an edifice for the use aforesaid, the Town reserving to themselves the whole benefit of the lower great spring, which is no ways to be diverted."

The Committee, to which the petition was referred, reported that it would be no detriment, "provided he comes not within 24 feet of Grow's wall, also if three of the neighbors make complaint he shall open the spring again directly." The privilege was granted. The lower spring is that which the County utilized. This upper spring was further up the Lane. The bath-house was probably built by the roadside.

John Grow, weaver, "in consideration that our said son, Joseph Grow, by the hand of God is deprived of sight and thereby rendered Un capable to labour for a livelyhood, as otherwise he could have done," conveyed to the blind man the southernmost end of his house lot, about a quarter of an acre, Feb. 1, 1721-2(41: 70). Joseph came into possession of his father's estate and sold his house and an acre and a half to Nathaniel Jones, Oct. 22, 1733 (66: 261). Jones sold to John Henderson, Aug. 22, 1751 (96: 191). John Henderson, administrator of John Jr., sold two thirds of house and

land on Brook St. to William Holland, April 6, 1757 (130: 168), and a two acre lot on Brook St. to Thomas Staniford, March 5, 1760 (121: 69). Staniford was already the owner of the lot adjoining on the north.

Alice Perkins, widow of Isaac Perkins, owned "land lying above the street called Brook Street, six acres, bounded east by the highway leading through the planting lots," and sold to Joseph Morse, 15th 4th month 1639 (Town Record). Joseph Morse bequeathed the house and lot and six acres he had bought of the widow Perkins and the house and lot he bought of Thomas Dorman, to his wife, Dorothy, and his other house with two acres, and six acres adjoining, to his son, John (Ips. Deeds 1: 18, 1646). John Morse sold Thomas Lovell, a house and one and a half acres and pasture adjoining, "the pasture a little way from the bars at the end of Brook St.," Jan. 4, 1663 (Ips. Deeds 2: 180 and 181).

Abraham Warr owned a lot north of that which William Symmes sold to John Woodam in 1656. The administrator of Warr's estate sold three quarters of an acre at the upper end of Brook St. to Francis Young, Dec. 29, 1677 (Ips. Deeds 4: 310). Young sold to John Staniford, March 12, 1678-9 (33: 32). Thomas Staniford owned in 1760, when he bought the Henderson land, and it was included in the eleven acres, which the widow Mary Thorndike sold to Thomas Kimball. It is still a part of the same estate, now owned by Mr. John B. Brown.

John Newman.

(Diagram 3.)

On the east side of Brook St., John Newman sold to William Goodhue, weaver, for twenty shillings, the commonage belonging to his dwelling "situated and being in Brook Street, alias Hogg Lane, between the dwelling houses of Francis Jordan and Joseph Morse." 1st 2nd 1646 (Town Record).

At that date, then, there were only two houses on the east side, as Jordan's was on the corner of East Street. But John Warner sold a lot between Jordan's, then occupied by Jeffry Snelling, and Newman's, with a house, to John Woodam, March 10, 1655 (Ips. Deeds 1: 222). Woodam sold the house and a quarter acre lot to Giles Birdley, Jan. 4, 1658 (Ips. Deeds 1: 235). This may have been only a part of the lot he bought in 1655, as the northern bound of the land he sold to Birdley was a house and land belonging to Woodam. Birdley sold to Thomas Knowlton Jr., Nov. 1, 1666 (Ips. Deeds 3: 18). This deed gives John Newman Sr. as the abutter on the north, and it indicates that Birdley had bought the remainder of Woodam's land.

Sergeant Free Grace Norton, of Capt. Samuel Appleton's Company, who was killed at Hatfield, on Oct. 10, 1675, owned the house and lot at the time of his death. His administrator sold a half acre, though no mention is made of a house, to Thomas Dennis, June 20, 1677 (Ips. Deeds 4: 123). John Dennis owned it in 1708, when John Potter bought the corner lot (20: 199) and Ensign John Dennis still owned in 1739. He bought

three acres of pasture land east of the house lot of John Newman, Feb. 23, 1709-10 (23: 116). The house lots seem to have been bounded on the east by a stretch of pasture land, which was owned originally by George Farlow, then by Roger Lankton, who had a house about where the late David F. Dow's residence stands, and then by Thomas Newman.

John Dennis or his heirs, sold a house lot abutting on the Hovey lot, to John Henderson, as Henderson's heirs owned in 1777. Henderson built the house still owned by his heirs. Thomas Caldwell bought the northern half of the house with land, and sold to James Smith, July 11, 1796 (163: 256). John Choate, administrator of Elizabeth, widow of James Smith, sold to James Smith, Feb. 21, 1833 (275: 82) whose daughter, Elizabeth, wife of Abraham C. Sherburne, inherited, and her heirs still own. The southern half of the house and land of Thomas Henderson were sold by Joseph Henderson, by order of Probate Court, to Abigail Henderson, July 6, 1829 (275: 82) and her heirs still own.

The remainder of the John Dennis land was retained by the family. Nathaniel Dennis succeeded to the ownership, and Thomas. Thomas Dennis sold to Nathaniel A. Millett, April 21, 1860 (604: 185). His heirs built the colonial house, a little removed from the street.

John Newman sold to John Dane Sr. (Ips. Deeds 4: 97, conveyance of commonage). Robert Dutch acquired possession and sold to Nathaniel Chapman, a half acre lot, in 1681 (Ips. Deeds 4: 400). Nathaniel Caldwell owned in 1709, and a slip of the recorder's pen may have been responsible for the insertion of Chapman's name, instead of Caldwell's, in the deed of 1681.

Nathaniel Caldwell conveyed to his son John, "my homestead in which I now live," a half acre, bounded north by John Newman, March 30, 1713 (33: 186). John Caldwell sold to his son, John, a half acre, "mostly planted with apple trees," March 2, 1717-8 (37: 32). John Dennis sold John Chadwell (an obvious error for Caldwell) a narrow strip on the northeast side of his house lot, in 1722 (40: 218). Aaron Caldwell owned in 1755. Moses Caldwell sold the lot with a dwelling to Stephen Caldwell, May 4, 1824 (236: 210). Stephen Caldwell of Newburyport sold to Elizabeth Caldwell, Oct. 4, 1839 (321: 286). David Pulcifer sold the same, conveyed to his wife Elizabeth above, to William Burrows, July 10, 1851 (448: 82).

John Newman Jr. received a grant of a Plum Island lot in 1665 "for the house that was Roger Lankton's" (Town Record). Thomas Newman had purchased Lankton's pasture land in the rear of the lots, and John Dane's conveyance of commonage, dated June 1, 1677, of the Burrows lot, gave as the northwest bound of that lot, the land of John Newman, the son of Thomas Newman, deceased (Ips. Deeds 4: 97). The widow of John Newman occupied it in 1717. John Newman and others sold to Thomas Dennis, a house and five acres, bounded north by William Harris and south, partly on the heirs of John Wainwright, partly on land of Ensign John Dennis, and John Caldwell, Nov. 14, 1735 (76: 27).

On March 24, 1755, John Bennet sold a quarter acre lot, with a dwelling, to William Robins, bounded "northeast by Thomas Dennis's cartway that leads up the hill," east, as the fence stands by said Dennis and partly by Mr. John Dennis, south by Aaron Caldwell's land, March 24, 1755 (unrecorded deed in the possession of Mr. Arthur W. Dow). Robins sold to Edward Martin, May 30, 1808 (195: 245). Edward Martin sold half of the old house and lot "beginning at the middle of the fore-door" to David Dow, June 16, 1817 (213: 138). Eunice Dow and others quitclaimed to David F. Dow Nov. 7, 1857 (572: 33). The old house had disappeared, and Mr. Dow built the present dwelling. The ancient well was discovered by accident, and was used again. His heirs still own the estate. The Joseph Morse house mentioned in John Newman's deed of 1646, may be identical with Roger Lankton's. No deed of conveyance is known.

Francis Jordan.

(Diagram 3.)

The lot on the corner of Brook St. and East St. seems to have been owned by Francis Jordan, though Jeffry Snelling, the Town-Whipper, was in occupancy in 1655. Richard Belcher, of Charlestown, sold the house and land to John Potter, Dec. 22, 1708; "the message or tenement that was formerly Francis Jordan's deceased," about 2 acres, "bounded west by the lane commonly called Hog Lane, and east by land of John Harris" (20: 199). The deed specifies an "old house." The ancient house on this lot can scarcely be identified with this, and must have been built subsequent to 1708, though the architecture indicates this period.

Daniel Potter sold the house and lot to Thomas Hovey 3d, fisherman, March 31, 1741 (81: 176). At Hovey's death, half the house and land was set off to his widow Rebecca, and the other half was sold by John Hovey to Ebenezer Hovey, April 29, 1777 (135: 122). Michael Hodge of Newburyport brought suit against Ebenezer Hodge, and execution was made upon his estate in favor of Hodge, Aug. 1787 (147: 31). Hodge sold to Ebenezer Hovey Jr., July 14, 1796. John Holmes Hovey quitclaimed to Stephen Hovey, his interest in the house of his father, Ebenezer, "near Hovey's Bridge," July 21, 1827 (247: 230).

John H. and Izette Hovey sold the west half of the house to James Scott Jr., Oct. 29, 1870 (812: 221). Asa Lord sold the east half of the house to Perley Scott, . . . April, 1840 (537: 227). The ancient house, still a comfortable dwelling, is now owned by Mr. James Damon, and Mrs. Edward Damon. The Town owned a gravel pit on the east side of the house in 1840, and used it, as long as the limits of the lot permitted.

William Symonds and John Warner.

(Diagram 3.)

The next original lot was owned by William Symonds, planter. He sold to Thomas Harris, fisherman, "my house, wherein I now dwell" with

two acres, bounded northeast by the house lot, now owned by Harris, which he bought of John Warner, 1648 (Ips. Deeds 1: 159).

By the will of Thomas Harris, his estate was divided between his sons, John, Ebenezer and William, extending from the Stephen Hovey lot to the lot now owned and occupied by the widow of John Roberts. John owned the west part, William the east portion. Ebenezer sold William half a dwelling and a third of the house lot and orchard, half the barn, leantos and shop, and a fourth of the "clay pitt meadow" on the opposite side of the street, Feb. 25, 1695 (32: 49). The heirs of, John (William and John) succeeded to his estate. John had the east half and William the west, Dec. 22, 1742 (82: 252).

William Harris sold a piece of land, three rods six feet on the Street, the line on the east side running north, over the middle of a well, two rods eight feet, to John Holmes May 18, 1766 (158: 133). Capt. Holmes built the house now standing next the Hovey house, which his widow Sarah sold Joseph Wait, March 12, 1805 (176: 26). Joseph Wait sold to Elizabeth and Polly Ross, singlewomen, the house "which I purchased of Sarah Holmes" July 12, 1816 (209: 277). "Polly" Ross kept a "dame store" in the small building connected with the house. It was purchased by Aaron H. Sweet, whose will, filed Feb. 7, 1860, bequeathed all his property to his widow. She conveyed it to Dr. Chas. Cullis, of the Home for Consumptives, March 5, 1880 (1033: 145), who sold to Frederic Willcomb, Jan. 31, 1885 (1354: 216).

The John Harris property descended to Capt. Stephen Baker, whose heirs still own and occupy.

William Harris, son of Thomas, sold Richard Pulsifer, a lot forty feet square, at the southeast corner of his homestead, abutting east on Col. Wainwright, April 19, 1704 (18: 72). He sold his son, Wm. Harris Jr., a small plot adjoining Pulcifer's, two rods ten feet wide on the street, and three rods deep, June 9, 1727 (53: 257), and on this lot, Harris built a house. Wm. Harris sold his son Wm. Jun. the northeast half of his homestead, the line running through the well, March 15, 1739 (79: 237) and the other half to his daughter, Sarah Hodgkins, July 15, 1742 (86: 30). Hezekiah Hodgkins and Sarah sold their interest in their father William's estate and the old house thereon to William 3d, Feb. 5, 1747 (93: 144). William 3d sold the whole of the original estate of his father, save the Pulcifer lot, to Richard Harris, Feb. 12, 1757 (103: 228).

Richard's property came to Samuel, partly by purchase, March 15, 1805 (179: 150) and Samuel sold to John How Boardman, the whole one and a half acres, May 29, 1823 (232: 123). Boardman sold to Joseph Harris, the west end of the lot, 52 ft. front, the line running through the well 70 ft. 8 in. deep on Stephen Baker, May 18, 1836 (289: 76). Joseph Harris mortgaged the house and land to John How Boardman May 1836 (337: 32), and possession was given Dec. 6, 1847 (391: 233). Aaron Cogswell inherited the Boardman estate and sold to Henry F. Dunnels, April 9, 1864 (667: 135), who sold to Aaron Hubbard one and a half acres, Sept. 22, 1873. Mr. Hubbard built the present dwelling on the sightly terrace. The

ancient Harris house was located in front of this, on the line of the street. David Harris, a Dartmoor prisoner, is remembered as an occupant of this old dwelling.

The Richard Pulcifer lot, forty feet square, with a house, passed through various hands. Francis Hovey sold it to William Stone, Sept. 6, 1796 (171: 85). His widow sold to Benj. Averill, Nov. 8, 1823 (239: 223). The house was a small building, and stood in front of the present dwelling that occupies this lot. It was torn down about 1850. The well of the old house is near the street line.

A lot in the rear of this was sold by Richard Harris to David Harris, forty feet wide, one hundred feet deep, with a right of foot-way thither, Dec. 28, 1801 (174: 66). Harris built a house which was occupied later by Thomas C. Boardman. This lot was sold by the administrator of Boardman to Joseph Hovey in 1843, whose heirs still own, together with the Richard Pulcifer lot.

William Bartholomew.

(Diagram 3.)

Wm. Bartholomew sold the lot granted him here to Lionel Chute school-master, Oct. 1, 1639 (Town Record). His son, James, inherited and his only son, James, bought the interest of his "brother Joseph Jewett in Rowley" and sold to John Wainwright, three acres and dwelling, Sept. 20, 1692 (Ips. Deeds 5: 551). Wainwright was one of the most important men of his day. He came into possession of a large estate reaching to the wharves, but this original Chute lot may be considered here for convenience. Col. John Wainwright's will was probated in 1708 (Pro. Rec. 310: 19-21). His estate was valued at the princely figure of £20,000. He bequeathed his land to his sons, Samuel and John. Samuel's estate, inventoried in 1774, included "four acres of land called Chute's lot." In the division of his estate, to No. 3, was assigned, "Chute's lot so called, 2 acres 1 qr. 34 rods," bounded northeast by Richard Sutton southwest by Richard Harris and widows Legrow and Beal." This was settled on Elizabeth, sister of Samuel. (Pro. Rec. 352: 138, 546).

Dr. John Manning sold Nathaniel Kinsman a certain piece of pasture land, two acres one quarter three rods "being the same that was set off to James Winthrop, administrator of Samuel Winthrop Esq. estate towards justifying due execution in his favor against Elizabeth Wainwright, and which was afterwards released by said James to William Winthrop, and by said William to me, the said John Manning, by an instrument dated 7 June 1792" (156: 141, June 15, 1792). John Kinsman sold the lot to Joseph Hovey, "commonly called the Wainwright lot, being part of the real estate of my late honored father, Nathaniel Kinsman, deceased, and set off to my late honored mother, Elizabeth, deceased" (Pro. Rec. 1820). Mrs. Roberts, daughter of Joseph Hovey, inherited this ancient house lot and a dwelling was built again upon it. This absolute identification of the Chute lot is of great value in determining other locations.

Thomas Boreman or Boarman.

(Diagram 3.)

The lot adjoining Bartholomew's original grant was assigned to Thomas Boreman, who had a two acre lot in the East end, with the house lot of John Winthrop northeast. Boreman sold this to Philip Long, a house and house lot, two acres "in the comon field" bounded east by Mr. Wade (Mr. Winthrop had sold his lands here at this time) and west by Mr. James Chute, 1647 (Ips. Deeds 1: 36 & 37).

Long sold to William Norton (Ips. Deeds 1: 39 & 41). John, Thomas Samuel, Jonathan and Mary, children of Nathaniel Piper, formerly of Ipswich, and Tristram Greenlief, husband of Margaret, another child, with the advice and consent of their mother, Sarah, some time since married to Ezekiel Woodward of Wenham, sold John Wainwright a house and two acres, which was their father's, "the land of James Chute, west, and Mr. John Wainwright's homestead east," June 18, 1690 (Ips. Deeds 5: 314). The whole Wainwright property will be considered later.

John Winthrop.

(Diagram 3.)

The house lot of Mr. Winthrop has been located, though without reason, on the Argilla road, and the old Thomas Burnham house, now owned by Mrs. Perley Lakeman has been called the Winthrop house. An ancient house on Castle Hill, built by Capt. Daniel Eppes, has also been attributed to Winthrop. Here, however, on East Street, the ancient Records of the Town locate him, adjoining Mr. Boreman. It only remains to define the limit of the Boreman lot and that abutting on the east side of the Winthrop, lot, and thus determine the location of Winthrop. Unfortunately the size of Mr. Winthrop's house lot is not specified, and no deed of sale has been preserved. Mr. Wade was the owner after Winthrop, as Boreman's deed to Long makes evident. The same lot with a house was sold by Richard Wells of Salisbury to John Johnson, and this deed specifies for the first time that the lot contained six acres. As Dudley had a grant of nine acres, the leader of the Colony would have been generously remembered as well 23: 7 - 1654 (Ips. Deeds 1: 211). The same large lot was sold by Wm Buckley to Elizabeth Bridgham of Boston (the deed mentions seven acres) and specifies that it is bounded south by the street and "three little parcels on which houses are already built," Nov. 24, 1671 (Ips. Deeds 3: 197). Buckley had carved out these small lots and sold them. The first was that sold to Giles Cowes, a quarter acre, on the southeast corner of the large lot, abutting on John Leighton, Aug. 2, 1669 (Ips. Deeds 3: 127). Another lot was sold to Thomas Newman Jr. and a third to John Barry on the southwest corner, abutting on Nathaniel Piper. Barry sold this house and land to John Wainwright, Aug. 6, 1678 (Ips. Deeds 4: 253). Mr. Wainwright was living here when he bought the Piper lot, in 1690.

The large main lot was sold by Jonathan Bridgham of Boston to Fran-

cis Wainwright, Feb. 27, 1671 (Ips. Deeds 3: 243). He deeded to his son, John, "as he promised on his marriage with Elizabeth, daughter of Mr. Wm. Norton, March 10, 1674-5" "the house sd. John occupies," bounded by John Layton, Giles Cowes and Thomas Newman on the east and the lands which John had already bought of John Barry and the Piper heirs, April 4, 1691 (Ips. Deeds 5: 444). Wainwright bought the Chute homestead in 1692, and thus owned all the land from the Harrises to Leighton's, excepting the small lots of Newman and Cowes. Newman sold to Major Francis Wainwright, July 3, 1702 (15: 134) and Stephen Minot Jr., son-in-law of Wainwright, sold it to William Vrine, Nov. 27, 1713 (30: 63). Col. John Wainwright was a man of fine quality, Representative, Justice of the Sessions Court, and Colonel of a Regiment. The large cellar in the center of the lot, still known traditionally as the Wainwright lot, marks the site of the spacious mansion. The later history of the lot is considered in the sketch which follows of the whole Wainwright estate.

Robert Coles.

(Diagram 3.)

The lot adjoining Winthrop's on the east was granted to Robert Coles, but he sold to Joseph Medcalf. Medcalf sold the eastern part of his lot to Isaac Cummings, the western to Deacon William Goodhue, before 1639 (Town Records). John Leighton was the owner in 1654. He sold to Nath. Treadwell April 16, 1691 (9: 268). Nathaniel Treadwell sold the dwelling and three and a half acres bounded east by Samuel Taylor to John Wainwright, son of John, now deceased, Oct. 1, 1710 (23: 33).

Samuel Taylor then owned the adjoining estate, and Nath. Treadwell, his executor and Samuel Treadwell, his legatee, sold the house and an acre lot to John Wainwright, Oct. 21, 1710 (22: 216).

Financial reverses now overtook the ambitious landholder, and he made conveyance to Samuel Appleton of Boston, of "sundry messuages or house lots, commonly known by the names of Leighton's lot, Taylor's lot, Newman's homestead and the late messuage or house lott of my honored grandfather, Francis Wainwright," about fifteen acres, upland, tillage, pasture and meadow, Oct. 25, 1726 (47: 144). On Leighton's lot, the deed informs us, there was a new house not finished.¹ On Newman's homestead was a dwelling then occupied by Nathaniel Newman and William Roberts. On the lot of Francis Wainwright, his late mansion was in the tenure of Henry Spiller. This spacious estate was bounded in part by his father's lot, bought of the Piper heirs, adjoining the Samuel Wainwright estate, now of Roberts, and on the east extended to the Richard Lakeman estate.

¹ This may possibly be identified with the ancient portion of the old Sawyer house. The panelling is very elaborate and is of the same style as that of the Rogers Manse, built in 1727, which was removed by Mr. John B. Brown, and is incorporated in the cabinet room of the House of the Historical Society.

Samuel Appleton, described as a resident in Boston, at the time of his death, owned the Samuel N. Baker mansion, with other real estate in Ipswich. He died in London, and his estate was insolvent. Jasper Waters and Jasper Waters Jr., of London, linen drapers, took his estate, and sold the spacious East Street property to Francis Cogswell, June 2, 1733 (65: 146). Only a single mansion house is mentioned in this deed, but the land measured twelve acres.

The Col. John Wainwright estate, called "his homestead" in the deed of sale, bounded by Samuel Wainwright west and Francis Cogswell east, was sold by Chambers Russell of Charlestown to Francis Sayer (Sawyer) May 3, 1746 (90: 46). Samuel Sawyer, son of Francis, inherited all his real estate and enlarged his inheritance by various purchases, until his holding on this side of East St. included all the original Wainwright land, except the Samuel Wainwright lot. The Francis Cogswell estate was secured by successive purchases from the heirs, and from those to whom the heirs had sold (see 159: 249, 250; 160: 201, 202). He also secured the various small lots that had been sold out of the ancient Winthrop estate, the lot that has been mentioned as owned by William Vrine, and another of Giles Cowes, later John Harris, etc., and the lot then owned by Richard Sutton, abutting on the widow John Roberts estate, May 15, 1793 (160: 202). His ownership, I think, was continuous from the Roberts estate to the Richard Lakeman, with lands on the other side the street, and on Manning's Neck. This was inherited by his son, James B. Sawyer, and at his death it was sold in various small lots to the present owners. His house is the only building of any considerable age in this large tract. It is a matter of surmise, as to the original owner and builder. Our identification of it with the possible new house on the Leighton lot, is rendered uncertain by a tradition that bears the ear marks of historic fact, that a mansion of superior quality with marble steps, stood on the site of the Brocklebank house, and that these marble slabs were shipped by a schooner to Boston and used again for building purposes. When the Brocklebank house was built, the site of a former residence was revealed. A pavement of large heavy bricks was unearthed, where the Brocklebank barn stands.

Thomas Bishop and William Clark.

(Diagram 3.)

William Clark sold one and a half acres to Thomas Clark, in 1639, (Town Record), and on the west of this was a lot owned by Thomas Bishop, in 1639, then by his son, Samuel. These two lots apparently were combined in the three acre lot which was owned by William Hodgkins, then by Christopher Hodgkins. Hodgkins sold to Archelaus Lakeman, bounded west by Francis Wainwright, east by Andrew Burley, May 13, 1718 (34: 207). By the will of Archelaus, his sons Archelaus and Richard received the real estate (Pro. March 31, 1746, 326: 547-9.) Archelaus mortgaged or sold his half to Richard who became the sole owner, Dec. 6, 1746 (90:

129). This deed gives the eastern abutters as Andrew Burley and Thomas Treadwell, and Burley seems to have sold land on the street to Treadwell. The inventory of Richard Lakeman, Oct. 1765 (Pro. Rec. 342: 255), included two thirds of the homestead, and a warehouse on the other side of the way. His son, Richard, succeeded and rendered a final account of his father's estate, as it seems, a dwelling-house, barn, and about three acres of land with an old warehouse June 7, 1790 (Pro. Rec. 360: 385, 507). Richard Jr. sold half the dwelling to his son Ebenezer Feb. 7, 1823 (230: 238). It is still known as the Lakeman house.

John Sanders and John Perkins.

(Diagram 3.)

From the Lakeman place to the corner of the Road to Jeffries' Neck, there were two original lots, John Sanders, next to the Lakeman place, and then John Perkins, the elder, but Perkins bought of Sanders, his lot, an acre and three rods, in 1639. He was the first of a long line of John Perkinses, which has never been lost, and his lineal descendant of the ninth generation, bears the name today. John Perkins had sons, John and Jacob. Jacob had sons, John, Jacob and Matthew. Jacob remained in the homestead and sold Jacob, called the 3d, who had married John Sparks's daughter, three quarters of an acre for a house lot, Wm. Hodgkins southwest, March 23, 1685-6 (8: 51). Jacob, Senior, sold his dwelling, barn and orchard to his sons, Jacob and Matthew, March 13, 1693-4 (9: 271) the new house being northwest. John Perkins, "Tailor" and Matthew Perkins, weaver, the sons of Jacob Perkins 3d, then Serg. Jacob, agreed to divide the paternal estate. Jacob received the "mansion next to widow Hodgkins" 1695 (13: 108). Jacob Perkins, in his will, probated 1705 (308: 431), bequeathed his sons, John and Jacob, and his daughter, Elizabeth, his houses and lands, and his son Elisha, is also included.

Matthew, the weaver, had inherited or built a house for himself on his portion of his father's estate, but he built a new dwelling which has already been considered, and gave or sold his old house and half an acre, to his son, Matthew Jr., May 26, 1709 (35: 104).

John Perkins, son of Jacob, then of Norwich, sold his interest in the house next to the Hodgkins-Lakeman lot to Thomas Treadwell Jun., cordwainer, Oct. 18, 1708 (22: 40) and Matthew executed a like deed, March 24, 1707-8 (21: 153). Treadwell sold the house, shop, and an acre to Daniel Lakeman, Nov. 11, 1747 (90: 128). Wm. Leatherland was in occupancy in 1791 and Moses Leatherland owned in 1824. The house is not even remembered, but its probable site is indicated by the stone wall and embankment east of the Lakeman house.

Elisha Perkins, son of Jacob, came into possession of the land adjoining. He divided his estate into a number of small lots. He sold William Leatherland, who had married his sister, Elizabeth, a lot, four rods front three and a half deep, where Leatherland dwelt, in a new house Elisha

had built, Nov. 24, 1715 (29: 189). John Leatherland, son of Wm., quit-claimed his interest in his father's homestead to his brother Jacob, May 20, 1741 (81: 237). Jacob, then sole owner, enlarged the lot by purchasing a half acre on the hill back of the house, of Elisha Perkins, July 10, 1741 (81: 236). Rebecca, his widow and executrix of Jacob Leatherland, sold half the house and land to Silvanus Lakeman, March 12, 1754 (160: 202). Several of these small lots must have been combined in the acre of land with a house, which Daniel Rogers sold to Daniel Boardman, "including a well in front of the house, now partly filled up, Boardman to keep the fence as agreed by Jacob Leatherland, the original purchaser," April 11, 1791 (153: 59). Boardman bought land of Elizabeth Colman, widow, and administratrix of Daniel Lakeman, on the hill side, May 24, 1793 (157: 15) and of Abigail Holland, May 5, 1802. His administrator, Asa Wiggin, sold the property, two and a quarter acres to Francis H. Boardman, who re-conveyed it at once to Wiggin, June 19, 1824 (235: 247). This house too was not standing in 1830. It was bounded east by the land of Elisha Perkins, in 1791, but Elisha had died in 1781 and his daughter Abigail Holland, succeeded to the ownership (Pro. Rec. 354: 380).

Elisha Perkins sold another small lot, three rods front and three and a half back, to Thomas and John Philips, Nov. 18, 1717 (33: 85), but this seems to have reverted to him. Another small lot was sold to Arthur Abbott, at the northeast corner of his homestead, Feb. 13, 1716 (34: 16), but Elisha repurchased and sold a house and a half acre including the same site to Solomon Lakeman, Aug. 14, 1724 (44: 35). Lakeman sold the estate, a house and three quarters of an acre, to his brother Archelaus, Jan. 20, 1734 (69: 16). Solomon Lakeman Jr. bought half the house and land of the executrix of Archelaus, June 4, 1747 (101: 236), and secured the rest, as he deeded the whole to Moses Wells Jr. Feb. 19, 1756. John Wells and others sold the homestead to Abner Harris, May 29, 1777 (142: 224), and his executor to Edward Martin, June 9, 1785 (143: 187), who conveyed it to Mary Martin, singlewoman, April 27, 1796 (163: 37). The old house, known as the Mary or Molly Martin house, fell into ruin and was torn down. A house, owned by Mr. James S. Glover, occupies the site.

Beyond the Martin house was the Capt. Matthew Perkins estate. The house and some land had come into the possession of Andrew Burley Esq., a great landed magnate, prior to his death. His inventory dated 1753, included "y^e house and land that was Capt. Matthew Perkins" (Pro. Rec. 335: 419). The estate of his son Andrew included "two acres of mowing land sold Jo. Crocker," 1789 (Pro. Rec. 361: 538). This tract of mowing land, on which the Matthew Perkins house had stood, was bounded by the highway southeast and Edward Martin southwest, Sept. 29, 1789. Elisha Perkins acquired this lot, and probably built the house. Perkins remained in possession of the corner, and at his death, his estate was divided. The house and two acres of land fell to his daughter, Abigail Holland, 1781 (Pro. Rec. 355: 233). It is now owned and occupied by Mr. James S. Glover.

John Manning, Thomas Hardy, Thomas Howlett and John Perkins Jr.

(Diagram 3.)

The tract on the south side of East Street, bounded by the Lane called Agawam Avenue and the River, was apportioned among the earliest settlers. John Manning received a small house lot, containing three rods, on the corner now occupied by the Rust house. This was bounded by Thomas Howlett's lot north and Thomas Hardy east. Hardy and Howlett came in Winthrop's company. Thomas Boreman had a grant of "about a rood in" the street called East end, the house-lot of John Perkins, the younger, east, and two lots formerly granted Sergeant Howlett and Thomas Hardy south, "the town reserving liberty to digg clay in any part of the parcel last granted" (1639).

Record was made in 1635, that John Perkins Jr. had a house lot of an acre, by the River, "Thomas Hardy's and Robt. Andrews's lots on the southwest, on which he hath built a house and enclosed it with palings, also a fish ware, which he had built." Robert Andrews's lot was by the river side, with Thomas Hardy northwest. In 1638, it was in possession of George Carr (Town Records). No record of the sale of any of these lots is preserved, except perhaps that of John Perkins, Jr. to his son Thomas in 1666 (Ips. Deeds 4: 268), but this is not certain.

John Newmarch succeeded Hardy, as he received a Plum Island lot in 1665, "for ye house that was Thomas Hardy." John Newmarch conveyed to John Newmarch Jr., a house and "land from the house to the water (probably the Robert Andrews lot) also a pasture that was Thomas Hardy's," 8-9-1671 (11: 267). He sold to Richard Belcher, and Belcher to Rev. John Newmarch, minister at Kittery. The latter sold to Mr. John Emerson, "the homestead . . . bought by him of Richard Belcher, formerly belonging to John Newmarch Jr., the father of said John, a house and one and a quarter acres, bounded from the north side of the dwelling house down to Ipswich River, southerly, viz. the sd. yard before the house is so bounded, and sd. Orchard land is so butted and bounded on both sides and one end by land that formerly belonged to John Newmarch Sr., grandfather of the above John, now in tenure of Zaccheus Newmarch," April 9, 1703 (20: 165).

The Newmarches had evidently acquired the lots originally assigned to Manning, Andrews and Howlett, and that of John Perkins Jr., probably, as well as Hardy's. Zaccheus Newmarch owned the Isaiah Rogers property on the Lane. Martha Newmarch, singlewoman, bequeathed to her niece, Hannah Spiller, daughter of her late sister, Hannah Newmarch, the estate that came to her from her grandfather, Zaccheus Newmarch, 1816 (Pro. Rec. 388: 433) and Jonathan Spiller of Georgetown conveyed to Isaiah and Isaiah Albert Rogers a dwelling and 6 acres, April 19, 1851 (444: 76).

John Emerson sold the original Andrews land, he had bought of Rev. John Newmarch, to William Lakeman, a fisherman of Smutty Nose Island, 1704 (16: 131). Margery, widow of Wm. Lakeman, conveyed the homestead to her sons, Tobias and Silvanus, bounded south by the highway that goes to the River, east by the River, west and northwest by Zaccheus Newmarch and north and northeast by Newmarch and partly by Thomas Sandford, Aug. 3, 1713 (25: 232). Zaccheus Newmarch quitclaimed to Tobias and Silvanus Lakeman, land at the east end of the orchard, "and so upon a straight line to the west end of sd Lakeman's . . . then southerly to ye River, to ye middle of ye well commonly called Hardy's well, and also a drift way by the river side through sd Newmarch's land, unto ye king's highway, and also a cartway to ye dwelling house and barn of sd Lakeman's, through sd Newmarch's pasture," April 11, 1719 (36: 168).

This locates the Lakeman homestead on the River side beyond the Rogers land, with a right of way over Newmarch's Lane, so called. Tobias deeded his share to Silvanus Lakeman, Oct. 5, 1719 (36: 177). Daniel Rogers and wife sold to Samuel Sawyer, their interest in the estate of Silvanus Lakeman, including a piece supposed to contain one and a quarter acres, "formerly the mansion seat of Silvanus Lakeman deceased," with a barn on the same, bounded south by the River and on all other sides by John Newmarch, April 22, 1788 (160: 200). James B. Sawyer conveyed his title to land here to Thomas and Hannah Spiller, March 22, 1838 (305: 31). The ancient Lakeman house had disappeared therefore in 1788.

Thomas Newmarch owned the land now occupied by the Rust estate, James S. Glover's land etc., and sold to his son, Thomas Jr., "that homestead I lately lived on," two and a half acres bounded south by a driftway that leads to John Newmarch's house (the Isaiah Rogers' estate), Dec. 24, 1763 (113: 59). Daniel Abbot levied an execution on Thomas Newmarch Jr.'s estate, and was awarded a two thirds interest, the land being bounded by the late John Newmarch's, July 5, 1798 (163: 184). Ebenezer Hovey conveyed this interest to Elizabeth Parker, widow of the Revolutionary soldier, Capt. Gideon Parker, Jan. 31, 1801 (173: 295). John Swift of Milton and Elizabeth, his wife, daughter of the widow Parker, sold to William L. Rust, May 18, 1833 (270: 198), and it is still known as the Rust house.

The Hobbs house adjoining was built by Augustus C. Carey, on land purchased of the Rogerses, Nov. 19, 1855 (522: 24) and William L. Rust, Aug. 7, 1857 (557: 58). Mortgaged to the Shawmut Mutual Loan and Trust Co., it was foreclosed and sold to Lydia Jane, wife of Capt. John Hobbs, Jan. 2, 1865 (681: 32).

The northern half of the Thomas Newmarch estate was sold to Daniel Boardman, who sold to Daniel Cogswell, March 17, 1821 (226: 25); Cogswell to Asa Wiggin, May 10, 1821 (227: 128). It was conveyed by Wiggin to Francis Caldwell Jr., April 7, 1825, as Caldwell specified in his deed of the same to Richard Lakeman, May 2, 1829 (252: 159). Lydia P. Pulcifer,

daughter of Lakeman, and others, deeded it to John D. Cross, March 31, 1842 (358: 86); Cross to T. R. Grantfield, June 4, 1851 (449: 288); Grantfield to Timothy Curran, April 11, 1854 (493: 14) and Curran to James S. Glover, March 9, 1875 (928: 138).

George Carr received a grant of a half acre house lot, bounded by the River on the south, by a planting lot of his own on the east, by a planting lot of Daniel Clark's north, with liberty to fence as far as low water mark, provided he leave a way or passage. He also received a grant of a six acre planting lot, bounded east by John Manning's planting lot, west by Daniel Clark's planting lot, south by the River, the other part butting on his own house lot, at the north end bounded by a swamp, running between it and the land of John Perkins the elder. These lots have not been traced but they are interesting, as an illustration of the orderly and symmetrical apportionment of the tillage lots in this neighborhood. This locality was known as "this neck of land the Town standeth." Mr. John W. Nourse is confident that these lots extended across the present way leading to Diamond Stage.

EAST STREET, WATER STREET, AND HOVEY STREET.

Obadiah Wood.

(Diagram 3.)

This triangular shaped tract was owned by Richard Schofield and Obadiah Wood, a "biskett-baker," in 1652, and they may have been in possession from the beginning. Wood owned much the larger part, and probably had his house here, though the exact locality can not be determined. He sold to William Roe, a fisherman from the Isle of Shoals, "16 rods at the lower corner of his house lot, neere Mr. Wade's warehouse by the river syde," Dec. 4, 1671 (Ips. Deeds 3: 266). Roe built a house but soon was moved to dwell elsewhere, and disposed of it to two other fishermen from the Isle of Shoals, Andrew Diamond and Henry Maine, June 13, 1673 (Ips. Deeds 3: 267). Nothing more is known of this Henry Maine, and his interest was acquired by Diamond. But he is without doubt the flesh and blood original of the mythical Harry Maine, whose mysterious but unknown crimes brought upon him such awful punishment. He was doomed to be chained on Ipswich bar, there to shovel the shifting sands forever. When the goodwives of the olden time heard the roar of the surf upon the bar, they used to say, "Harry Maine grumbles at his work to-day."

Obadiah Wood sold more land to Diamond (Ips. Deeds 4: 349) and another piece to James King, about eight rods, which King straightway sold to Capt. Diamond, May 1, 1679 (Ips. Deeds 4: 260). On April 5, 1708, Rev. Theophilus Cotton and Mrs. Elizabeth Diamond, widow of Andrew

were published and on the 13th of April, 1708, Peter Lewis of Kittery and Grace, his wife, sister of Andrew Diamond, conveyed to Mr. Cotton, the land and buildings of the deceased (22: 235). Capt. Samuel York was the next owner of whom record remains. He sold two small lots fronting on East St.; one to John Newman, abutting on the west side on land of Woods, Jan. 22, 1718-19 (37: 46), and another east of this to Daniel Ringe, Oct. 16, 1719 (36: 201) and a lot on Water Street, to Jabesh Sweet, April 17, 1713 (25: 267).

The administrator of Mary York, widow of Samuel, sold the estate, a half acre with dwelling, to John Berry, reserving certain rooms, and the land and wharf on the other side of the road, Sept. 10, 1772 (130: 233). The rest of the house, and a small piece of land back of the house, were sold to Berry the next day (130: 233). Mr. Berry, mariner, sold to Abraham Dodge, mariner, Aug. 4, 1773 (133: 160). Dodge conveyed it to Moses Harris, with the added clause, "thence athwart said highway down to the river at Low water mark and south by the River down to the Town Landing, and said highway about 60 ft. . . . excepting the highway through the premises," Feb. 13, 1777 (139: 118). Tabitha, the widow and administratrix of Moses Harris, sold to Thomas Hodgkins, the house, warehouse, one third of the wharf etc., June 26, 1789 (156: 145), and Hodgkins conveyed to Benjamin Averill, May 2, 1793 (156: 149). The Averill ownership continued for many years. The present dwelling is apparently not very old.

Jabesh Sweet built a house on his quarter acre lot, sold by York out of the ancient Diamond estate, in 1713. The administrator of Mary Sweet, widow of Jabesh, sold to Isaac Dodge, Aug. 29, 1778 (142: 141). Col. Dodge sold to Abraham Perkins, the southwest half of the dwelling, Dec. 27, 1779 (138: 112) and the northeast half to David Pulcifer, July 25, 1795 (159: 205). Beckford Pulcifer inherited and conveyed in turn to David Pulcifer, March 7, 1831 (266: 272). Unfortunately for the tradition which associates Harry Maine's name with this old dwelling, the oldest part was not built until after the year 1713. But it was reputed to be haunted, and many manifestations of the presence of some uneasy spirit so alarmed the occupants, that all the ministers of the Town assembled there one day and prayed, and the uncanny doings ceased.

The next Water Street lot, part of the Obadiah Wood originally, was in the possession of Nathaniel Tuckerman, in 1690. He sold to Richard Holland, April 11, 1711 (24: 180). Holland sold to Edward Eveleth, a quarter acre, Nov. 2, 1717 (32: 169) and the administrator of Holland to William Start, Oct. 6, 1726 (47: 203). George Start of Boxford and others sold a house with the land to Francis Pulcifer, Oct. 24, 1758 (107: 90). Pulcifer transferred it to William Galloway, June 21, 1760 (108: 246). The same premises were sold by Josiah Caldwell, Steven Stanwood and Augustine P. Kimball of Boston, to Josiah Lord, with the buildings thereon

lately occupied by Ebenezer and William Pulcifer as a wool puller's shop, wharf etc., Oct. 26, 1839 (315: 291). Josiah Lord conveyed to Ebenezer Pulcifer, Dec. 16, 1847 (391: 148). David Pulcifer conveyed to James Damon, land, buildings and wharf, the same conveyed to him by his father, Bickford Pulcifer, also the estate conveyed to his brother Ebenezer Pulcifer, by Josiah Lord, May 24, 1875 (936: 4). The old wool-puller's shop was remodelled into the dwelling near the line of the street.

Peter Peniwell, mariner, owned a small house lot, west of Nathaniel Tuckerman's, which he had bought of Obadiah Wood. He sold this to his "brother" Zaccheus Newmarch, Aug. 4, 1690 (Ips. Deeds 5: 315). Newmarch sold to John Harris, about 40 rods, May 26, 1696 (16: 11). John Harris built a house and sold the house and three quarters of an acre to Thomas Harris Jr., 1723 (43: 260). Moses Harris sold the same to Francis Pulcifer Jr., March 22, 1773 (134: 78). Lucy Pulcifer, administratrix of Francis, quitclaimed to John Stanwood, the house and land, the homestead of Pulcifer, June 27, 1809 (187: 233). The Stanwood heirs still own and occupy. This lot was the western corner of the Obadiah Wood land.

Richard Schofield.

(Diagram 3.)

The other original lot in this locality was owned by Richard Schofield, leather dresser, before 1652. Richard and Mary, his wife, sold a house and land to Moses Pengry, Aug. 26, 1652 (Ips. Deeds 1: 109). Pengry sold to Benedict Pulcifer, "the house and orchard, wherein Pulcifer dwells," Feb. 7, 1667 Ips. Deeds 3: 140). Benedict Pulcifer conveyed to his son Joseph, Aug. 1, 1709 (25: 138) though Francis Wainwright was named as owner in 1690, and in another deed of the adjoining property, given in 1696. Capt. Joseph Pulcifer, of Boston, sold Thomas Harris, weaver, "his frame of a dwelling house," with three quarters of an acre Nov. 30, 1710 (28: 102). Harris sold Tobias Lakeman, shoreman, twenty-six rods, fronting on Water St., July 7, 1718 (37: 41), but retained the remainder. Ezekiel Hodgkins, administrator of Lakeman, sold two thirds of the dwelling and land to John Hodgkins 4th, July 29, 1757 (106: 81); Hodgkins to Joseph Lakeman, Nov. 28, 1760 (107: 147) and the administrator of Lakeman to Thomas Newmarch, Nov. 22, 1768 (126: 91). Newmarch sold to Nathaniel Mansfield, March 2, 1773 (133: 136). The widow Abigail Mansfield, and the old house near the modern dwelling are well remembered.

The Thomas Harris homestead, abutting on Hovey's Lane and East St., was in the possession of Thomas Knowlton in 1757. Retire Bacon and Margaret his wife, "as she is an heir" (presumably of Thomas Knowlton) conveyed to Thomas Knowlton Jr., mariner, Feb. 27, 1767 (120: 187), and Knowlton sold one and a quarter acres to Samuel Sawyer May 24, 1790 (159: 249). Sawyer sold to Thomas Hodgkins a strip adjoining Hodgkins's

estate, June 7: 1790 (156: 144). His son, James B. Sawyer, inherited the remainder. John Sawyer, nephew of James B., sold to Josiah Caldwell, the tract known as "Knowlton's Close" owned formerly by Samuel Sawyer and assigned to him in the division of the estate of his uncle, James B. Sawyer, bounded east by land formerly of Capt. Thomas Hodgkins, and west by Hovey's Lane, April 9, 1844 (344: 16).

Caldwell sold the land in house lots. The corner lot on Hovey's Lane was conveyed to Tyler Caldwell and by him to Ephraim Grant Jr., June 12, 1846 (380: 61). The next lot, eastward, was sold by Josiah Caldwell to J. H. Varrell, July 28, 1847 (400: 64), the next to John W. Ross, June 1, 1848 (398: 168), the next to John J. Philbrook, Sept. 24, 1847 (389: 183), the next to John F. Brocklebank, Dec. 1, 1845 (362: 24) and the last to John B. Stone, May 21, 1850 (428: 241). This reverted to Caldwell (*cf.* deed to Morris 513: 43).

Obadiah Wood of Andover conveyed to Abraham Knowlton, an acre of land, bounded by land of Thomas Knowlton west, and his own land east, June 3, 1763 (113: 8). John Newman had sold the fourteen rod lot, we have already mentioned as purchased of York in 1719 (37: 46) to Knowlton, Sept. 21, 1723 (42: 242). William Longfellow of Rowley, an heir of Knowlton probably, sold the house and twenty rods to Thomas Hodgkins, April 28, 1788 (147: 252) and Hodgkins enlarged his lot, we have mentioned, by purchase from Samuel Sawyer, who had bought of Thomas Knowlton. The heirs of Stephen Hodgkins sold their interest in a house and a third of an acre to William Willcomb, the same that was owned by Thomas Hodgkins, May 18, 1839 (341: 283). Willcomb sold the same to John H. Sweet, Feb. 9, 1844 (341: 284).

Sweet seems to have conveyed the old Thomas Hodgkins house to Ebenezer Cogswell, as his sons and heirs, Joseph and Ebenezer Cogswell, sold the house to John Morris, a man-of-war's man, remembered by the older neighbors, March 20, 1847 (379: 254). Morris bought a piece of land adjoining, of John H. Sweet, Aug. 31, 1847 (407: 145) and another piece, extending his lot to the lot formerly John B. Stone's, Oct. 15, 1855 (437: 98). Josiah Caldwell sold Morris the lot, abutting on Brocklebank, April 27, 1855 (513: 43). The "Morris" house, built soon after 1723 perhaps, is now the residence of the heirs of Charles H. Rollins.

Daniel Ringe built a house on the lot he bought of Capt. York. He sold to John² Holland, Nov. 6, 1742 (126: 235). William Dodge levied an execution on the property and gained possession, Nov. 19, 1760 (109: 137). Mr. Dodge owned it in 1773, but in 1778, it was owned by Capt. Benjamin Davis. Aaron P. Lord acquired it and sold to Ebenezer Cogswell, May 19, 1842 (343: 284). Mr. Cogswell sold to Caleb Stevens, May 15, 1844 (345: 115). Later it was the property of Capt. Nathaniel Scott, and finally of Mr. John T. Sherburne.

SQUARE BOUNDED BY EAST, HOVEY, WATER, SUMMER,
AND COUNTY STREETS.**Richard Hubbard.**

(Diagram 3.)

Richard Hubbard owned a goodly two acre tract bounded by Stony St., as it was then called, County St. and East St. This, he sold with a house to Ezekiel Rogers, son of Rev. Nathaniel, Jan. 28, 1674 (Ips. Deeds 3: 343). His daughter, Martha, sold the house and land to Thomas Dennis, May 16, 1685 (Ips. Deeds 5: 133). The deed specifies that it was "over against the sd. Dennis's new dwelling house" which was on the lot now owned by the Ignatius Dodge heirs. A succession of Dennises retained this property, John, Nathaniel and others, and the old house on the corner of County and Summer Sts. is still known as the Dennis house.

A half acre in the "Dennis Close" was acquired by John Hodgkins of Woolwich, who sold to John Stanwood, July 1, 1813 and John sold to his son, Stephen Stanwood, Oct. 15, 1827 (247: 119). The Stanwoods were wool-pullers, and Stephen erected the building, now the store and residence of Mr. Lewis E. Willcomb, for a wool-pulling establishment. Traces of the business still remain in the building. Stephen sold to Isaac Stanwood, land and building, July 3, 1837 (303: 236) and Stanwood to Daniel L. Willcomb, May 10, 1848 (397: 151).

Adjoining the Ezekiel Rogers property on East St. was an acre of meadow land, called the "clay-pitts meadow," which John Baker owned and sold to Thomas Harris, 1665 (Ips. Deeds 3: 23). Harris owned land on the other side of the street and had his dwelling there. This meadow descended from father to son. It was owned by John, then by John and William, sons of John, and John sold his part of it to John Jr., Dec. 22, 1742 (82: 252). John Harris's heirs owned the lot in 1832. His widow, Mary, sold the lot, or part of it, to Joseph Wait.

Joseph Wait sold a lot, measuring eight rods ten links, on East St., to Elizabeth Caldwell, widow of Thomas Caldwell, May 6, 1829 (504: 291). She removed a dwelling from another site to this spot, which is owned by her heirs. Mr. Wait moved a building used as a wash house, from the House of Correction grounds, and remodelled into the dwelling now owned and occupied by Mr. Charles W. Hayes. He also bought a building, built for a grocery store by James Quimby on the corner of East and County Streets, and moved to a place on his lot, in 1850. It is now the residence of Mrs. Maria Stone.

William Harris sold his son in law, Hezekiah Hodgkins, fourteen rods, "opposite to my homestead on the lower side of the street," March 1, 1739-40 (79: 15) and another piece at the foot of the lot, May 14, 1742 (84: 42). Jeremiah Staniford, administrator of John Hodgkins Jr., weaver,

sold the quarter acre, with a small house, to Mary Thorndike, wife of Larkin, Aug. 25, 1794 (160: 218). Mrs. Thorndike sold to Jeremiah Smith, April 25, 1802 (171: 176) and Joseph Wait sold him a piece of land adjoining "being all the land set off in this place, as the dower of the late Sarah Hodgkins, widow, deceased," June 2, 1809 (229: 306). Jeremiah Smith mortgaged to Ebenezer Sutton, who assigned to Ebenezer Safford. Safford levied an execution on the property, and his administrator sold his equity to Joseph Wait, March 12: 1832 (268: 74). Rebecca D. Wait, widow of Joseph, and others sold to Luther Wait and others, children of Wm. R. Wait, the house and land, May 8, 1871 (837: 147).

Adjoining the Hezekiah Hodgkins homestead, William Harris sold a quarter acre to his son, William Jr., March 15, 1739 (79: 237). William, also known as William 3d, sold to John Spiller, Feb. 13, 1746 (89: 238). The widow Mary Spiller was still in occupancy in 1794. Sarah Spiller, singlewoman, sold to Levi Hovey, Feb. 28, 1831 (261: 91). The estate of Sarah Hovey, widow of Levi, was sold to Luther Wait, March 26, 1872 (850: 262). The house was moved by Mr. Dexter McIntire to the Pine Swamp road, and is still occupied by him as a dwelling.

John Kendrick.

(Diagram 3.)

John Kenrick or Kendrick, a cooper by trade, owned a large lot which was bounded by East St., Hovey's Lane and Water St., in 1665. He sold his house and two acres to his son, John, Nov. 30, 1702 (15: 114), but father and son united in conveying to Thomas Staniford, an acre and a half of the land, fronting on East St. and extending down the lane "to four foot from the dwelling house of said John Kendrick Sr., and so close along by the garden fence and barn and then reaching down to low water mark," Dec. 30, 1706 (21: 54). The next year, the Kendricks sold the remainder, with house, barn, shop to Staniford, Dec. 23, 1707 (21: 15). The venerable house still standing may be the Kendrick homestead.

Hannah Staniford and others, heirs of Thomas Staniford, sold a half acre, with the large house and barn, to David and Francis Pulcifer, Dec. 29, 1742 (82: 229). The administrator of David Pulcifer sold the east half of the house and land to Francis Hovey, May 13, 1788 (170: 226), and Francis Pulcifer sold part of his land to Hovey, May 6, 1799 (171: 35). Nathaniel Hovey, heir of John, built the house, now owned by his daughter, Mrs. Spencer, on a part of the John Hovey lot.

Mrs. Mary Thorndike, daughter of Staniford, sold Joseph Hovey two acres, part of the original Kendrick estate, Feb. 29, 1816 (209: 94). Francis Pulcifer sold John Hovey, a quarter acre, "beginning at the corner of the road at the head of Hovey's Lane, so called, southeast by the lane to the middle of the house in which Francis Hovey lives," April 17, 1819 (221: 9). The Hovey heirs still own and occupy part of the old mansion, at least.

Joseph Hovey sold the two-acre lot, bought of the widow Thorndike, to Benjamin Averill, Oct. 24, 1827 (246: 157) and Averill sold to Stephen Baker Jr. and Gilbert Conant, April 29, 1836 (289: 180), and it was used as a lumber yard. Baker acquired the whole lot. He used as a grocery, the storehouse which had been built on the east corner of the lot, on East Street, opened a way to the river and constructed the wharf at the foot of this lane. Mr. Baker sold to Daniel L. Willcomb, April 8, 1846 (366:21).

Mr. Willcomb built a small house on the corner of East St. and the way to the wharf and conveyed it with ten rods of land, adjoining the Levi Hovey lot, to Augustine Heard, June 5, 1847 (384: 261), and Mr. Heard sold it to Frederick Willcomb, Jan. 26, 1867 (724: 281). Mr. Heard bought the place to afford a home for Mr. Wells, who had served with John Paul Jones, on the *Bon Homme Richard*.

Daniel L. Willcomb mortgaged the rest of his estate here to Asahel H. Wildes, March 19, 1850, and sold to him, Dec. 5, 1851 (454: 96). Dr. Wildes retained the grocery store building of Stephen Baker, but sold the rest of the lot to Lewis Choate, April 1, 1854 (519: 250). Mr. Choate built a dwelling, and opened a shipyard, in which he carried on his trade for many years. Thomas and Mary Dennis sold him thirty-five rods adjoining his shipyard, March 27, 1860 (603: 95), and Frederic Willcomb sold Mary B., wife of Lewis Choate, the small dwelling on the corner of the way, March 12, 1870 (793: 194). This lot is now included in the Luther Wait homestead.

The Lewis Choate estate was purchased by Mr. Paul Eames. Mr. George D. Wildes, son of Dr. Asahel Wildes, sold the store building to Mr. Fred C. Rust, and it is occupied by him as a dwelling.

John Kendrick sold a half-acre to Stephen Cross, before 1684. This lot had its front on Water St. Cross built a house and sold house and land to Job Bishop, Sept. 8, 1684 (Ips. Deeds 5: 200). The administrator of Bishop's estate sold to Richard Goss, fisherman, Nov. 28, 1693 (9: 160). Thomas Goss of Gloucester, mortgaged it to John Dennis and Nehemiah Jewett, March 2, 1727 (50: 102). It was purchased by Thomas Staniford, who owned the adjoining property. In his will, he gave the house and land, formerly the property of Richard Goss, to his son Thomas (approved Sept. 29, 1740 Pro. Rec. 339: 346-7). It is now included in the Lewis Choate estate, but the house has disappeared.

Thomas Clark.

(Diagram 3.)

The lot on the corner of Water St. and Stony St. or Summer St., was owned by Thomas Clark, as early as 1674. Hubbard's deed to Rogers gives Clark and Robert Peirce as the southern abutters, but a deed of Thomas Clark Sr. conveyed to Samuel Peirce, about a quarter of an acre bounded by Job Bishop on the east, the river southeast, and southwest "by the tann yard from the River, close to the water-hole, by the beame-

ing house, and soe on the back side of sd. house to ye upper corner of ye tann shed, northwest land of my son Thomas Clark," March 23, 1686 (Ips. Deeds 5: 194). The Town Record, under date of Jan. 11, 1640, mentions that liberty was granted Thomas Clark "to set down Tan fatts, at the end of the planting lot, upon two rods reserved by the River."

John Staniford and Mary, the widow of Samuel Peirce and his administratrix, sold the homestead to Freeman Clark, sailor, April 10, 1694 (9: 274). The widow Mary Peirce became the second wife of the Rev. William Hubbard, greatly to the affront of the good people of the church and parish. His first wife was Margaret, only daughter of the Rev. Nathaniel Rogers, and when, in his seventy-third year, he married the widow Peirce, it was esteemed unwise, "for though she was a serious, worthy woman, she was rather in the lower scenes of life and not sufficiently fitted, as they thought, for the Station." In 1710, "Mary Hubbard, alias Peirce, and John Hodgkins, who married unto Abigail, only child of Samuel Peirce and Abigail," sold three quarters of an acre out of the homestead that Peirce owned at his death, to John Dennis, May 15 (23: 115).

Nathaniel Clark sold James Foster 24 rods, out of the orchard that was his father's, on Summer St., April 1720 (38: 62) and 21 rods, which was identical, in part at least, with the Freeman Clark estate on Water St., April 1, 1728 (66: 120). Foster built a house on Summer St., and disposed of the land on Water St., apparently to Benjamin Glazier. Samuel Caldwell sold the land with a house to Aaron Sweet, April 9, 1798 (165: 184), and the heirs of Aaron conveyed it to Aaron Sweet Jr. with a half acre, including the corner lot, June 22, 1840 (320: 92).

The ancient tannery of the Clarks fell into disuse. The upper part of the lot, on Summer St., was apportioned to Thomas Clark Jr., and he conveyed an acre and a house to Nathaniel Knowlton, on June 15, 1703 (15: 179). The lower part, once covered with beam house and tan yard, fell to John Clark, and he sold to Thomas Smith, tailor, Jan. 15, 1694 (10: 136), with a house, barn and a half acre. Solomon Hodgkins and Mary, sold Job Harris, half a dwelling "set off to us as heirs of father Thomas Smith," Feb. 27, 1728 (51: 277). Harris sold to William Urann, March 7, 1738 (81: 164), and Thomas Dennis to Samuel Creesy, "my right in half a dwelling belonging to William Urann, conveyed to me, Dec. 17, 1755 (105: 103)" on Dec. 13, 1758 (109: 78). Creesy sold to Sarah Leatherland, widow of John, who owned part of the adjoining house, April 3, 1761 (119: 150). Jacob Kimball sold this lot to Isaac Soward, fisherman, Dec. 21, 1805 (178: 66), but the house had disappeared.

James Foster, we have already said, built a house in the lane, known later as "Ship Yard Lane." He sold this to Joseph Emmons (79: 16), and John Leatherland, on Oct. 29, 1733 (72: 91), and Emmons sold his half to John Hodgkins, Nov. 8, 1738 (81: 65). Sarah Leatherland, widow of John, sold her half to John Soward, March 24, 1770 (156: 293). The other half was owned by Hodgkins at his death and was assigned to his only son, Francis, in 1797 (Pro. Rec. 367: 504). Dr. Francis Hodgkins of

Sandwich, sold this to John Manning, Dec. 26, 1797 (239: 239). Manning sold to Rebecca Soward, wife of John, May 23, 1799 (179: 7). Isaac and Eunice Stanwood and widow Elizabeth Perkins conveyed their interest in the northwest or new part of the dwelling, and also in the small corner lot below, to Dr. John Manning, May 9, 1806 (239: 239), which was sold by the administrator of Manning's estate to the widow Sarah Emmons, Aug. 2, 1826 (306: 181). John Soward sold the southeast part to his son, Moses, March 7, 1817 (213: 105). The house was partially burned many years ago, but it is still known as the "Soward" house. The other houses on this side the street between the old Soward house and the Dennis homestead are of modern construction, and are built on the old Dennis land.

THE SQUARE BOUNDED BY NORTH MAIN, EAST, COUNTY AND SUMMER STREETS.

Matthew Whipple and John Norton.

(Diagram 3.)

Matthew Whipple was the first owner of two acres on the North Main St. side, and his lot was bounded by a lot owned by Rev. John Norton north or northeast, and Robert Whitman and John Warner, southeast, when the executor of his will sold the estate consisting of a house and barn and the two acres to John Anniball, tailor, 1st 10th 1647 (Ips. Deeds 1: 65). The street now called Summer St. was then called Annable's Lane, and continued to bear this name till recent times. John, the son of John Anniball or Annable, sold the homestead to Francis Wainwright, a house and two and three quarters acres, bounded by the highways on three sides, and on the south, the heirs of Richard Dutch, 1702 (16: 36). The Dutch ownership, as we shall see, comprised the land now owned by Dr. Russell, the heirs of Ignatius Dodge, James N. Webber and John W. Nourse. Wainwright owned the rest of the square, including the lot granted to Rev. John Norton.

Mr. Wainwright had previously petitioned the Town for a piece of land out of the public highway or Common, and a lot, eighteen feet one way and twenty-four the other, was apportioned him, "by Goodman Annible's stone wall, to set up a small barn and for a sheep yard," March 4, 1696-7 (Town Record). His mansion occupied the site of the brick dwelling on the other side of High St., recently removed, and he sought this sheep yard privilege near at hand. The thoroughfare, now of spacious width, was much broader than now, to allow of this and similar encroachments.

Wainwright's heirs sold a lot on the corner of North Main and East Sts., twenty-six rods, to Nathaniel Day, Dec. 12, 1737 (75: 210). In the fashion of his time, when land was still to be had for the asking, Mr. Day made his petition to the Town, that as the Town had granted Mr. Wainwright a lot eighteen or nineteen feet by twenty-four, in 1697, and

as he had purchased this of the heirs, as well as a part of the lot extending about seventy feet on said front, and as he was about to build a dwelling, he asked for more room (Town Record 1737). The house was built and stands today in somewhat enlarged form. It is owned by the Hunt and Willcomb heirs. Nathaniel Day died and his young widow inherited the house. On Nov. 8, 1755, while she was still in her twenty-sixth year, intention of marriage with Isaac Dodge, then twenty-two years old, was published, and the marriage followed in due time. He became a prominent citizen. He was a member of the Committee of Correspondence and Inspection in the Revolutionary war, and attained a considerable property. He died June 25, 1785, and his widow lived only until Sept. 22nd. Col. Dodge bought the remainder of the Wainwright land, March 20, 1762 (112: 123).

He sold a lot on the corner of Annable's Lane, 51 ft. on North Main by 100 ft. on the Lane, to John Chapman, March 9, 1769 (126: 68). Chapman was a "leather breeches maker," the only one of that trade in the Town, so far as known, but his business warranted his building a spacious mansion. It may be that his ambition overstepped his means, for he sold the new house and land to Capt. Thomas Dodge, Sept. 15, 1773 (132:130). Capt. Dodge sold to Capt. Ephraim Kendall, Jan. 19, 1797 (162: 74), and Capt. Kendall to Ebenezer and Daniel Russell, March 19, 1822 (228: 193). Daniel Russell's grandson, Dr. William H. Russell, owns and occupies the old mansion.

Col. Dodge and his wife died as we have seen in the same year. Mrs. Dodge retained her ownership in the house and bequeathed the northeast end of the dwelling with land to her daughter Rebecca, the wife of Major Thomas Burnham, and the southwest end to her daughter, Priscilla Dodge, with land in the rear (Pro. Rec. 358: 521, 1787). In the division of Col. Dodge's property, a house lot of an acre, adjoining the house, and fronting on North Main, and also on Annable's Lane, was assigned to Rebecca Burnham (Pro. Rec. 358: 518). Rebecca Burnham's half of the house was sold by her husband and daughter, Elizabeth D. Burnham, after her death, to Joshua Putnam, April 19, 1828 (248: 252). Putnam conveyed this to William Ashby of Newburyport, with a third of an acre which he had purchased of Joseph and Daniel L. Willcomb on April 24, 1828 (248: 252), and Ashby sold to Samuel Hunt, Feb. 14, 1849 (408: 16).

Mr. Hunt sold a half acre at the foot of his lot on East St. to Foster Russell and D. P. Nourse, May 9, 1855 (577: 129). Mr. Russell built the house now owned and occupied by his son, Maynard Russell. The heirs of Mr. Hunt sold also a building lot to Mrs. Sadie B. Stockwell, upon which the dwelling was built, April 27, 1888 (1220: 73) and another to James W. Perkins, April 12, 1890 (1275: 447). The line between the Maynard Russell property and the lot adjoining on the southeast is probably the ancient division between the John Norton land, afterwards Wainwright, and the land of Dutch.

Priscilla Dodge, owner of the southwest half of the house married

Nathaniel Treadwell. Her sons, Rogers and Nathaniel Dodge Treadwell, sold their interest to Nathaniel Wade (221: 305) June 30, 1819 and (209: 241) April 15, 1816. Col. Wade's heirs sold two thirds of the house to Joseph and Daniel L. Willcomb, April 7, 1827, and Jesse Smith of Salem and Priscilla had already conveyed the other third April 4, 1827 (241: 92). Joseph erected a new part, alluded to in a quitclaim deed to his brother June 28, 1838 (308: 214). Daniel L. Willcomb sold the northwest end, with blacksmith shop and barn to Melzeard Poor, June 28, 1838 (308: 215).

The acre house lot was inherited by Elizabeth D. Burnham and sold by her to Manning Dodge and Ebenezer Russell, Aug. 1, 1833 (270: 236) and they sold a part of this lot, fronting on Annable's Lane or Summer St. to Daniel Glazier, July 20, 1835 (281: 287).

Dodge made an assignment to Josiah Caldwell, April 11, 1842 (331: 80) and Caldwell sold Mrs. Sarah Lord, wife of A. P. Lord, a lot fronting on North Main St., April 14, 1849 (410: 106). Ebenezer Russell had previously sold her a quarter acre on North Main St. and Summer St. adjoining this land, Aug. 26, 1843 (339: 7) and on this enlarged plot, she built the dwelling now owned by her son, James Brown Lord.

On the Summer St. side of this square, Ebenezer Russell sold a lot forty feet front, to Charles C. Cotton, Feb. 27, 1840 (320: 79). The house built here and the land were conveyed by Cotton to Foster Russell and Daniel P. Nourse, Feb. 1841 (329: 202, 203).

The Glazier property, as has been stated, was a part of the Col. Isaac Dodge estate, formerly Wainwright, conveyed by Manning Dodge and Ebenezer Russell to Daniel Glazier. Adjoining this, originally a part of the Wainwright property probably, was land of Abraham Knowlton, part of which was owned later by Col. Joseph Hodgkins, who conveyed his interest in a narrow lot to Stephen Low, March 29, 1825 (238: 22). It is still owned by the heirs.

Knowlton sold half an acre to Charles Smith, Nov. 2, 1793 (157: 65) and Capt. John Holmes sold him a quarter of an acre adjoining on the south, Nov. 26, 1793 (157: 65). Charles Smith, then of Londonderry, sold this combined lot to his brother Samuel, May 11, 1797 (163: 172), and Samuel to Ephraim Kendall, Jr., Aug. 15, 1799 (165: 110). The executors of Kendall conveyed it to Foster Russell and Daniel P. Nourse, April 20, 1848 (472: 198). They divided it into three house lots. They sold to Moses Harris, on which he built, April 27, 1848 (518: 236); to Ezra W. Lord; and to Nathaniel Treadwell, May 14, 1850 (430: 24) and houses were erected on both lots.

Robert Whitman and John Warner.

(Diagram 3.)

The remainder of this square was owned originally by Robert Whitman and John Warner. But Robert Dutch was in possession earlier than 1660, as he mortgaged his house and land in that year to Thomas Bishop (Ips. Deeds 2: 45). He sold a lot to Shoreborne Wilson, a cooper, who

built a house and cooper's shop on it, and sold to William Searle May 19, 1663, his lot being bounded by Dutch's on three sides (Ips. Deeds 3: 133). Searl sold to Thomas Dennis, Sept. 26, 1663 (8: 69) and Robert Dutch sold Thomas Dennis part of his house lot, Nov. 16, 1671 (Ips. Deeds 3:201). John Dennis sold to Charles Smith, a house and thirty rods, Feb. 28, 1791 (156: 91); Smith to Jeremiah Goodhue two and a half acres, Feb. 19, 1798 (165: 140); Goodhue to Jacob Treadwell, May 11, 1807 (180: 188). Eliza Treadwell, daughter of Jacob, married Ignatius Dodge, and her heirs still own and occupy. The age of the present dwelling is not known.

The lot on the corner of Summer and County Sts. came to Benjamin Dutch, probably. Elizabeth, daughter of Benjamin and Elizabeth Dutch, was born, Sept. 14, 1693 (Town Records). She married Benjamin Studley 1714 (Town Records) and he is mentioned in occupancy. An old deed mentions John Appleton in connection with this lot. His occupancy is explained by a quitclaim deed of Benjamin Studley and Elizabeth, his wife, "to our honored Father-in-law Mr. John Appleton for all dues and demands etc. by virtue of his marrying our mother etc., as she is administratrix of our deceased father, Benjamin Dutch," Sept. 9, 1717 (47: 113). Jabez Sweet Jr. married Elizabeth Studley, Feb. 23, 1737 (Town Record). He owned the lot, his wife probably inheriting. He sold the house and lot, three quarters of an acre to his son, Benjamin, Dec. 29, 1772 (148: 94); Benjamin Sweet sold a lot on Summer St. out of his estate to Capt. Charles Smith, Sept. 14, 1793 (157: 64). It became thus a part of the Charles Smith estate which came to Mrs. Eliza Treadwell, who sold it to William Treadwell, Sept. 23, 1851 (452: 58). William Treadwell's daughter Elizabeth, married James Quimby, who built the house, which was bought by James N. Webber.

Capt. Aaron Sweet, son of Benjamin, bequeathed his homestead to his wife, Abigail H. Sweet, who sold to Warren Nourse, Dec. 23, 1862 (1667: 478). His son, John W. Nourse, is the present owner.

The corner lot on East and County Sts. was conveyed by Benjamin Dutch to George Robbins, mariner. The deed recites that it was the mansion and homestead of his father, John Dutch, with one and a half acres. It was bounded by the Wainwright land and Thomas Dennis, Nov. 8, 1706 (18: 212). George "Roberds" sold an acre to John Dennis, Oct. 5, 1709 (22: 37). Robbins or Roberds sold a quarter acre to John Staniford, Jan. 18, 1713 (29: 156). Staniford, or his heirs, acquired more of the original lot. Jeremiah Staniford bequeathed it to sons Jeremiah and Ebenezer. Ebenezer conveyed his part to Mary Dennis, Feb. 17, 1813 (201: 118), and the Dennis heirs to Ignatius Dodge, who already owned a portion by inheritance from his mother, it is probable. Dodge sold to Joseph Ross, a lot, bounded by Maynard Russell on the northwest and Frederic Willcomb, southeast, May 6, 1863 (651: 32) and it was owned later by Abigail H. Sweet (658: 45) and William Dawson (722: 14) who sold to John S. Glover. The part owned by Jeremiah Staniford was sold by his administrators to Nathaniel Lord 3rd, a quarter acre, March 11, 1817 (213: 23) and was owned subsequently by Frederick Willcomb, George Russell and his heirs.

SQUARE BOUNDED BY GREEN LANE (NOW GREEN ST.) AND
SHIPYARD LANE (SUMMER ST.), COUNTY AND
WATER STS.

Thomas Scott.

(Diagram 3.)

The corner now occupied by the William Baker house, in part, was granted to Thomas Scott and the record is "an acre for a house lot, lying to the Lane called Bridge Lane, near the meeting house, the house lot of Philip Fowler on the southeast and the house lot granted Humphrey Bradstreet, on the northeast," 1639. No record of sale remains but it came into the possession of Andrew Burley, before 1688 (Ips. Deeds 5: 338). Burley bequeathed to his son Andrew "all my housing and land where I now dwell, on ye north side of ye way," Feb. 1717-18. Andrew Burley Jr. became the owner of the Turner Hill Farm, the Coleman farm, Howlett's farm, a dwelling, barn, etc., on East St. "ye house and land that was Capt. Matthew Perkins" on East St., as well as his dwelling and land "up in Town." He divided his estate between his sons, William and Andrew, 1753 (Pro. Rec. 332: 63-4).

To his widow, Hannah, he devised "the improvement of the land and buildings, where I now live, — to be yearly procured for her, put in her barn, by my executors one load of salt, one load of English hay, also twelve bushells of corn, four of rye, four of malt, two hundred pounds of good pork, as much beef, thirty of butter, fifty of cheese, twenty of flax from the swingle, ten of sheep's wool, and six cords of wood, to be delivered at her said dwelling house yearly while she remains my widow, and for the same time to find her a horse and chair, to ride to meeting or elsewhere, as her occasion requires. I also give her one cow and my household goods" (Pro. Rec. 332: 63).

The widow Hannah Burley made her home in the family mansion, and at her decease, Andrew sold the estate, including one and a quarter acres, to Capt. John Smith, April 15, 1760 (110: 73). Capt. Smith's inventory (Pro. Rec. 345: 61 1768) included "one house and one acre of land adjoining formerly of Andrew Burley Esq., £120." He kept a tavern and bequeathed his wife, Susanna, "all tavern stores in the house." The residue of the estate, after specific bequests, was given to his son Charles. No deed of sale or conveyance appears, but John Hodgkins was in possession in 1791. His two daughters, widow Elizabeth Perkins and Eunice, wife of Isaac Stanwood, inherited the house (Pro. Rec. 367: 505). Isaac Stanwood Sr. and Eunice conveyed to Isaac Jr., the life estate which Isaac Sr. had in the estate, Sept. 16, 1819 (221: 220). The northwest half of the house has always remained in the Perkins family. John and Lucretia Perkins sold to William Baker the corner lot on which he built his house, July 13, 1830 (257: 275). A great chimney stack has been removed, which indicated extreme age, and it may be that the old mansion was built before 1688 by Andrew Burley. The house lot, now occupied by Mr. George Hodgkins, was part of this lot.

Philip Fowler.

(Diagram 3.)

Philip Fowler had a grant of the lot to the southeast of Scott's, but in 1655, Deacon Thomas Knowlton was the owner, as deeds of abutting property show. Nathaniel Knowlton succeeded and he sold an acre to John Knowlton, bounded northwest by "my orchard and land of Burley," May 5, 1725 (54: 88). Thomas Hart is alluded to in 1760 as owner, but it reverted to the Knowltons and he may have been a tenant merely. Sarah Knowlton, widow of Abraham, sold a quarter acre to Isaac Stanwood Jr., adjoining his father's land, March 26, 1812 (197: 25), on which he built the dwelling still owned by his heirs. The widow Eunice Stanwood conveyed to her daughter Eunice, wife of John Caldwell, a house lot, Feb. 11, 1829 (697: 277). Mr. Caldwell built the house which his daughter Mrs. John P. Cowles inherited and occupied.

A half acre below the Knowlton land was sold by Philip Hammond and his son to Dr. John Manning, Jan. 6, 1792 (239: 240) which his administrator sold to Isaac Stanwood, with other land, as the deed mentions an acre, Oct. 31, 1825 (245: 287). Mr. Stanwood sold Ira Worcester, a house lot, 103 feet front, March 4, 1851 (509: 293) and he had previously sold Lewis Choate, a lot, April 15, 1842 (331: 148).

John Gage.

(Diagram 3.)

The next original lot, beginning about on the west line of the Jacob Safford house lot, was granted apparently to John Gage. Roger Preston acquired it. He sold his house and lot to Reginald Foster, whose original location was on the other side of Green Lane, March 11, 1655 (Ips. Deeds 1: 211). His son Jacob inherited. Jacob conveyed to his son Abraham Foster one acre, which he sold to Abraham Perkins, April 6, 1711 (35: 119). Nathaniel Perkins owned this acre house lot in 1758.

Nathaniel sold a lot on Green Lane to Joseph Fowler, July 20, 1776 (134: 241) and a small lot on the corner of Green Lane and Water Street to his brother Joseph, a mariner, Sept. 4, 1780 (143: 243). Joseph Perkins sold the east half of the house he had built and occupied to Samuel Lakeman, Dec. 12, 1782 and Joseph Fowler Jr. sold the lot, bought in 1776, to Joseph Perkins Jr. and Samuel Lakeman Jr., Dec. 23, 1782 (143: 243). The two halves of this house had a checkered history. The heirs of Joseph Perkins sold their interest to Dr. John Manning, and his administrator to Joseph Hovey, Oct. 31, 1825 (261: 18). Hovey sold to Elizabeth, wife of Levi Young, April 1, 1831; Levi Young to Samuel N. Baker, Sept. 26, 1834 (277: 278) and Baker to Joanna Lakeman, Nov. 5, 1835 (285: 232).

The other half of the house and the land were sold by Lucy Conner, widow, and others, heirs of Samuel Lakeman, to Ira Worcester, June 19, 1841 (325: 175). Worcester sold to Essex County, May 10, 1843 (378: 17) and the County to James and Peely Safford, 90 feet on Green St., March 1, 1859 (589: 75). The Safford house was moved from its original location by the river side, near the County House, to its present place. The bal-

ance of the land was sold by the County to Joanna Lakeman McDole, who already owned the other half of the house, March 31, 1859 (586: 58). This house has disappeared, but the cellar remains.

Nathaniel Perkins sold only part of his estate to Fowler and his son Joseph. He inherited his father's house or built for himself on the northern part of his lot. His son Abraham sold the south end of his father Nathaniel's 3d house to John Sweet, May 3, 1779 (167: 239); Sweet to John Caldwell Jr., Dec. 15, 1800 (167: 239) and Oct. 22, 1804 (176: 131); John Caldwell to William Soward, April 23, 1807 (190: 52); Soward to Dr. Thomas Manning, July 29, 1829 (253: 250), and Dr. Manning to Thomas Staniford, April 20, 1830 (257: 77). Josiah Caldwell, administrator of Moses Jewett Jr., sold to Thomas L. Jewett and William H. Jewett, Sept. 22, 1848 (514: 245).

The other half was sold by Eunice Caldwell, widow, to William Treadwell, "formerly owned by Nathaniel Perkins, quitclaimed by him to me," April 13, 1818 (216: 147). William Treadwell conveyed to Elizabeth Treadwell, wife of Nathaniel, Oct. 30, 1822 (232: 22), and her administrator, to James Staniford, May 6, 1830 (256: 165). The old house disappeared long since. The present dwelling was built in 1849 from lumber taken from the old Meeting House of the First Church when it was torn down, prior to the building of the present edifice.

The homestead lot of Reginald Foster was inherited by Jacob as we have said. He sold Moses Pengry a half-acre house lot, on the corner of Summer St. and Water St., Nov. 26, 1673 (Ips. Deeds 5: 248). Jacob Foster sold his son Jacob Jr., a quarter acre, bounded by Pengry and Samuel Graves Jr., May 1, 1694 (14: 112). Part of the Jacob Foster homestead was inherited by Richard Sutton and Elizabeth, who sold "the south-west end of the dwelling, late our honored grandfather's Jacob Foster," to Abner Harris, shipwright, Dec. 1758 (106: 240). A strip by the water side was occupied by a shipyard, and the Lane was commonly called Ship Yard Lane. John Harris sold to John Holland, May 27, 1778 (136: 55); Holland to Thomas Dodge, July 21, 1792 (154: 272); Dodge to Nathaniel Fuller, July 29, 1796 (173: 20); Nathaniel to Enoch P. Fuller, July 1, 1840 (319: 78); Fuller to Charlotte, wife of Abraham Burnham, March 25, 1862 (635: 104).

The northeast half of the mansion was sold by Nathaniel Foster, guardian of Sarah, minor daughter of Nathaniel Foster, blacksmith, to Benjamin Glazier, April 17, 1753 (167: 90) and by Benjamin Glazier to Benjamin Green, April 1, 1801 (169: 53). The old house is owned by the heirs of the late Daniel S. Burnham, son of Abraham and Charlotte.

Moses Pengry built a house on the half-acre lot, he had bought of Jacob Foster, and conveyed it to his son Moses who occupied it, July 2, 1684 (Ips. Deeds 5: 96). Deacon Pengry asked and received "liberty for his son Moses to have liberty upon the bank by Jacob Foster's land to build vessels, provided he does not interrupt the highway" (Town Record, 1673). Shoreborne Wilson sold the same to Jacob Davis, Dec. 30, 1697 (31: 186); Davis to Thomas Newman, Dec. 1, 1701 (14: 302), and New-

man to Nathaniel Knowlton, Feb. 7, 1702-3 (15: 154). Knowlton divided the lot, and sold Joseph Smith the southeast half. Smith sold a quarter acre on the corner to Abner Harris, Feb. 27, 1743 (85: 135). Harris probably built the house which now occupies the lot. His administrator conveyed to Dr. John Manning, May 29, 1787, and he sold to Ebenezer Sutton, Oct. 22, 1816 (212: 230). It is still called the Sutton house.

Benjamin Brown 3d sold Abner Harris, shipwright, an old shop formerly the blacksmith shop of the late Nathaniel Foster, with land, bounded northwest by the Road, southeast by the River, southwest land unimproved and improved in common, northeast the shipyard, April 11, 1759 (106: 239).

Nathaniel Knowlton sold about eighteen rods on the Lane to William Willcomb Jan. 4, 1717-18 (32: 291). Willcomb built a dwelling and sold to John Hovey, Oct. 16, 1736 (71: 236). Benjamin Pinder came into possession and conveyed it to his son Benjamin Jr., March 31, 1801, and Dec. 30, 1802 (179: 280, 281). The house, probably the original one, is still known as the Pinder house.

Nathaniel Knowlton sold a small lot of seventeen rods to James Foster, Oct. 25, 1717 (35: 63). Jacob Foster conveyed the same apparently to William Foster, June 3, 1741 (84: 17). Rebecca Sutton, widow, and Abigail Foster, singlewoman, conveyed to Ephraim Grant, house and land, three rods fifteen links on the Lane, reserving to Joseph Wait, the east half of dwelling, June 30, 1826 (243: 252). This is known as the Grant house.

Stephen Jordaine.

(Diagram 3.)

In 1639, record was made of Stephen Jordaine's house lot, "three rods of ground, lying in Stony Street, leading to the River, house lot formerly granted Humphrey Bradstreet northwest, the house lot formerly granted Thomas Clark, south." The Clark lot may be identical with the Ephraim Grant lot. Robert Pierce was the owner of the Jordan lot in 1655, and John Pierce in 1684 (Pengry to Pengry Ips. Deeds 5: 96). Samuel Graves Jr. succeeded Pierce 1697 (31: 186). Aaron Potter sold the same lot, an acre with a house, to Capt. Samuel York, March 23, 1735 (72: 260). York sold to Richard Lakeman, Dec. 18, 1762 (112: 131) but the house is not mentioned. The administrator of Lakeman sold Abner Harris an acre, "the tract known as Graves' lot," Sept. 13, 1768 (149: 96).

It became the property of Abraham Knowlton, and was assigned to Bethiah Fitz, July 4, 1822 (257: 277). She sold to Isaac Stanwood, and the description of the land in the deed shows that it abutted on Green Lane and Shipyard Lane, May 15, 1826 (245: 288). Stanwood retained a lot on the Green Lane side, and sold the balance, a little more than an acre, to John How Boardman, May 15, 1826 (245: 74). Aaron Cogswell inherited and sold a building lot, next the old Martin house, to John Jewett, another to James H. Staniford, and the lowest in the Street to William H. Jewett. Houses were built on these lots.

Humphrey Bradstreet.

(Diagram 3.)

The lot on the corner of Summer St. and County St. was granted to Humphrey Bradstreet. He sold his house and land bounded by Andrew Hodges southwest, and Stephen Jordan southeast, to Deacon Thomas Knowlton, shoemaker, 1646 (Ips. Deeds 1: 20). Deacon Thomas sold his house, barn and two acres of land, bounded by Andrew Burley, Jacob Foster, etc., to Nathaniel Knowlton, Dec. 6, 1688 (Ips. Deeds 5: 338). Nathaniel sold half the homestead and half an acre and the upper dwelling, to Abraham Knowlton, May 5, 1725 (44: 218). Abraham Knowlton sold Thomas Hart, cooper, "the easterly end of the mansion house where I now dwell," David Knowlton apparently being the other occupant, March 2, 1726-7 (46: 174).

John Knowlton Jr. quitclaimed to Daniel and Esther Ross, his interest in the estate of his father, David Knowlton, Dec. 3, 1758 (105: 179). Esther was also an heir to David Knowlton's estate, brother of John. Jeremiah Ross quitclaimed his interest in his father Daniel's estate, to Benjamin Ross, Sept. 20, 1780 (153: 257) and John Knowlton of Newburyport quitclaimed his interest in his mother's, Esther's, estate to Benjamin Ross, March 6, 1781 (153: 258). Benjamin Ross sold to John Hodgkins 4th, house and an acre, Nov. 18, 1791 (153: 258). Hodgkins conveyed to Edward Martin, June 6, 1792 (199: 58) and Philip Hammond conveyed the east end of the house to Martin, Jan. 12, 1805 (199: 59). It is still known as the Martin house and is probably "the upper dwelling" mentioned in the deed of 1725, built between 1688 and 1725.

The house lot, owned by Andrew Hodges in 1646, was sold by Andrew Burley to Richard Smith, "the house and land formerly Hodges," one and a half acres, March 24, 1680 (Ips. Deeds 5: 370). Abraham Knowlton Jr. acquired it and sold to Samuel Parkman, July 3, 1744 (86: 126). Abraham Knowlton 3d executed a similar deed to Parkman, Feb. 18, 1758 (105: 36). Parkman sold to Samuel Epes, house, barn, and a half acre, Feb. 17, 1758 (105: 61) and Epes to Abraham Knowlton 3d, Feb. 18, 1758 (106: 182).

Abraham Knowlton and others, "in consideration of services rendered to our honored mother and grandmother, Sarah Knowlton, by our sister and aunt, Bethia Fitz, singlewoman," conveyed to her all the real estate of Abraham Knowlton, cabinet maker, July 4, 1822 (257: 277). He was a workman of rare skill. The beautifully carved old pulpit made for the new Meeting House, built for the First Parish in 1749, was his handiwork. The pulpit is still preserved though in an abridged form, in a room in the steeple. Bethia Fitz sold the land, as has been said, to Isaac Stanwood, in 1826. She retained the house and sold it to Hannah Atkinson, July 20, 1852 (479: 106). She also sold a house lot to Sylvanus Caldwell, August 11, 1852 (471: 251), which was sold by the Caldwell heirs to William A. Spiller, who erected the dwelling on the corner.

THE MEETING HOUSE GREEN.

No spot within our ancient township is enriched with such fragrant memories, and associations of such varied and intense interest. The earliest settlers set it apart for public use, and it has never ceased to be the center of the civic life of our community. Here they built their first Meeting House. A vague tradition, as Felt, the annalist of Ipswich informs us,¹ located it on the rise of ground now occupied by the Heard mansion, near the Meeting-House of the South Church, but there is no historic ground for such a surmise.

On the 16th day of the 11th mo. 1639, the ancient keeper of our Town Records made note, "Theophilus Wilson is possessed of one house lott, bought of John Sanders, bounded on the Southwest by the Meeting House Green, and on the northeast by the Stony Street, on the southeast by a house lott formerly granted to Robert Mozey." This house lot is easily identified with the lot bounded on three sides by the Green, North Main and Summer Streets, and at the date of entry, the Meeting-House was already built on the Green. Under the date, March 22, 1637, in the Town Record, allusion is made to "the Cross Street called the Meeting House Lane."² No earlier allusion remains to us, but the later allusion of Edward Johnson is of interest. "Their meeting-house is a very good prospect to a great part of the Town and beautifully built."³ This harmonizes with the location on the hill-top, and has no point, when applied to the tradition of the other site.

Of the building itself, we know nothing. It was hurriedly built, no doubt, and may have been a structure of logs with a thatched roof, or a cheap frame building. As early as October, 1643, an intimation of insufficient room for worshippers occurs (Town Records, 1643). "There is liberty granted to such young men and youth as shal [] approved of by the Deacons to sett up a gallery at their owne charges, and the gallery to be built or approved for the manner by the Deacons, Goodman Andrews, and Mr. Gardinr."

This primitive Meeting-House was soon outworn or outgrown, and on the 4th day of the 11th month, 1646, it was sold to Thomas Firman for fifty shillings, "and he is to remove it by the 29th of 7th month next, which will be in the year 1647" (Town Records). The extreme cheapness of the price confirms our surmise that the building, which was not more than thirteen years old, was a rude structure. The direction as to removal suggests that the spot it occupied was needed for the new edifice. Work on the new Meeting-House seems to have been pushed, and hints of

¹ History of Ipswich, page 243.

² The same as Bridge Lane, and Green Lane, of later years.

³ Wonder Working Providence, pub. in 1654.



its completion and occupancy are found in the Town Record of "the 11th of (11) 1647."

"Voted that the Deacons shall have power to agree with a man, whome they shall thinke fitt to keepe the meeting-house clean, and to ring the Bell, and what they shall agree with him shall be paid out of the Town Rate."

Finishing touches remained to be made, however, as it was voted in 1653 (Town Records), "to make a sheete for the turret window and cover for upper scuttle hole," and two years later, some repairs were in order, as a bill of £10, 14s. 4d. was approved for "mending the windows, new banding, soldering and new glass" (Town Records, 1655). This building was probably of the hip-roof order, with a "turret" for the bell at the apex, resembling generally the "Old Ship Church" of Hingham, with diamond paned glass set in lead sashes. It was surrounded by a fort. The earlier Meeting-House was very likely protected in similar fashion, as the Pequot War broke out in 1637 and, for a half century after, the settlers were never free from fear of Indian attacks. Men brought their arms with them to public worship and sentinels paced their beat without, during the time of service. The Meeting-House was a place of deposit for ammunition. Four swords of the common stock were kept there in 1647, and in 1681, there was a "magazine in the meeting-house" (Town Records). In case of attack, as it was the largest building in the town, and the one best adapted for defence, the people would naturally have hurried thither. Hence the value and need of the fortification which was erected around it.

In 1650, it was voted by the Town, "The wall about the meeting-house shall be made up and kept in repair." The implication of the final clause "kept in repair," is that this work was in the nature of a rebuilding of the wall, that may have fallen into disrepair, and not the original erection. Again, in 1671, a few years before King Philip's War, the Constable was ordered to "pay John Brewer 20s. for charge he is out about building the fort" (Town Records), and by vote of August 20, 1696, when the Indians were assailing the Maine colonists, the Town Treasurer was instructed "to hire laborers at the Town charge to repair the fort about the meeting-house" (Town Records).

No record of the style or size of this ancient fort has been preserved, but there was a similar one in Topsfield, built in 1673, five or six feet high and "three foote brod at the botom." On the south side of the Meeting-House, it was twelve feet, and on the other three sides, ten feet distant, and at the southeast corner, within the wall a watch-house ten feet square was built, which was called "the old Meeting-House fort" at the beginning of the eighteenth century.¹ Happily no occasion for defence ever arose, and a few years after the last Indian outbreak the Town voted in 1702, that the "rocks at the old meeting house" should be sold and the proceeds used towards buying a town clock.

¹ History of Boxford, by Sidney Perley.

As to the new Meeting-House, the third on the Green, the vote of Jan. 26, 1699,¹ directed that the foundation should be laid "as near the old meeting house as the Committee shall appoint," and the Committee was instructed to "levell the place for the floor of ye said new Meeting House." The old house was turned over to the Committee, but it was stipulated that they should "suffer the Inhabitants to meet in it until the new Meeting House is finished" and "provided they remove the old meeting house in six months," "provided also they bank up with stones and gravel against the sides of the new meeting house, the Town allowing stones to do it out of ye Fort" (Town Records, 1699).

The new house was a stately structure, sixty-six feet long, sixty feet wide, and twenty-six feet stud. It had a "turret" or belfry for the bell, and in 1702, provision was made for a town clock with a dial. The sexton, Simon Pinder, was instructed in 1716 to ring the bell daily at five o'clock in the morning. The old Meeting House was sold back to the Town by the building committee in 1701, and in 1703 the Town voted to sell it to anybody for £20. No purchaser was forthcoming, and a dreary suggestion of the ruinous and melancholy condition into which the venerable building fell, and the wanton appropriation of it by piecemeal, is contained in the vote of March 16, 1703-4. "Voted that the Selectmen do inquire and make search of all p'sns y^t have disorderly taken away out of ye old Meeting house and converted ye same to yr own use, shall prosecute them at law, unless they will comply and make satisfaction."

The most decisive note as to the location of the new house is afforded by the curious map, made in the year 1717, of the north side of Main street. It locates "Potter's House," on the corner of Loney's lane, and there is a quaint remark in the margin:

"Had there been but a little more room on this side the meeting-house should have been set down."

"The meeting house is but little more than 4 rods from Potter's house."

Measuring a radius of seventy-five feet from this corner brings us to the terrace north of the present building, and on this the third meeting house probably was built.

The fourth building was erected in 1749. It was sixty-three feet long, forty-seven feet wide, and was twenty-six feet stud. It was admirably built and was used for a century. Its location is well remembered on the precise spot occupied by the present edifice, which was erected in 1846-1847, but the tall steeple was at the northern end, and the building stood with its broad side facing down the hill. The pulpit and sounding

¹ Felt inclines to believe that the third meeting house was erected some years before this. In 1667, it was "agreed with Ezekiel Woodward and Freegrace Norton to gett and hew the timbers for the meeting house roof." In 1671 an appropriation was made for ten days' work for raising the frame. These items refer rather to enlargements or repairs of the existing building. It is worth noting that a Committee to repair the meeting house was chosen in 1663, only about fifteen years after it was built. The use of green timber, and the difficulty of keeping the roof tight, often alluded to, may explain the frequency of repair.

board were famous works of handiwork, and are preserved in the steeple-room of the present edifice, in a much abridged form.

At the southeast corner of the Green, on the spot now occupied by the chapel of the First Church, the town pound was built, a fenced inclosure into which stray cattle were driven and kept confined. Much annoyance and no small damage were often caused by the straying of cattle, horses or swine into the tilled fields or gardens. Consequently stringent regulations were adopted by the Town to prevent the breach of the laws, with reference to pasturage. Thus it is recorded under date, 13 January, 1639 (Town Records) "agreed that whosoever shall find mares, horses or oxen in the cow common two hours after sunrising and bring same either to the Pound or to the owner of the same, the said owner shall give to such a p'ty double recompense for his pains. The forfeits of 10s. are to goe half to the Towne, and halfe to him that shall impound such trespassing cattell." Swine were to be impounded by an order of the year 1643, and in the same year, it was voted:

"The Common Pounder or any other party shall have ii d a peece for all piggs, or any other Cattell, that they shall impound, out of any Comon-field or fenced ground, except house lotts and gardens." A discolored and dimly written old document, preserved in the Court Records in Salem, has a very interesting association with this old pound, and the method of enforcing the laws, which governed its use. It appears that John Leigh had driven five cows belonging to his neighbor, Simon Tompson of Rocky Hill, to the pound. To secure their release, Tompson was obliged to petition the august magistrate, General Denison, who issued the following writ to Theophilus Wilson, the constable, with his autograph in his familiar hand.

To the Constable of Ipswich

You are required to replevin five Cowes of Simon Tompson's now impounded by John Leigh, and to deliver them to the sd Simon, provided he give bond to the value of fifty shillings wth sufficient sureties to prosecute his Replevin, at the next Court, holden at Ipswich & so from Court to Court till the Cause be ended & to pay such costs and damage as the sd John Leigh shal by law recover agst him and so make a true return hereof under your hand

Dated 9th of August, 1654.

DANIEL DENISON.

This bears the endorsement, which is scarcely legible from the scrawling hand:

9th of August, 1654. I replevined 5 cowes of Simon Tompson and took bond of hym accordingly.

by me

THEOPHILUS WILSON

Constable.

Every time the pound gate closed upon a stray animal, this formal proceeding was necessary before it could be recovered by the owner. This

custom continued for many years, and "field-drivers," whose theoretical function it is to drive stray cattle to pound, are still elected annually. The spot thus used was sold to Mr. George Heard, on behalf of subscribers for a vestry or chapel for the First Parish in 1831, and the present building was erected upon it.

Allusion has already been made to a small watch-house, ten feet square, built at Topsfield in 1673, within the meeting-house fort. The Ipswich watch-house was built many years before this, and was near the pound, as will appear from subsequent records. As early as 1636, the General Court ordered that every town should provide a sufficient watch house "before the last of the 5th month next"¹ (1637). But our town seems to have proceeded very leisurely in the matter. On Dec. 4, 1643, "two loads of wood for the watch-house," perhaps timber for its construction, had been delivered. In 1645 "There was pay'd to Goodman Cartwright, Thomas Burnam, towards the building the watch-house, two and forty shillings by Mr. Bradstreete, and for a dayes work of a team to draw timber by Rich. Kimball for Mr. Bradstreete, 0-8-0" (Town Records). Still the building was unfinished, for, in September, 1647, the Town was "presented" by the Quarter Sessions Court for want of a watch-house,² and in response to this summons, the seven men contracted with Philip Fowler, in the February following, to build a chimney at the watch-house and clapboard it (Town Records).

This building is a vivid reminder of the perils of the time. A constant watch was maintained by the constables from the beginning to guard against any disorder by night, and in time of danger from Indian assault, special precautions were taken. Every adult male of each family above the age of eighteen, including "sons, servants and sojourners," was liable to this service. From the last of March to the last of September, the streets and all exposed localities were patrolled from half an hour after sunset to half an hour before sunrise. All who were abroad after ten o'clock were likely to be challenged by the watch, and summoned to explain where they were going and what their business was, and if they failed to satisfy the inquisitive night-guard, they were liable to arrest and detention at the watch-house or "courte of guard" till morning.

In all these dark and perilous times, the watch-house, with its comfortable fire, was a convenient rendezvous for the watch, and a place of detention for any suspicious characters. Many a timid youth, afraid of his own shadow, went with trembling from its safe shelter to keep his vigil in the dark streets or on the outskirts of the town, and right glad was he to return, when his watch was finished, and report to his superior. It was dull work at best, and we are not surprised that watchmen sometimes napped. John Grant was called to account before the Ipswich Court in 1647 "for sleeping in a barn," and Mark Quilter and Thomas Willson, "for going into a barn to sleep" while on their watch, were rep-

¹ Mass. Records.

² Papers in Ct. Records.

rimanded. In 1692, Hezekiah Hodgkins presumed to bring a pack of cards into the watch-house to while away the night hours, and was sentenced to pay a fine of £5.¹

Near the watch house, another building of frowning aspect was erected in 1652, the county prison, which was ordered by the Court, as the prison in Boston was not sufficient for the colony. The vote of the Town was very comprehensive, and we are indebted to its minuteness of specification for a very valuable description of the "prison house," as it was called. It was to be twenty feet long and sixteen feet wide and the contract required, "3 floors of joyce thick set and well boarded, with partitions above and below, the sides and ends studs and stud space, and to clapboard the house round, and to shingle it, and to daub it whole wall and all but the gable ends, and to underpin the house, and make dores and stayes, and hang the dores, and sett in locks." It was specified also that it should be built "adjoining to the watch house, to be equall in height and wydness with the watch-house." Forty pounds sterling were appropriated for the expense of erection. Theophilus Wilson, whose residence was near the present Farley house, was appointed to keep the prison until further notice,² and in 1657 the Court ordered that he should have "£3 for the year, and for every person committed into the prison 5s and all stayes, and before they be released shall discharge their charges for food and attendance, and such as are not able to provide for themselves, shall be allowed only bread and water."³ In 1659, Mr. Wilson "is apoynted to gett locks to secure the prison & what is wanting else to make ye doors & prison strong."

But locks and bars were not sufficient to make it secure. On the morning of the 30th of March, 1662, the worthy constable and jailer and the community generally were astonished to find that a prisoner had escaped, by jail breaking, "the first offence of this nature committed in the country." The jailer deposed to the Court, that he "put him in prison and lockt the dore fast, and put the hasp on to the staple in the outsyde of the dore, which none within can unhasp, and left no tooles or meanes of light in the prison."⁴ Another prisoner escaped, and when rearrested, he explained that he was very cold in the jail, and took up some of the floor boards and departed. As there is no mention of a chimney in the contract, confinement in cold weather must have been particularly cheerless. Evidently some one came and unhasped the door and helped the prisoner out in the former case. The Court proceeded to enact rigid rules to prevent such offences.

"Forasmuch as several escapes have been made out of prison by the prisoners with the ayd and assistance of some ill affected persons, yt is ordered that noe pson shall presume hereafter to come within the prison yard nor within 20 foote of the prison on the west syde thereof, where

¹ Quarter Sessions Court Records.

² Quarter Sessions Court Records, 27-7-1653.

³ Quarter Sessions Court Records, March, 1657.

⁴ Quarter Sessions Court Records, 9 mo., 1659.

⁵ Quarter Sessions Court Records, 1662.

there is noe fence, upon any pretence whatsoever, without particular leave from the keeper while any prisoners are in the prison, upon paine & penaltye to be proceeded against as contentious of authority, and abettors of malefactors."¹

The old Court Records reveal many secrets of the olden time. The Court held its sessions probably in John Sparks's inn, on or near the spot now covered by the house now occupied by Mr. Chas. W. Brown. Frequent items of payment "to the house" occur, and the Court order in 1680, that the officers of the Court were not to be paid until "the debts due to the ordinaries for the entertainment of the Court be discharged," seems to point to this conclusion. It is certain that a court house was not built before the following century. Mr. Symon Bradstreet, Mr. Samuel Symonds, Major General Denison and Maj. William Hathorne were usually the judges.

Many disturbers of the peace and offenders against the dignity of the law were arraigned and sentenced, and many a man and woman went from the court room to the gloomy jail. For the ordinary poor debtors, thieves and lawbreakers of the common sort, we feel slight concern, but we are moved to pity for one Henry Spenser, who ran away from his master, took sundry valuables of his, stole a horse and saddle at Andover, and completed his course by breaking prison, at Ipswich, who was sentenced to be severely whipped and branded in the forehead with a letter B and pay a fine of £5.² And we feel great compassion for Samuel Shattuck, Nicolas Phelps, and Joshua Buffum, Quakers, who had been absent a Sunday or two from public worship in Salem, and had been apprehended by the constable at the Quakers' meeting, who were all sentenced to be fined, "and for persisting still in their course, & opinion as Quakers the sentence of the Court is they shall be committed to the House of Correction, there to be kept until they give security to renounce their opinion or remove themselves out of the jurisdiction."³ They were led across the Green to the prison, or house of correction as it was some times styled, as it served for both purposes, and then as the law required they were whipped, fed on bread and water and compelled to work on hemp and flax and no one was allowed to speak to them.⁴ They languished in prison several weeks at least and then came the edict of the General Court (Oct. 19, 1658):⁵ "Itt is ordered that the Quakers in prison at Ipswich be forthwith sent for, Samuel Shattocke, Lawrenc Southwick & Cassandra Southwicke his wife, Nicho Phelps, Joshua Buffum & Josiah Southwicke, enjoined at their peril to depart out of this jurisdic. before the first day of the Ct. of Election next, which, if they neglect or refuse to do, they shall be banished under payn of death."

The whipping post and stocks were the grim accessories of the prison

¹ Quarter Sessions Court Records, 1664.

² Quarter Sessions Court Records, 1665.

³ Quarter Sessions Court Records, 1658.

⁴ Mass. Records, 1656.

⁵ Mass. Records.

as instruments of punishment. The site of the last whipping post was identified by tradition with a certain hollow in the Green, a few rods from the meeting house. It was proposed that the spot should be marked by a tree, and when the hole was dug, the stump of the old post was discovered. The elm that was planted by Mr. Aaron Cogswell and his son, Mr. John H. Cogswell is now well grown. It is the tree nearest the Meeting House on the southeast. The stocks were a wooden frame, in which the feet of evil doers were fixed and held fast. Imprisonment in them involved some discomfort but little pain, probably, and exposed the culprit to public ridicule. This penalty was reserved for minor offences. Thus, Joseph Fowler, a roystering young fellow, who was always in mischief, was bound to good behaviour, and to sit four hours in the stocks, and Benjamin Muzzy for bartering a gun to Indians was sentenced to sit four hours in the stocks, and pay the Indian his beavers again. John Broadstreet, for his misdemeanor in assaulting the Court, was to sit one hour.¹ Daniel Black and his wife were both sentenced to the stocks, and were instructed not to miscall each other, while so confined.² The precise location of the stocks is unknown, but it must have been near by. For the whipping, there was an officer appointed annually. Francis Jordan was the first incumbent of that position, of whom we have record, and he was allowed twenty shillings a year.³ Jeffrey Skelling was whipped in 1650 "for divers lyes." Henry Salter, for running away twice and stealing, was sentenced to be whipped and "weare a lock on his legg, and pay treble damages."⁴ Women guilty of unchastity felt the lash as well as men and it was generally inflicted together with fines and imprisonment for the grosser offences.

That old "goal" was the scene of many sad experiences. Murderers were imprisoned there until the day of their doom delivered them. On the Lecture-day before they were hanged, they were taken in their chains to the public service of worship. Judge Sewall mentions in his Diary a Newbury woman, Esther Rogers, who was thus dealt with. On January 16, 1700-1, "Mr. Rogers prai'd for the prisoner of death." The sermon on that occasion, he observes, was the last preached in the old Meeting House. Those under suspicion of witchcraft were guarded there, and Giles Corey, who was pressed to death in Salem because he refused to plead to the charge of witchcraft, made his will within its walls.⁵

It continued to serve its purpose until 1750 when it was reputed to be in such a ruinous condition, "and utterly insufficient" that the Court ordered it should be used no longer.⁶ But a longer lease of life was in store for the ancient prison. It was decided subsequently to repair it and make it fit for further use. Col. John Choate offered an order which was adopted by the Court, and prescribed the exact work to be done.

¹ Quarter Sessions Court Records, 1651.

² Quarter Sessions Court Records, 1664.

³ Quarter Sessions Court Records, 1650.

⁴ Quarter Sessions Court Records, 1673.

⁵ Sewall's Diary.

⁶ General Sessions Court Records, July 10, 1750.

"Ordered that the House in Ipswich Heretofore improved as a Prison be forthwith Repaired by a suitable Trench filled with stones round the outside thereof & on those Stones a teire of Timber of five or six inches thick Raised near the top of the upper lofts of the house at 12 or 14 inches distance from it well surported by dovetail thereto & the space between the House & Timber fill with suitable stone with windows through the same for light and air to each Room."¹

It was further ordered "that the Prison Frame adjoining to the house aforesaid (except the inside of the West end) be . . . duly finished as soon as may be with a suitable Cellar under the same." Andrew Burley Esq. was appointed a committee to secure these repairs and £40 were appropriated. He reported, Sept. 26, 1752, that the two lower rooms had been sufficiently repaired and strengthened and it was ordered that these rooms might again be used as a "common Goal," and that "the garret floor be lined underneath with two inch oak Plank." Again on July 10, 1753, he informed the Court that he had built a fence around the prison, and the keeper's house adjoining. It was ordered then that "the two lower rooms be plastered overhead" and that "the North chamber be finished so as to Accommodate such Prisoners as may have the benefit of being under bond to Remain within the limits of sd Prison." It was specified that "the house adjoining . . . with the yard inclosed by the fence aforesaid be the limitts of said Prison."²

Mr. Burley's son, Andrew, informed the Court on Christmas day, 1753, that his father was dead and the repairs were still incomplete. He was instructed to carry the work forward, and in the following July, the final accounts were settled. It is a noteworthy instance in the olden time of the expensiveness of public undertakings. Forty pounds sterling were appropriated originally. The total cost proved to be two hundred and sixty-eight.

Singularly enough, after such prolonged and expensive repairs, the sheriff reported in 1769 that the Goal was very defective and out of repair, and on December 25, 1770, plans for a new building with keeper's house were presented and approved, and a building committee was appointed to proceed forthwith. This plan has been preserved in the Court Files. The committee was instructed to negotiate with the Town for a proper site. The Town voted that it would provide a suitable place for the new prison on the west end of the county-house, provided that the County would relinquish its right in the land on the east side of the old house, for building a workhouse. Widow Elizabeth Hunt was instructed to remove the house she occupied, and clear the ground where the house stands, and the shoemaker's shop of Joseph Hodgkins was also ordered away (Town Records). These buildings were on the town land.

The County and Town agreed to "set the Goal at the west end of the County House and the Committee of the Town of Ipswich have agreed to set off for that purpose at the west end of said County House six square

¹ General Sessions Court Records, July 9 1751.

² General Sessions Court Records.

rods of land bounded beginning at Robert Perkins land, so running southwest by the end of said County House three rods, thence northwest two rods, northeast three rods, then southeast two rods to first bounds, Provided the County relinquish their right to the land the old Goal now stands'' (Town Records).

This exchange of land was made, additional land was purchased of Robert Perkins, who owned and lived on the spot now occupied by Mr. John H. Cogswell's residence, and the prison was built at once. On March 31, 1772, the Justices viewed and approved the building, and ordered that "the two lower rooms and the two chambers be henceforth made use of as his Majesty's Goal in this County, and that the upper apartment be for a House of Correction." The plan shows that the prison was a two story building with gambrel roof, and that the rooms under the roof were used for the House of Correction.

In October of the same year, the County bought of Robert Perkins, to enlarge the yard of the new Goal and County House, "a certain piece of land containing 31 rods which is bounded southwest on land whereon the said new Goal . . . now stands, and land belonging to said Town of Ipswich, six rods, fifteen and a half feet, southeast on land belonging to Nathaniel Hovey, four rods, fourteen feet, northeast on land of widow Sarah Pulsifer six rods two and a half feet, northwest on said Robert Perkins land four rods one foot, with one other small piece thereto contiguous at the westerly corner thereof and containing 232 square feet, extending twenty four feet westerly from the afore mentioned in length, and ten feet in breadth rearward from said first mentioned line continued on westward twenty-four feet as aforesaid (130: 247)."

The County found the small attic rooms insufficient for the County House and bought the Dummer Jewett¹ property on the south side and erected a new building for prison use in 1790 and 1791. Land on Green street was bought and a new jail built of stone, near the present House of Correction, in 1806, and in 1808, the old Goal site, with its yard was sold to Rev. David Tenney Kimball. The deed gives the bounds as follows:

"beginning at the East corner by land of Daniel Holland southwest on land of heirs of Nath. Kinsman decd. 80 feet to land of Inhabitants of Ipswich, northwest 78 feet 3 in., thence on land belonging to said inhabitants running south west to the training field or Common, thence running north west, 63 ft. 4 in. on said Common, thence running north east on said Common and land of David Pulsifer to the corner of the old goal yard by his land, thence south east on said Pulsifer's land 24 feet, thence northeast 51 feet, on said Pulsifer's land to land of said Daniel Holland, thence running south east 101 feet 6 in. on said Holland's land to bounds first mentioned," the goal reserved to be taken away Jan. 1, 1808 (185: 152).

¹ The ancient house recently taken down on the Edward Wildes estate. The prison was on the site of the adjoining house.

Mr. Kimball enlarged his lot in the following year by purchasing of the Town a small piece bounded on two sides by his own land and on the third by the Common and the pound, April 12, 1809 (186: 71).

These details enable us to locate the ancient and the more modern prisons with much accuracy. The present dividing line, between the Kimball estate and Mr. John H. Cogswell's, turns at a right angle about sixty-six feet from the front line, and after running twenty feet southeast, resumes its former course and extends fifty-eight feet to the rear corner of the Kimball land. Mrs. J. Q. Peabody remembers that her father, to accommodate Mr. John Howe Boardman, the owner of the Cogswell property, set his fence some four or five feet back from the line specified by his deed. If a line, parallel to the present line, and five feet nearer Mr. Cogswell's residence, be prolonged into the Green, we have the northwest limit of the jail premises of 1770, and a parallel line, two rods to the southeast indicates the northwest bound of the ancient prison lot, while the lot on the northeast side of the Chapel was undoubtedly part of the old prison yard, which was surrendered to the Town by the agreement made in 1771. The watch-house was adjacent to the old prison. The prison of 1770 occupied in part, at least, the site of the Kimball homestead, and the ancient prison of 1652 was very near it. A large flat rock some fifteen feet in front of the Kimball fence covers the well of the prison of 1771, and it may have provided water for the original Goal. With the keeper's house and the enclosing fences, a large portion of the present corner of the Green must have been occupied. We must remember, of course, that the present road in front of the Cogswell and Peabody residences is comparatively modern. There was nothing more than a rutted driveway, which provided an approach to the houses.

We have mentioned that the ancient watch-house was set near the pound. That corner of the old Green was utilized for so many purposes that we are bewildered by any attempt at exact location. Thus in 1655, Humphrey Griffin had liberty to set up a "shamballs" or slaughter house, about twenty feet square, by the pound. This grant was followed by another, in 1664, to Major General Denison, "soe much ground by the pound and his own fence as 30 foot long and 20 foot broad to sett up a cow-house," and another of twelve feet "at the west end of his barn to the pound," in 1679.¹ To accommodate Thomas Fossey, the goal-keeper, "Four rods near the Prison, by Mr. Wilson's barn, formerly so called and bounded by stakes," were carved out of the old Green for his residence in 1692, and, in 1703, Samuel Graves Jr. was granted liberty to remove his hatter's shop, "and to sett it some place about ye pound, where the selectmen shall appoint, and ye sd Graves to remove sd shop off said Ground of ye Towne, whenever the Town shall see cause."

In 1722 John Wainwright Esq. was desired to wait on the Justices of the Quarter Sessions Court and make sale, if possible, of the Fossey house,

¹ Denison owned the property now owned by the heirs of John Perkins and W. H. Graves.

as a residence for the jailer; and the house, then in possession of Sam. Graves. He conferred with the Court as instructed, and Col. John Appleton, Danl Rogers and Jno. Whipple were desired "to treat with said Fosdike's heirs ab^t ye same and know the lowest Term it may be had for & whether y^e Town will give a Grant of y^e Land where ye Prison is, & such addition of land as may be necessary & y^t Report thereof may be made to ye next Sessions at Salem."¹ No report is recorded, but the County evidently came into possession of the land, as it was deeded back to the Town in 1771. It seems likely that the Fossey and Graves houses were on or near the land now owned by the heirs of Rev. D. T. Kimball.

Very early in the eighteenth century, the question of an almshouse, or workhouse, as it was often called, was debated, and on Feb. 3, 1717, the town voted that "an Alms-House or convenient House for ye Poor be built, To be a logg house of about 40 feet long, about 16 foot wide, about 6 foot high wth a Slatt roof as may be sutable." It was voted in 1719, that it should be set "in ye lane towards Pindars," *i. e.* Loney's Lane, but evidently the attraction of the pound was too great to be overcome, as in 1731 (Town Records), we find mention of the "alms house adjoining to the Pound." But it was not an attractive place of residence for the poor, or there were few poor to be housed, and the spacious log house was available for other uses. So William Stone, who by reason of sickness was no longer able to support himself by fishing, asked leave to use a room there to teach reading and writing to the youth, and this was granted in the year 1722. Shortly before this, the Town voted that a school should not be kept in the Town House, and this offer of the debilitated fisherman may have offered a providential solution of the school-question.

For some reason, the old Town seems to have been inclined to resort to many makeshifts in regard to a proper school building. As early as 1714 it was voted that "the watch-house should be improved during the Summer by some person who will undertake the teaching of young children to read;" and, in the next year, the query was, if there were not some woman, who was ready to make this use of the old watch-house. Again in 1731, the almshouse was resorted to, when Henry Spillar was granted the use of a room at the southerly end for "his teaching and instructing youth in reading, writing & cyphering." In 1733 he was granted £12 for his school keeping. This almshouse seems to have become too old for service of any sort in 1770, when the location of a new one was debated at the same time the new prison was projected, and some proposed that it should be at the southeast end of the old county house, "provided the Town will be moving the Pound and take down the Alms House which is now rotten, & settle the bounds between the Town land and Capt. Treadwell" (Town Records), but in 1784 the Selectmen were requested to sell it.

Capt. Treadwell was the owner of the Denison property, which was owned later by Nathaniel Lord Jr., and then by Mr. John Perkins, whose

¹ General Sessions Court Records, March 27, 1722.

heirs still own the corner where his late dwelling stands. The Green originally reached far into this lot, as we have noticed, and as late as about 1850, the present line was established. In the olden time, a stone wall enclosed it, and in 1702, when the new Meeting House had been built, a spasm of kindly regard for the horses, during the time of service, possessed the hearts of the fathers, and they voted that sheds might be set up on the Green near the old Meeting House, but their second thought was better, and Nicholas Wallis was allowed a place by this stone wall for a shed. The original vote permitted a shed to be built "about 20 foot from ye Watch House, southerly toward the old Meeting House." As the watch-house was near the present chapel, any approximation to a southerly direction from it would require the location of the second Meeting-House and fort near the present roadway, on the southeast side of the Meeting-House.

Our survey cannot be completed without a glimpse at the small grass plot, in front of the Methodist Meeting House. Here the first Town-house was built. The order of the Town, Dec. 28, 1704, specified a building about 32 feet long, about 28 feet wide, about 18 or 19 feet stud, "with a flat roof raised about 5 foot." A school room was finished in the lower part, and the upper was used for a court room and for town meetings. It was replaced by a new building, erected at the joint expense of Town and County, in 1793-94, a much more pretentious structure with a high belfry or steeple. It stood with its rear end close to the high ledge, which has been blasted to its present level, but which was originally as high as the eaves of the building itself. Thus, in close proximity to prison, stocks and whipping post, the Courts held their stately sessions from 1704 to 1854, when they ceased their sittings, and the house was sold and removed to the corner near the railroad station. It was utilized by Mr. James Damon for a hall and stores, and was totally destroyed by fire, April 14, 1894. Famous judges sat in the bar; great lawyers, Webster, Choate and Story, made their pleas; momentous cases were decided under its roof.

Near the old Town-house, at its easterly end, by vote of the Town, permission to erect a building, fifty feet long and twenty-five feet wide, was given to a number of subscribers in November, 1774, "for the encouragement of military discipline," and during the cold days of winter the Minute Men were schooled in the manual of arms, in preparation for the war that was then regarded as inevitable, and, by a singular coincidence, the room in the neighboring brick building, occupied by the Post Office served as a recruiting headquarters during the Civil War.

Thus the Green is full of memories, from the earlier to the later times. Hither the hogs were driven in the morning, and the swine-herd, Abraham War, with Goodman Symmes, drove them to the town-commons (Town Records, 1653) and, at the sound of the cow-herd Haniel Bosworth's horn, blown on the Green soon after sunrise, the cows of the neighborhood were gathered there, that they might be driven in a herd to the public pasture lands outside the Town limits (Town Records, 1661). Great gatherings

have assembled on its ledges and grassy slopes. From the ledge nearest the Meeting-House, as the tradition is, Whitefield preached to thousands, hushed to solemn stillness. When Lafayette was welcomed, the Meeting House was filled with the throng of citizens who paid him honor. Here the militia gathered for their periodic trainings, and the training days were great days, with the pomp and parade of the military and the tents of fakirs and cheap showmen. Ordination days were grand occasions too, with their festal accompaniment of booths for eating and drinking.

Happily the noblest associations are the most constant. Hither the people have come to worship since the beginnings of the town life, and here, the school children straying a little from the old watch-house, the ancient almshouse, the town-house and the old gambrel-roofed school building that stood where the present Denison school now stands, have found a pleasant playground for two centuries.

GREEN LANE, COUNTY ST., SUMMER ST. AND NORTH MAIN.

John Sanders.

(Diagram 3.)

It was recorded, in 1639, that Theophilus Wilson's house lot was purchased of John Sanders, and that it was bounded on the southeast by the lot of Robert Mosey. We may presume that Sanders and Mosey, or Muzzey, were the original grantees. The Sanders-Wilson property included the tract bounded by the Green, North Main and Summer streets, and, nearly enough for our present purpose, by a line extending from the chapel to Summer street. The Mosey or Muzzey property was bounded by this line on the northwest, by Summer and County Streets. Whether it ever included the remainder of the square bounded by Green street and the Green, is a matter of doubt. But we know that Major General Denison owned the lot bounded by Muzzey, County street, Green street and the Meeting House Green in 1648 (Ips. Deeds 1: 43).

Theophilus Wilson, aged about eighty-eight years, as the deed recites, sold his dwelling, orchard and land to John Lovell, July 29, 1689 (Ips. Deeds 5: 299). John Lovell, shoemaker, sold to his father, Thomas Lovell, a currier by trade, Feb. 8, 1694 (10:182). The elder Lovell divided the lot, and sold William Donnton, mariner, the northeast portion, Aug. 1, 1695 (13: 60). This lot was bounded by North Main street, Summer street, then known as Annable's Lane, originally Stony street, and the former Muzzey property, then owned by Samuel Dutch. He exchanged the remainder for another estate, with his son, Alexander, Oct. 16, 1697 (20: 91). Alexander Lovell conveyed "my old dwelling house and part of my homestead, which was Mr. Wilson's late of Ipswich" and about forty square rods of land to Samuel Chapman, mariner, Dec., 1715 (30: 187).

The deed to Chapman is the first to give measurements, and it informs

us that the frontage on the Green was six rods lacking one foot, and that the southeast bound was a line extending from the Green to the Donnton land, about two and a half feet from the easterly end of the dwelling. This line coincides with the present dividing line between the Farley and Cogswell properties, and it defines the location of the old Theophilus Wilson house very satisfactorily. Making allowance for gradual encroachment on the Green, the house stood, a rod back at least, from the present front fence, and about two feet from the fence which separates the two estates.

This corner lot was sold by Chapman to Joseph Foster, Nov. 2, 1726 (48: 195) and by him to Joseph and Jeremiah Perkins, Jan. 26, 1726-27 (49: 206). It continued many years in the Perkins line. James Perkins owned and occupied the southeast half of the house and land in 1795, and sold the same to Joseph Perkins of Newburyport, in February of that year (158: 262), and a James Perkins bequeathed one undivided half of the whole estate to his sister, Susanna Kendall, and the other to his nephew Isaac Perkins, in 1818 (Pro. Rec. 393: 332). Dr. George Chadwick purchased one half from the administrator of Susanna Kendall, and the other from Francis Butler and wife of Farmington, Jan. 5, 1831 (260: 161). Chadwick sold to Robert Farley, April 25, 1839 (312: 295), who transferred it to Joseph K. Farley, April 29, 1842 (332: 47). Mr. Farley sold the old house, which was removed to Pingree's Plain, and built the present mansion, which was occupied by his widow until her death.

Alexander Lovell had built a new dwelling, probably before he sold the old Wilson homestead in 1715. He sold a part of his lot on the south east side, bounded by the pound on the southwest, to Nathaniel Hovey, Nov. 3, 1739 (88: 277), and he gave a small lot fronting on the Green, eighteen feet front and forty feet deep, "12 foot from the southeast end of my dwelling house," to his daughter Sarah Pulsipher, and her husband Joseph Pulsipher, Oct. 21, 1746 (106: 90). He bequeathed one-half of his house and land to Jonathan Wells, his son-in-law, and the other to Joseph Pulsipher (Pro. Rec. 327: 306-309). Jonathan Wells acquired the other half by purchase Dec. 24, 1747, from William Pulcifer and Mary his wife, daughter of Lovell (104: 132), and sold to Joseph Pulcifer (106: 91).

Abraham Tilton sold the southeast half to Robert Perkins March 7, 1761 (109: 116), and the deed specified that the line of division began at the middle of the house, ran through the house and the middle of the well. This well is in the rear of Mr. Cogswell's residence. Its location indicates that the house, which Alexander Lovell built, was a little northwest of the present dwelling. Perkins sold land to the County for the new jail of which mention has already been made,¹ now owned by the heirs of Rev. David T. Kimball, Oct. 29, 1772 (130: 247), and conveyed his title in the remainder of the estate to Stephen Lord, March 6, 1793 (155: 201). Lord sold to Thomas Kimball, mariner, April 23, 1795 (160: 32), who also purchased from Sarah Safford the small rectangular piece, eighteen feet by forty, which she had received from her father, July 16, 1796 (160: 272). One item of peculiar interest attaches to this deed. It defines the land

¹ Cf. "The Meeting House Green," page 431.

in question as bounded by the Green on the southwest. The line then extended northeast by the land occupied by the prison, seventeen feet, and so on the same course, twenty three feet to Kimball's land. The conclusion seems natural that the line of the Green at that time touched the present fence between the Cogswell and the Kimball properties, seventeen feet from the northeast corner of the fence. The distance from this corner to the present line of the Green is sixty-one feet seven inches, or forty-four feet farther into the Green. As the line was indefinite, and unmarked by fences or bounds, encroachment was easy, and record remains of a grant, soon to be noted. Thomas Kimball sold to David Pulcifer, Nov. 6, 1798 (163: 223), who acquired a small tract in the rear of Elizabeth Holland, July 30, 1812 (199: 140).

In the meantime, Sarah Safford, widow of Joseph Pulcifer, of Camp-ton, Moses Jewett of New Milford, Israel Eliot Pulcifer of Beverly, and Samuel Little of Beverly, executed a deed of the northwest half of the house with land to Aaron Perkins Jr., cooper, Nov. 7, 1797 (164: 229), who transferred it to Daniel Holland, March 13, 1802 (171: 50). On the night of June 9, 1811, the house took fire and was burned with most of its contents, and a boy, Abraham Burnham, who died at a good old age a few years since, sleeping in the house was forgotten until the last moment. Captain Pulcifer proceeded at once to rebuild and made request that his line might be extended into the Green ten feet. In view of the great loss he had suffered, the Town generously granted it (Town Records) Feb. 1, 1811, and the widow Holland was equally favored.

Separate houses were now built by the widow Holland and Capt. Pulcifer. He sold his house and land to John How Boardman, April 4, 1826 (241: 161), and it came by inheritance to his son, Mr. Aaron Cogswell, the excellent school teacher for many years, and his grandson, Mr. John How Cogswell, the present owner. Mrs. Holland in due time became Mrs. Gage, wife of Samuel N. Gage, of Rowley, but survived her second husband. The executor of her estate sold it to Aaron Cogswell, May 24, 1841 (326: 65), and the house was removed by Mr. John H. Cogswell to the corner of County and Green streets a few years since.

Rev. David Tenney Kimball, who had recently begun his pastorate with the First Church, bought the land owned by the County and occupied as a prison on Jan. 1, 1808,¹ and erected the spacious and comfortable parsonage which still stands. For many years the most liberal hospitality was dispensed. Miss Zilpah Grant and Miss Mary Lyon were much here, when the Female Academy was just beginning its noble work. Famous ministers tarried a little while as they travelled or exchanged with the worthy pastor, Lyman Beecher, Calvin Stowe, Leonard Woods, and many another. Catherine Beecher and Ann Hazeltine Judson, N. P. Willis, Garrison, Rufus Choate, Caleb Cushing and Daniel Webster, tasted the good cheer.

William Donnton, we mentioned, bought the lot on the corner of North Main and Summer streets, in 1695. The deed mentions no build-

¹(185: 152).

ing of any sort, only a plain hundred rods out of Mr. Wilson's house lot. Donnton built a home for himself, and it stood until a few years since, a low-roofed, big-chimneyed dwelling house, picturesque in its simplicity, a venerable landmark, whose disappearance we may well regret. On Nov. 5, 1721, Robert Perkins and Elizabeth, his wife, one of the daughters of William Donnton, deceased, sold their interest in the estate to Joseph Holland, mariner, their "loving brother-in-law" (41: 24). The deed conveyed house, barn and outbuildings with a measurement on Annable's lane, of twelve rods and eight feet, to a stake. Holland was a fisherman, and had a privilege in a certain fishing stage, and flake room, on the southward side of Jeffry's Neck, next adjoining to the stage of William Wilcomb (38: 271, 1721-2).

The executors of Mary Holland, widow of Joseph, sold the property to Dr. Francis Holmes, Jan. 31, 1755 (106: 98). After the death of Dr. Holmes, the estate was divided by order of the Probate Court. The homestead or a two-thirds interest was set off to his son, John. The widow had a right of dower in another house, which had been built where Mr. Sayward's house now stands, also in a house lot, which had been divided from the original lot on Annable's lane. John Holmes sold his interest in the homestead to Joshua Blanchard of Boston, April 11, 1767 (121: 246), who sold in turn to Ezekiel Dodge, Aug. 20, 1775 (135: 53). Anna Dodge, widow and administrator of Ezekiel, sold the same two-thirds interest to Ezekiel Dodge, painter, July 5, 1789 (158: 132). Ezekiel sold one half his interest to Anna Dodge, June 13, 1793 (158: 132). Anna and Sarah Dodge, daughters of Anna, sold their interest to Ezekiel, Sept. 24, 1810 (190: 264). Ezekiel sold the full two-thirds and one-fifth of remaining part to Manning Dodge, Charlotte and Mary Dodge, March 21, 1823 (230: 293). The heirs of Manning Dodge sold to Mr. Theodore F. Cogswell in 1888, April 4 (1219: 504), and the house was torn down at once and the present residence of Mr. George E. Farley was erected on the same site. Mary Holmes, widow of Dr. Holmes, sold her equity in the house she occupied to her son, John, March 11, 1779 (157: 214). He transferred it to Anna Dodge, April 30, 1794 (158: 133). Manning Dodge sold it, with land, to John How Boardman, Jan. 8, 1827 (243: 252). He sold it to Manning Dodge again, Aug. 25, 1832, who transferred it to Capt. John Lord 3d, on the same day (264: 266). It was purchased later by Dr. Isaac Flichtner, who built the house now occupied by Mr. Sayward, in 1859-60. G. F. Flichtner bought the interest of the other heirs, April, 1880 (1035: 60), and sold to Mr. Charles A. Sayward in 1881 (1051: 124). The old house was moved to Washington street, and is owned by the heirs of the late Michael Ready.

When the Holmes estate was divided, mention was made of a house lot that had been staked off at the lower end of the lot on Annable's Lane. This remained in possession of the Holmes heirs, and on June 10, 1803, Sarah Holmes, widow of John, sold it to Benjamin Kimball Jr. (172: 48). He built a house, and sold land and house, Sept. 5, 1803, to Elisha Gould

(174: 172). He sold to Capt. Daniel Lakeman, Oct. 23, 1811 (195: 14). Captain Lakeman sold the northwest half of the house with a narrow frontage to James Staniford, May 6, 1836 (290: 216). The remainder of the property was secured at a later date and is owned still by the Staniford heirs.

The deed of sale from the widow Mary Holland to Dr. Holmes gives the land of widow Elizabeth Fuller as the southeast abutter (1755). There is a slight error as to the ownership at that time, as the widow Fuller sold her house and lot on Feb. 21, 1754 to Thomas Treadwell (107: 158). His widow retained some rooms in the house, and part of the land, by her right of dower, when the estate was sold to Isaac Dodge, July 30, 1767 (151: 19). Col. Joseph Hodgkins sold the chamber and garret of the dwelling and two-thirds of the cellar, "being the whole of the dwelling of Thomas Treadwell, except what was set off and assigned to widow Esther Treadwell," to Samuel Stone, May 26, 1796. Stone bought the balance of the estate, Feb. 25, 1801 (170: 52), from Dr. John Manning. Robert Farley was in possession later and sold to Ezekiel Dodge Jr., May 14, 1823 (233: 157). His daughter married Nehemiah Haskell, whose heirs sold to Mrs. Chas. A. Sayward.

The Treadwell estate seems to have included the adjoining property now owned by Dr. William H. Russell. Col. Joseph Hodgkins and his wife, Lydia, widow of Elisha Treadwell, deeded one-half the land and house to Stephen Low, and the other half to his wife, Sarah, on March 29, 1825 (238: 22, 23). It was inherited by his son, Winthrop, and by Dr. Russell from him. The Russell property is a part of the ancient Theophilus Wilson estate, but the Daniel Clark house lot was part of the second original division.

Robert Muzzey.

(Diagram 3.)

Robert Muzzey, we have seen, appears to have been the original grantee of the second block of this square, but Matthew Whipple was in possession when he died, as the Rev. Nathaniel Rogers, and the other executors of Whipple's will, sold to Robert Whitman, for £5, a house and an acre of ground, bounded by Wilson and Denison, and public ways, May 2, 1648 (Ips. Deeds 1: 43). Whitman sold it to William Douglass, cooper, 13 April, 1652 (Ips. Deeds 1: 128). Robert Dutch, fisherman, was in possession in 1660, as a mortgage deed makes evident (Ips. Deeds 2: 45). No mention of a house is made in this deed, and the former cheap dwelling that had been bought with an acre of land for £5 in 1648 had entirely disappeared. In 1676, Dutch conveyed to his son Samuel about a quarter of an acre, part of his "pasture" bounded by Denison on the south, and the highway on the east (Ips. Deeds 5: 193) and he sold him the balance of the land on Dec. 12, 1683 (Ips. Deeds 5: 231). This deed speaks of his "homestead" as adjoining, and indicates that Samuel Dutch had built a house on the County street side of the lot. Dutch seems to have met with financial reverses in the year 1718, for in that year he mortgaged his dwell-

ing to Joseph Boles and John Gains (36: 105) and divided his orchard into building lots, with an uniform frontage on Annable's Lane of three rods. The corner lot where Miss Sarah P. Caldwell's house now stands was sold to Samuel Harris, Nov. 1st (36: 112). Nathaniel Hovey bought the lot adjoining Lovell's, about midway of the Lane, Nov. 5, 1718 (33: 260) and Richard Ringe the adjoining lot on the southeast on the same day (49: 259). Jonathan Pulcifer acquired the lot southeast of Ringe on Nov. 17th (34: 205) and Deborah Lord, spinster, the next, Nov. 18, 1718 (35: 80). Dutch died soon after, and his mortgagees sold his mansion-house, warehouse and part of his homestead, twelve rods in length on Dutch's Lane, as it was commonly called, now County street, April 3, 1722 to Anthony Attwood (40: 76). The remaining lot on Annable's Lane was sold to Jonathan Pulcifer, Nov. 7, 1724 (44: 57).

Hovey enlarged his lot by the purchase of eleven square rods, from Alexander Lovell, in the rear of the land sold to William Donnton, in 1739 (88: 277). It was owned by Capt. Nathaniel Kinsman, and by his son Capt. John Choate Kinsman. The latter sold the house and land to Warren Nourse, April 7, 1846 (366: 77), who sold half of it to Anna Newton, wife of Aldred Newton, April 18, 1846 (369: 127). Daniel Clark bought one-half the house from Asabel H. Wildes, April 24, 1850 (471: 256). Mary P., wife of Daniel, acquired the other half, Feb. 13, 1878 (993: 4.) It is now owned by Mrs. Philip E. Clarke.

The next of the original Dutch lots was sold by Richard Ringe, heir of Richard, who had bought in 1718, with a house, to John Pinder Jr., Feb. 5, 1760 (163: 23). His widow, Sarah, sold to Wm. Leatherland, Jan. 3, 1799 (163: 256). By order of Probate Court, Chas. A. Sayward, as guardian of Jacob Leatherland, insane, sold the property, and it was purchased by Daniel Clark, Feb. 21, 1872 (855: 157). It is now owned by his son, Philip E. Clark, whose cabinet shop and undertaker's establishment occupies the site of the old house.

We observed that Jonathan Pulcifer purchased the next lot in 1718, when the Samuel Dutch property was divided into house lots, and another in 1724. He seems to have owned a continuous frontage to the corner now occupied by Miss Sarah P. Caldwell's residence. His heirs apparently sold the house now owned by Theodore H. Howe to Richard Lakeman, May 14, 1796 (176: 263). He sold to Daniel Lakeman (176: 263), and Daniel transferred to Jane Gould, wife of Elisha Gould, Oct. 23, 1811 (196: 44). The Goulds sold to Elizabeth Fuller, Nov. 23, 1827 (246: 194), and Reuben Daniels sold it to Chas. H. Howe, May 16, 1867 (726: 63).

Bickford Pulcifer sold Jonathan Lakeman, a house and six square rods of land on Annable's Lane, surrounded by his land, Dec. 28, 1769 (158: 72). He acquired the next lot which was owned or occupied in 1745 by Solomon Lakeman (87: 169), and in 1793, March 11, he bought of Bickford Pulcifer, the land that fronts on County street, then known as Dutch's lane, and later as Cross street, and extended back of the lots on Annable's lane. His heirs by mutual quitclaims divided his estate. His daughter Margaret, wife of Jedediah Chapman, received the house next to the Howe

property (266: 280 June 23, 1832), and it is still owned by the Chapman heirs. His daughter Abigail, wife of Daniel Jewett, had possession of the adjoining house and land, since purchased by the heirs of Capt. Sylvanus Caldwell. The land on County street was quitclaimed to Lydia, wife of Isaac B. Shepard of Salem (266: 129).

The corner lot of the Dutch-Muzzey grant was bought, as was remarked, in 1718, by Samuel Harris. He sold it to Joseph Bennett, May 8, 1723 (42: 152). Bennett built a residence and occupied it until his death. Samuel Ross Jr., one of the heirs, sold a third of a third part of the house and land to Joseph Lakeman-Ross, Dec. 15, 1789 (151: 64), and he, with Mary, his wife and Mary Bennett, spinster, conveyed the property to Daniel Holland, Oct. 10, 1796 (161: 68). He sold to Aaron Perkins, April 13, 1802 (170: 271), who transferred it to Capt. Sylvanus Caldwell, March 12, 1818 (217: 41). His daughter, Miss Sarah P. Caldwell, still occupies the comfortable old mansion.

Samuel Dutch received from his father, Robert Dutch, about a quarter of an acre, in 1676 (Ips. Deeds 5: 193). He bought the remainder of the lot in 1683, Dec. 12 (Ips. Deeds 5: 231), and as this deed mentions that the new purchase adjoined his homestead, it seems that he had built a dwelling prior to this date. We mentioned that in 1718 he sold his land in small building lots and mortgaged his house. The mortgagees sold it after Dutch's death to Anthony Attwood (40: 76). Attwood sold to Capt. Stephen Perkins (51: 278), and his executors conveyed it to Henry Morris, Jan. 20, 1733 (81: 53). Morris sold to Richard Lakeman, Nov. 20, 1745 (87: 169) and Lakeman to Bickford Pulcifer, March 18, 1761 (110: 34). Pulcifer sold a quarter acre lot with the house, etc., to Nathaniel Perley, Feb. 23, 1774 (132: 193). Benjamin Dutch bought it of Perley, May 8, 1778 (147: 242) and sold to John Dutch, May 27 (137: 202). John Dutch conveyed it to Dr. John Manning, July 30, 1783 (148: 80) who sold it to Rev. Ebenezer Dutch of Boxford, Feb. 12, 1788 (147: 124).

The Rev. Ebenezer sold to his fellow clergyman, Rev. Levi Frisbie, Pastor of the First church, June 11, 1788 (147: 242) and in his hands, this property, which had been so long in swift transition, remained in quiet use as a parsonage for many years. He removed or took down the old house and erected the present dwelling. Mr. Frisbie began to preach as a colleague with Rev. Nathaniel Rogers in 1775, and was installed Feb. 7, 1776. If he began his housekeeping when he purchased the house, the new parsonage was the scene of a great sorrow, as his young wife died on Aug. 21, 1778, after an illness of only six days, in the thirty-first year of her age. He continued in the pastorate thirty years and died Feb. 25, 1806, having received Rev. David Tenney Kimball as a colleague. His widow, Mehitable, daughter of Rev. Moses Hale of Newbury, whom he married in 1780, survived him many years. She died in 1828, and bequeathed her estate to her niece Hannah, and nephew Joseph Hale (Pro. Rec. 406: 493). Joseph Hale sold it to Charles Bamford, March 2, 1842 (329: 287) and it remains in the possession of his son, Charles W. Bamford. The old house has been enlarged and changed.

Daniel Denison.

(Diagram 3.)

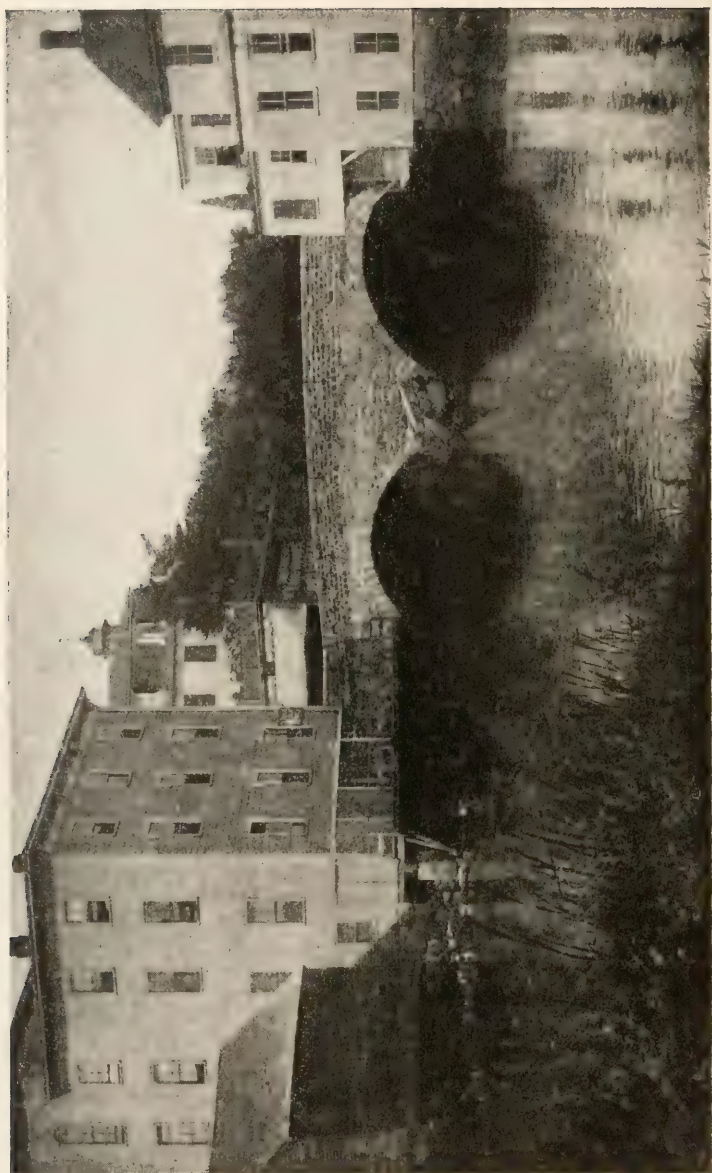
The third block in this square was owned by Major Daniel Denison in 1648, as appears from the deed of the Matthew Whipple property to Robert Whitman (Ips. Deeds 1: 43). But he sold his earlier house near the mill on the two acre tract now occupied by Mr. J. J. Sullivan, Dr. Bailey and others, on Jan. 19, 1641 (Town Records), to Humphrey Griffin, and it is very probable that he acquired this lot and built his house near that date.

His house was probably on or near the site of the residence of the late W. H. Graves. It was destroyed by an incendiary fire May 3, 1665, which was suspected to be the act of a woman servant, who was charged with stealing from Denison, and was sentenced to be whipped ten stripes for lying about it. A new house was erected, and here he lived until his death Sept. 20, 1682, at the age of seventy. His will subscribed "manu propria scripsi, Daniel Denison," with the inventory appended, is of especial interest. The inventory lacks that detail which is often found, and fails to give us a satisfying view of the various rooms of his mansion, but it is worth our notice. It was made on the 17th of October, 1682.¹

INVENTORY.

	£
Clothes, linnen and woollen	33 - 15 - 0
Arms and horse furniture	12 - 8 - 0
6 Beds with furniture	41 - 0 - 0
7 doz ⁿ of napkins 6£ 8s table cloths 3£ Towells 6s etc.	10 - 5 - 0
Sheets 46£ 7s chayres 3£ cushions 1£ 10s	50 - 17 - 0
carpetts 1£ 5s pillow beers 3£ stooles 16s tables 4£ 7s	9 - 8 - 0
Trunkes & chests 5£ 6s cuberd cloth 1£ 10s etc	7 - 12 - 0
Dog-cobirons, brasse cobirons, tongs, fire-shovell, back for chimney, trammells, jacke, frying pan, spitts, bellows & other cobirons	10 - 16 - 0
Basketts and hatchett 14s a long candlestick 14s a cup board 8s	1 - 16 - 0
boxes and cases with bottles, 1£ 13s looking glass with other small things 12s	2 - 5 - 0
box-irons 8s warming pans 18s earthen ware 18s	2 - 4 - 0
yarne 1£ 5s 204 yds of linnen cloth 30£ woollen cloth 2£ 14s	33 - 19 - 0
Spinning wheels & woole 1£	
brazen ware 4£ iron ware wooden ware books 3£ 10s	
The Dwelling house, orchard and out housing	160 - 0 - 0
A farm at Chebacco ²	700 - 0 - 0
New England moneyes	392 - 0 - 0
Plate	20 - 7 - 0

¹ Ips. Deeds 4: 504-6.² Now owned by Dr. Vickery, at Argilla.



His daughter Elizabeth married Rev. John Rogers, who became President of Harvard College. She inherited the homestead, and sold it to her son, Daniel Rogers, then teacher of the Grammar School, Jan. 18, 1708-9 (21: 102). He was graduated at Harvard College in 1686, was Representative in 1716, and became a Justice of the Quarter Sessions and General Sessions Courts. He served the town as Town Clerk and Physician. Returning from Salisbury where he had been holding Court, he lost his way in a blinding snowstorm, Dec. 1, 1723, and strayed out on the marshes, where he perished. His gravestone in the old burying ground recites the sorrowful story in a long and graphic Latin inscription.¹ His son, Daniel, minister of Littleton, sold the ancestral property April 26, 1759, to Capt. Nathaniel Treadwell (177: 132), and it is to be noticed that the Denison mansion had disappeared at that time. The deed describes the property as an acre and a half of pasture land. It was inherited by Jacob Treadwell, son of Nathaniel, and his heirs sold it to Nathaniel Lord 3d, familiarly known as "Squire Lord," Aug. 10, 1815 (208: 111).

The heirs of Nathaniel Lord Jr. sold it to John Perkins, April 28, 1855 (571: 257), and when it came into his possession, it remained of the exact size of the original Denison estate, except a triangular piece, fourteen feet on County street, and ninety feet on his line, which Jacob Treadwell had sold to John Dutch, March 9, 1779 (147: 242). Mr. Perkins built the house now owned by his heirs, and sold a piece abutting on the Bamford property to James M. Wellington, Dec. 25, 1858 (583: 169). Mr. Wellington moved a mill building, erected by Mr. Hoyt near the dam of the upper mill on South Main street for veneer-sawing, and located it on this site, where it was occupied in part as a residence by Mr. Wellington and in part as a shoe factory.

Mr. William H. Graves purchased the corner and erected his residence (636: 222). A stitching shop, which stood near the dwelling, was removed to a lot near the Wellington building a few years since, and converted into a dwelling now owned and occupied by George A. Schofield.

The school-house was built in 1848, on the site of an ancient gambrel roofed building, that had been used as a school house for many years.

COUNTY STREET AND SOUTH MAIN STREET.

The Great Bridge.

By grant of the Town, Thomas Wells had a house lot of an acre and a half on the further side of the river "near the foot-bridge" with the house lot of John Proctor, north, and that of Samuel Younglove, south, on the east and west compassed in by the Town River. This was recorded in 1635. At that time there was no cart-bridge over the river. All wheeled vehicles and horses forded the stream. There was no privilege of approach to the river apparently near the old Choate Bridge. If the

¹ Felt's History of Ipswich, p. 202.

foot-bridge were located on the site of the present Damon's Mill, where the little island in the river would have made a very favorable location, approach to it from the south would have been by the two rod way by the side of the Cove, which was always open to the public. The original grant to Proctor and Wells, bounded by the river east and west, would not have prevented this right of approach. But the road from the corner where the Meeting-House of the South Church stands, to the river-bank near the saw-mill, was opened in a few years. Examination of early deeds of conveyance of the Proctor, Wells and Younglove lots, reveals plainly that they had their frontage on County St. and the houses were near this thoroughfare

As early as 1641 (Dec. 3) record was made, "agreed that what was due to the workmen for the new Bridge, before the late repairs thereof, and also what is due for the late repairs, shall be paid by the next rate, the total of which sums amounts unto 10-11-8." Again it was recorded (Dec. 29, 1642) that the Town will "pay to Mr. Symonds xxiiis, viiid due to him, viz. for one day carting to the new bridge, and for one day for his servant, Edward Bragg (carting for the bridge with the Captain's team) vis, viiid." The latter bridge was probably on the Argilla road, as Symonds and Denison, alluded to as the Captain, both owned farms on that road, and Bragg occupied the Argilla farm, and "the Bridge over the Creek near to Mr. Symonds his house," is alluded to in 1647. "Goodwife Haffield's bridge" is also mentioned in that year. But on the 4th of January 1646-47, "the names of such as promise carting voluntary toward the Cart Bridge, besides the rate a 2 days work a piece," were entered in full in the Town Record. This is the first definite allusion to a bridge for wheeled vehicles, and it occupied the site of the old Stone Bridge. Forty pounds sterling were appropriated. Mr. William Payne, John Whipple and Richard Jacob were chosen a building committee. On March 11, 1647, the work was so far advanced, that it was "Ordered that the Surveyors shall take care to make good the passage at both ends of the Cart Bridge, sufficient for passages of horse and carts soe soon as [] Carpenters have made it capable."

Thomas Wells's house lot reached from the Cove to the River, adjoining Proctor's, on the south side of the new Bridge. On the 7th of February 1647-48, the Town "Granted unto Thomas Wells 3 acres of marsh, . . . in consideration of the ground the Towne took from him for the Country highway to the Mill Bridge." In the record of the Town Meeting on Feb. 22, 1649-50, memorandum was made that "Thomas Clark is possessed of a psell of ground at the end of the Towne, . . . granted him in exchange of a lott that lies att the Bridge foot, wch he bought of William Fuller." This was on the north side. These land damages establish conclusively that the original Cart Bridge was on this spot. It was "near the Mill," and so was sometimes called the "Mill Bridge." In 1655, some repairs were needed, and the Town "agreed with John Andrews Jr., to bring so many sufficient rayles to the Bridge-foot, as will cover the Bridge over the River, neare the mill, for the sum of £3."

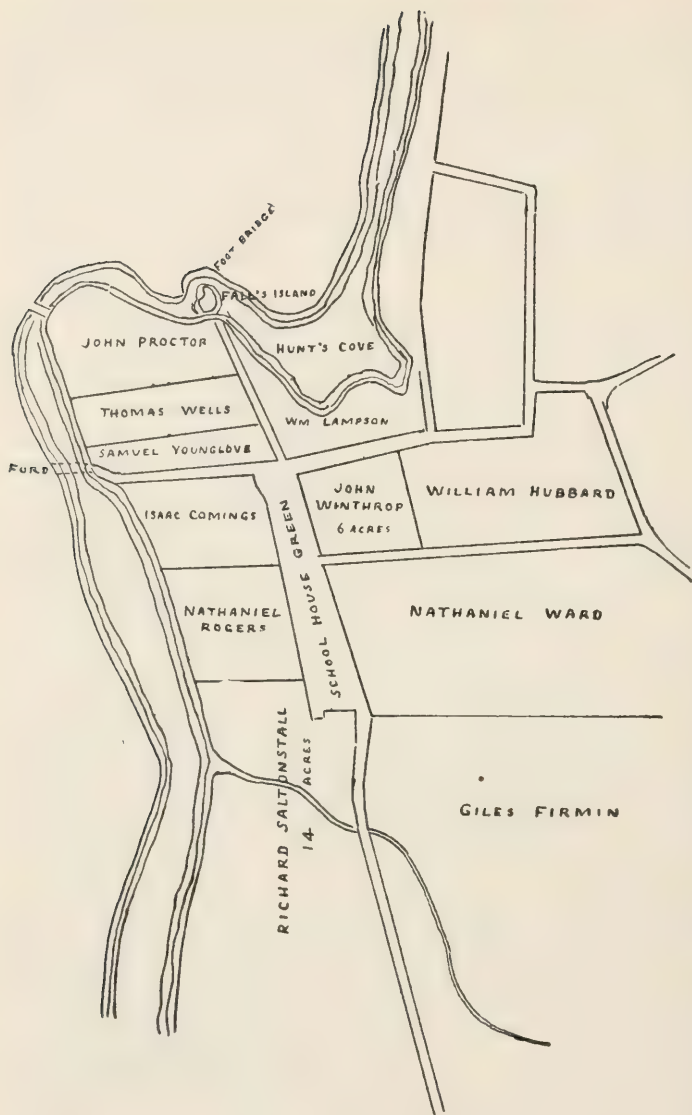


Diagram No 4

It has been understood by some that allusion is here made to a foot-bridge, which was near the mill. But the expression "bridge-foot" means the approach to the bridge. The expression is a common one in the Town Records, *e. g.* Isaiah Wood's district as road surveyor in 1678, was from "the foot of the Town Bridge to the turning of the highway on this side Wind-mill hill."

In 1764, the old bridge was found too narrow by six or eight feet for the increased travel, and a new one twenty feet wide was planned by the Town. The language of the Record indicates that some changes were made in the original plans, after the building or rebuilding began. It was proposed that two abutments already built be extended into the River not exceeding three feet, and that not less than twenty-eight or more than thirty feet be left between the abutments and the central pier.

Application was made to the County to bear half the expense. The Court coincided in "the necessity of a thorough rebuilding" and decided that it was best to move the abutments so as to leave about sixty-eight feet between them. The substantial Stone Bridge was built forthwith at a cost of £996 10s. 6½d. This sum was allowed "excepting the Committee's extraordinary charge for Care and Trouble etc." There was a suspicion of a mild "graft" apparently, which was indignantly repelled by the Committee. Col. John Choate's account was scaled to £13-6s-8d, whereupon he gave his services without charge. Aaron Potter received ten shillings. Joseph Appleton Esq. received £20 for measuring rocks, keeping and settling accounts, paying and receiving money etc. Capt. Isaac Smith and Mr. John Appleton were refused any compensations. Col. Choate's name was associated with the bridge, and he was probably the moving party in the great undertaking. The tale that his horse was tethered near by, when the wooden arches were removed, that he might mount and ride if the popular belief that the bridge would not stand was realized, may be consigned to the limbo of idle traditions. Even a suspicion of such a casualty is a libel on the intelligence of our highly cultured Town. Col. Choate was one of the Judges of the General Sessions Court. After his death, the Court ordered in Sept. 1792, that "the County Treasurer shall procure the word 'Choate' to be engraved before the word Bridge, on the corner stone of the Bridge over the Ipswich River." The bridge has been widened on the eastern side, but the western parapet and the central pier have probably never been disturbed.

John Proctor.

(Diagram 4.)

John Proctor sold his house and lot, abutting on the River toward the north and the house lot of Thomas Wells toward the south, on the 6th day, 3d month, 1647, to Thomas Firman, merchant (Ips. Deeds 1: 23, 24). Firman died the next year, and in his inventory, "the house that was Goodman Proctor's," was appraised at £18 10s. 10 2nd mo. 1648 (Ips. Deeds 1: 46). It was a small and cheap house, hastily built, in all probability.

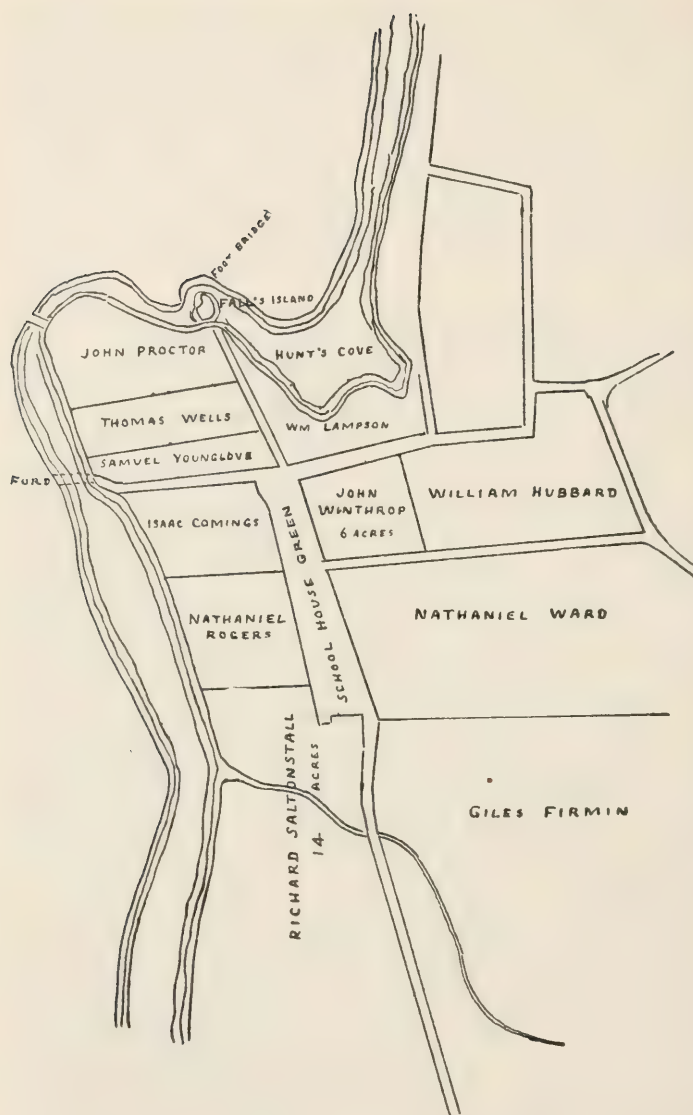


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Cows were valued at £6 a piece, and a house worth no more than three cows was of a very ordinary sort.

Ralph Dix bought the Proctor homestead of George Palmer, with house and barn, 4-8-1651 (Ips. Deeds 1: 89). He sold it to Ezekiel Woodward, March 20, 1661 (Ips. Deeds 2: 140). Ezekiel Woodward, then of Wenham, sold Shoreborne Willson a half acre, "near the bridge which now standeth over the said river," "which half acre lyeth in corner of my house lot, towards the northwest and is bounded on the end or front toward the west with the Common (*i. e.* the public highway) where the bredth of this parcel of land extendeth from the northwest corner seven rods or poles towards the south southwest upon a straight line, and there is bounded by a stake," Oct. 10, 1672 (Ips. Deeds 3: 285). Seven rods from the river bank include the sites of the old mansions of Mr. Warren Boynton and Mr. Samuel N. Baker, and it is evident that neither of these, nor any building whatever was on this spot at this date. Incidentally we learn where Woodward's house was. Liberty was granted Cornet Whipple in 1673, "to sett up a fulling mill at the smaller falls, near Ezekiel Woodward's house." It was on the other end of the lot, near the old highway, and thus near the falls.

Woodward sold his house and the rest of the lot to John Hubbard, Jan. 28, 1679 (Ips. Deeds 4: 305). John Hubbard (of Boston) divided the property. The house and a part of the lot, bounded on the southeast by "the Common near the river by the little falls," he sold to Nathaniel Rust Sen. (Ips. Deeds 5:136) and on the same day, the remainder to Shoreborne Wilson, "near the Great Bridge" bounded by the highway, he calls "the great highway," northwest, and by a way a rod wide, which he reserved through the whole lot from County St. to South Main St., on the southeast, and abutting on the half acre, Wilson had already bought of Ezekiel Woodward, April 3, 1685 (Ips. Deeds 5: 182). This lane, a rod wide, is the germ of the present Elm Street.

On this lot, Shoreborne Wilson built his house, the present Baker mansion in its original form, and it was erected sometime between 1685 and 1692, as on Feb. 28th of that year he sold his son, John Wilson, a part of his houselot, adjoining his "homestead," on the corner of Elm and South Main Sts., with five rods thirteen feet frontage on the latter, with house, shops, etc. (9: 287) and he sold John Lane his house and land, Feb. 14, 1694 (11: 39). John Lane sold the Shoreborne Wilson house to Edward Bromfield and Francis Burroughs of Boston, by a mortgage deed that was not discharged, Nov. 19, 1697 (12: 167), and they sold to Col. Samuel Appleton, Dec. 17, 1702 (15: 109). Col. Appleton was the eldest son of Major Samuel Appleton. He removed to Lynn, probably about 1663, as in that year John Paine of Boston, son of William Paine, his grandfather, conveyed to him the Iron-works and appurtenances in Lynn, as an equivalent of the legacy of £1500, bequeathed him by Mr. Paine (Ips. Deeds 2: 182). He had transferred the title of the Iron-works Farm, called Hamorsmith Farm, to his father, Major Samuel, prior to 1688, and the Major sold it to James Taylor of Boston, Feb. 15, 1688 (9: 5) and Samuel

Col. Samuel Appleton house. Page 446.

The Ross Tavern. Page 448.



Appleton Jr., "now or late of Lyn" confirmed the title, Dec. 26, 1689 (9:6).

He resumed residence in Ipswich about this time evidently. He served in the expedition to Quebec in 1690 as Major and went as a Commissioner to Quebec in 1706, to bring home the prisoners of war held by the French. He returned to Boston, Nov. 21, with the Rev. Mr. Williams of Deerfield and fifty-six other redeemed captives. In 1707, he commanded a regiment in the unsuccessful expedition to Port Royal. He was actively engaged in large business enterprises, and important public duties. He died in his Ipswich dwelling on Oct. 30, 1725, in the seventy-first year of his age. His grave is marked by a stately monument in the old Burying-ground.

His son, Samuel Appleton, merchant, of Boston, inherited his estate. He died in London and his pecuniary affairs were left in an embarrassed condition. Jasper Waters and Jasper Waters Jr., of London, Gt. Britain, linen drapers, brought suit against Giles DuLake Tidmarsh of Boston, the surviving partner in business of Mr. Appleton and his executor, to recover £1800, 8s. 1d. damages, in the Superior Court of Judicature at Boston. An execution was levied on his estate, and the farm, bequeathed him by his father, his dwelling and other lands, were transferred to the attorney of the London drapers, about April 2, 1731 (97:87).

The will of Samuel Appleton, "shopkeeper" approved Nov. 25, 1725, bequeathed "the southerly end of the house I now live in, that is, the Parlor and Chamber over it, and Garrott, the Seller under it and Lento behind it," with a third of the garden and orchard to his widow, Elizabeth (Pro. Rec. 315: 307-9). She became the wife of Rev. Edward Payson of Rowley. She conveyed her equity in the dwelling and her dowry in the estate of her late husband to the attorney of Jasper Waters (54: 267; 58: 56), and he sold the mansion, ware-house, barn, and land, bounded by John Harris, southwest, the River, northeast, Joseph Burnham, southeast, to Isaac Fitts, a hatter, Sept. 20, 1734 (71: 131). Evidence of a shop still remains in the southwest room, with its small window, and low door opening conveniently into it.

Isaac Fitts sold John Appleton 3d, a part of the lot on the south side, forty-five feet on the street, on which he erected a house, 24 March 1734 (72:217). He sold a lot on the other corner "near the southerly abutment of the Town Bridge," bounded on the southwest by a line "11ft. from the westerly corner of the house standing on said premises, thence running 48 feet into said homestead etc.," to Thomas Burnham Jr., April 5, 1736 (72: 269). This is the first mention of any house on this spot, and the house thus mentioned was built by Fitts, after his purchase of the property in 1734. Thomas Burnham sold to his son Dr. Joshua Burnham Jan. 21, 1748 (92: 80). John Burnham of Lynn sold the estate to John Heard Jr., April 17, 1778 (136: 73) and John sold to Aaron Heard, June 5, 1778 (136: 74). Aaron Heard sold to Elijah Foster, March 7, 1788 (149: 23) and Elijah Foster of Gloucester and others sold to Dr. John Manning, Aug. 25, 1794 (239: 55). Dr. Thomas Manning sold to Jeremiah Ross, Nov. 12,

1809 (188: 36). Ross kept an inn in the old house, and it is still remembered as Ross's Tavern. It was sold by Charles Lowe and other heirs to Frederic Willcomb, July 13, 1888 (1231: 96) and by him to Warren Boynton, Aug. 31, 1888 (1231: 98).

The Appleton Fitts homestead was sold by Fitts in several parcels. First, he sold a narrow strip between his house and Burnham's to his brother Jeremiah, with privilege of carting by Burnham's house, Nov. 2, 1737 (75: 89). The southern half of the house and the land to the Appleton lot, fifty-three feet front, he sold to Jabez Treadwell, May 10, 1739 (80: 62), and the other half of the house to his brother Jeremiah, May 17, 1739 (78: 271).

Jeremiah gained possession of the other half and sold it to John Fitts, Oct. 27, 1790 (151: 283) and Fitts sold to Daniel Burnham, with a shop on the other side of the street and three rods of land, Aug. 24, 1793 (156: 242). Daniel Burnham sold the same to John Caldwell 3d, "including all I purchased of John Fitts and of the heirs of my father Thomas Burnham Jr." Aug. 30, 1794 (158: 189). Ebenezer Safford and Eunice, and Hannah Fitts, singlewoman, sold Caldwell, the southwest half of the dwelling and half an acre, "the interest of our father, Jeremiah Fitts, devised to us by his will, 22 November 1740," June 4, 1801 (170: 3). Abraham Caldwell inherited and conveyed the whole estate to Samuel N. Baker, "the same conveyed to John Caldwell in three parcels . . . subject to the life estate of Eunice Haskell, wife of Mark Haskell," Aug. 12, 1824 (236: 129). The venerable mansion built in its first form as we have said, between 1685 and 1692, is one of the most interesting landmarks in our Town, overshadowed by the grand old elm that was set generations ago.

John Appleton, 3d.

Isaac Fitts sold John Appleton 3d, as mention has been made, part of the house lot, with forty-five feet frontage, March 24, 1734 (72: 217), and Mr. Appleton built a house on the spot. Ten years later, he bought the corner lot, where the Bank building stands, and as the two properties are merged, it will be well to trace the pedigree of the lot to this point.

Shoreborne Wilson, the builder of the Baker mansion, sold his son, John, the lot on the corner of South Main and Elm Sts., with a house and shop, Feb. 28, 1692 (9: 287). John Wilson sold this house and lot to Elihu Wardell, Sept. 18, 1699 (13: 154). John Harris, barber, conveyed to his son, William, of Beverly, his right in the house and three fourths of an acre "being the house and land which William Wardwell, late of Ipswich, gave his wife Susanna, with whom I was afterward married and by whom, William was born unto me," Nov. 29, 1735 (70: 204). William Wardwell was son, undoubtedly, of Elihu. This conveyance was not final, however, and John Harris transferred the same to his son Abner, with a quarter acre, dwelling and barn, March 22, 1743 (82: 258). Abner Harris sold part of this lot on the corner to John Appleton, and the deed mentions that the

rest of it was sold the same day to Abel Boardman, March 16, 1744 (103: 91). Appleton thus owned the houselot next the present Baker estate and this lot on the corner, the Abel Boardman lot intervening. Boardman probably built the house still standing. It was in the possession of Jacob Treadwell and Capt. Benjamin Davis, in 1768 (*cf.* 125: 130). Jacob Treadwell sold the whole house and land to Jonathan Ingersoll, May 30, 1778 (138: 26) and his widow, Martha, to Joseph Lord who occupied it many years, Nov. 5, 1828 (250: 76).

By the will of John Appleton, approved Feb. 3, 1794 (Pro. Rec. 363: 110), his son William received his dwelling and land adjoining. William Appleton built and occupied the "Sally Choate" house so called, but held possession of the old homestead. In the division of his estate, in 1808 (Pro. Rec. 378: 179), the old John Appleton house and lot and the lot on the corner now occupied by the Bank were assigned to his daughter Lucy, wife of John Baker 3d, and "a lot of orchard land part of the homestead of the old house," about an acre, was assigned to his daughter Mary, wife of Ebenezer Bowditch. John Baker 3d and Lucy sold the old house and land to Amos Dunnels, Jan. 1, 1823 (231: 248). The old dwelling gave place to the modern house, still owned by the Dunnels heirs. They sold the corner lot, with a cellar hole marking the site of the old John Wilson house, long forgotten, to Joseph Lord Jr., owner of the house adjoining, Sept. 13, 1833 (272: 180). The Lord heirs sold to Mr. Theodore F. Cogswell, who built the Bank building and the store.

The Bowditch lot was sold by William A. Bowditch to Josiah Caldwell, an acre, "having descended from our late mother," May 6, 1836 (289: 215). Caldwell sold part of the lot to Benjamin Kimball, Aug. 19, 1847 (458: 141). Mr. Kimball built the house, which was inherited by his son Otis, and sold by him to Thomas E. Condon, July 2, 1874 (907: 212). Caldwell probably sold the adjoining lot to Benjamin E. Hoyt, as he held a mortgage on it, which was discharged on the same day. Hoyt sold the lot to Daniel Parsons, March 9, 1847 (379: 251). Charles W. Chapman was a later owner, and built the house.

The County St. side of the John Proctor grant was sold by John Hubbard, we have stated, to Nathaniel Rust Sr., April 3, 1685 (Ips. Deeds 5: 136). Rust gave the old Proctor house and land about it to his son John and sold the rest of the land to Capt. Daniel Ringe and Thomas Norton, March 9, 1710 (23: 76). These purchasers sold to John Potter, June 10, 1714 (37: 113), who sold to "Joseph Burnum, carpenter and son of Lieut. Thomas Burnham," Nov. 10, 1719 (44: 250). The John Rust house and land were sold by Sarah Fellows, alias Rust, relict of John Rust to discharge debt to Joseph Burnham, March 4, 1722 (44: 249). The deed describes it as "near the Falls" about eight square rods. Burnham now owned the whole of this side of the lot.

He sold a house lot at the south corner of his homestead to Benjamin Grant, Feb. 27, 1735-6 (71: 128) on which Grant built his house. Grant sold to Samuel Gibson, bounded northwest and northeast by Joseph Burn-

ham's homestead, March 17, 1746 (89: 237) and John Gibson to Daniel Ross, an old Revolutionary soldier, his interest in the estate, which was already partly owned by Ross (141: 188; 144: 191) 1784 and 1785. His daughter married Ephraim Parsons, and the estate reverted to them and is still in that family.

Burnham sold three quarters of an acre to Abraham Choate, June 2, 1757 (103: 246) reserving his house and land about it near the saw mill. Abraham Choate sold to Col. Isaac Dodge, Feb. 6, 1772 and two thirds of the mill (130: 43). Col. Isaac sold to Abraham Dodge, Jan. 7, 1779 (145: 82) and Nathaniel Wade, executor of Abraham Dodge, May 1, 1789 (150: 147) to Nathaniel Dodge, who bequeathed to Thomas Burnham, and Burnham's heirs sold to Samuel N. Baker, Aug. 13, 1833 (272: 150, 152).

The Joseph Burnham house and land became the property of Joseph Farley in common with the saw mill. It was owned by Augustine Heard. The house disappeared years ago, but its location was near Mr. William A. Spiller's wheelwright shop. The land is owned together with the Mills by the Damon heirs, and will be considered in connection with the Mills on the neighboring island.

Mr. Baker sold John A. Newman a house lot, Aug. 13, 1836 (292: 202). He built the house, which passed into the possession of Thomas Brown, whose heirs still own it. Josiah Caldwell sold Baker a strip twelve feet on the street, out of the "Bowditch Lot," now a part of the house lot, Aug. 9, 1836 (292: 201). This marks the eastern division line of the Shoreborne Wilson lot.

Mr. Baker built the house next to the Thomas Brown house, and his assignees sold this to William S. Tozer and Elizabeth M. wife of Samuel Caldwell, Oct. 11, 1841 (327: 165). Samuel Caldwell and Elizabeth quit-claimed to Tozer, Oct. 13, 1842 (653: 47) and the Tozer heirs still own. The lot between the Tozer land and Daniel Ross's was sold by Baker to Stephen C. Brown, March 26, 1836 (290: 256), and by Brown to Benjamin E. Hoyt, with buildings, Sept. 16, 1836 (304: 128).

Thomas Wells.

(Diagram 4.)

It has been observed that Thomas Wells had a house lot, recorded in 1635, of an acre and a half, "near the foot-bridge," with the lot of John Proctor north, and that of Samuel Younglove south, with the River east and west; and that he was awarded damage in 1647, when the present South Main St. was laid out across his land, to make an approach to the Cart-Bridge. Stephen Jordan came into possession of Wells's lot, and sold the house and two acres to Samuel Younglove Jr., bounded by the "way by the River [*i. e.* South Main St.] northwest, the house and land of Samuel Younglove Sr. southwest, the Street [*i. e.* County St.] southeast, the house and land of Ralph Dix northeast," March 26, 1659 (Ips. Deeds 3: 75). Jordan sold the land in various parcels.

First, a lot about six rods square, on the corner where the Town Hall

now stands, was sold to Henry Bennett, who sold in turn to Obadiah Bridges, Sept. 21, 1673 (Ips. Deeds 4: 112). Bridges built a house, and after his death, his widow Elizabeth sold the property to Nathaniel Rust, Sept. 2, 1680 (Ips. Deeds 4: 497). John Knowlton was in possession in 1685 (Hubbard's deed to Willson, Ips. Deeds 5: 182), and he sold to Mary Lord, Taylor, a lot four rods front, "and one old house on the ground, east northeast by hie way going to Mr. Rust's" (10: 185). Thomas Lord was the owner of this small corner lot in 1758 (105: 171). Dr. John Manning gained possession and sold to Joseph Cogswell, a quarter acre, which included part of the Dr. Joseph Manning land adjoining, June 22, 1808 (182: 166). Joseph Green Cogswell, son and heir of Joseph, sold land including this lot to Priscilla Manning, Dec. 23, 1831 (265: 99). She sold a part to Nathaniel A. Millett, March 24, 1832 (294: 163) and the rest to Daniel Cogswell, on Elm St., an acre in all, Jan. 16, 1832 (294: 162). Millett transferred to Joseph Farley, Asa Brown and Otis Holmes, Committee of the Proprietors of the Independent Congregational Society, May 18, 1833 (294: 164). A Meeting House was built and the Unitarian Church worshipped there for some years; but the Society declined, and the Meeting House and land were sold to the Town, Feb. 20, 1843 (336: 25).

The John Knowlton house and lot fell to Isaac Knowlton, son of John, and his widow, Mary, sold to Robert Choate, July 1, 1758 (105: 171). Jabez Farley sold Thomas Hodgkins Jr., "the house and land which my grandfather, Robert Choate, purchased of Mary Knowlton," April 14, 1797 (161: 217). It is said that Mr. Choate gave it to his daughter Elizabeth, wife of Gen. Michael Farley, and mother of Jabez. Thomas Hodgkins sold to Aaron Wallis, May 2, 1806 (178: 263), Wallis to Amos Jones, April 10, 1822 (233: 11) and the Jones heirs to John Caldwell, Nov. 8, 1852 (469: 168). John Caldwell Jr. sold the Amos Jones homestead to Abraham Caldwell, who owned the adjoining property, April 25, 1856 (616: 30). He took down the old house, and sold his whole lot, with buildings to Mr. John Heard Aug. 3, 1864 (675: 276). In 1866, the Town took a strip of land, which included the site of the old Jones homestead. The old Meeting House, then used as a Town Hall, was removed to the center of the lot, and remodelled and enlarged.

Samuel Younglove Jr., sold another house lot, six rods square, "at the southwest corner of his pasture, and joining to old Goodman Younglove's land upon the south side," to Nathaniel Brown, "sope-boyler," Dec. 26, 1671 (Ips. Deeds 3: 247). Younglove sold his dwelling (formerly of Thomas Wells), and two acres of land to George Hartt, cooper, April 16, 1696 (11: 92). The lot was bounded by Elm St. and "ye highway that leads down from ye school-house to ye house Woodward lived in" (the old John Proctor house) "also his privilege ye breadth of ye said land against sd. way on ye other side of said way, down to ye River, with an interest sd. Samuel hath in ye wharf betwixt said way and ye River." The lots which abutted on County St. had a privilege in the narrow strip between the Road and the Cove. It will be noted that the Younglove-Wells

house was on County St., which harmonizes with the description, "near the foot-bridge," in the original record.

Deferring, for the present, further consideration of the County St. side of the Samuel Younglove lot, the lot sold to Nathaniel Brown and other lots on South Main St. will be studied. The soap-boiler, Nathaniel Brown, built a barn and sold his land and barn to Deacon William Goodhue, April 1, 1673 (Ips. Deeds 3: 252). Deacon Goodhue sold to Thomas Perrin, Feb. 10, 1691-2 (Ips. Deeds 5: 575). Perrin sold eight rods on the street to Joseph Abbe, the blacksmith, whose dwelling was on the other side of the street, August 30, 1731 (64: 207). Perrin removed to Rowley and sold the house he had built, to Henry Wise, April 10, 1733 (69: 99). Wise was the son of Rev. John Wise of Chebacco. He and his brother, Major Ammi Ruhani Wise, both had their homes in this neighborhood, and had an important place in the business affairs of the Town. Mr. Wise mortgaged his house and land to the widow Mary Storer of Boston, "a house in Ipswich in which I now dwell," Oct. 3, 1765 (116: 77). Ebenezer Storer of Boston and others sold to Charles Hall Jr., mariner, "all the estate in Ipswich which belonged to Mary Storer, deceased, and was formerly the estate of Henry Wise, . . . a lot of land on which formerly stood the house of said Henry Wise," Sept. 13, 1800 (170: 207). Charles Hall conveyed this lot, from which the dwelling had disappeared, to the widow Mary Hall and others, Oct. 29, 1819 (222: 28). The same parties sold the land "with the store thereon," to Eunice Haskell, wife of Mark Haskell, March 1, 1825 (236: 259). The property came to Abraham Caldwell, and he changed the roof of the present dwelling from a hip to a pitch roof. He sold to Mr. John Heard as has just been stated.

Samuel Younglove.

(Diagram 4.)

Samuel Younglove Sr. received the grant of the third lot. He sold his grant in several parcels. He sold his house, and an acre of land to Deacon William Goodhue, May 20, 1669 (Ips. Deeds 3: 163) and the Deacon's son, Deacon Joseph, sold the same to Isaac Fellows Jr., June 16, 1694 (10: 9). The heirs of Samuel Younglove Sr. quitclaimed to Ephraim Fellows, May 9, 1702 (41: 22). Rev. John Wise bought of Ephraim Fellows a good double house, shop and dyehouse and sold to Dr. Samuel Wallis, reserving twenty rods at the south corner, on which were a shop and dyehouse, Nov. 20, 1713 (26: 229). Dr. Wallis's house is remembered in its decay by the older people, between the Abraham Caldwell house, and the Sally Choate house, near the latter. By his will, the widow received the southeast end of the house as her dower, and his eldest daughter, Sarah, wife of Nathaniel Rust, the northwest end (1749 Pro. Rec. 329: 62). The widow, Sarah Rust, sold to John Heard, "the southwest half of the house she lived in," Dec. 4, 1794 (191: 207) and the administrator of Dr. Wallis Rust sold his right in the northeast half to Mr. Heard, July 5, 1794 (191: 208). Mr. Heard sold half the house to Nathan Foster, July 30, 1795

(159: 269). Nathan Foster mortgaged to Mass. Bank, "half his, by inheritance from his father, half purchased from his brother Samuel, Dec. 18, 1798," Dec. 13, 1814 (205: 230). William Dodge sold James H. Foster, half the house, by virtue of a deed to himself from the Bank (205: 230), Jan. 29, 1820 (229: 259). James H. acquired the other half by purchase from Nathaniel P. Rust of Salem, Jan. 6, 1844 (341: 94). It has been said that Reginald Foster was once the owner, but these deeds show that the Foster ownership was late in its history. The fine old mansion, one of the most striking in its architectural plan, which was ever built in the Town, was purchased by Mr. Augustine Heard, in its decrepit condition and torn down, June 27, 1862 (640: 82).

It was remarked that Sarah, wife of Nathaniel Rust, inherited the northwest end of the house in 1749. She sold a house lot to William Appleton, March 25, 1766 (121: 142). He built a house in which he lived and died. In the division of his estate, in 1808, "the late dwelling of the deceased," was assigned to his daughter Sarah Choate (Pro. Rec. 378: 179). The substantial, gambrel roofed dwelling, built about 1766, is still called the "Sally Choate house." It has been associated with Henry Wise, but he never had any ownership in it. It was sold by her heirs to Mr. John Heard, June 26, 1866 (707: 3) and is now included in the Heard estate.

Rev. John Wise sold the small lot, he had reserved, to his son, Ammi Ruhami, with a shop and dye house to be removed, Dec. 31, 1713 (27: 62). Wise sold to John Stacey, Oct. 18, 1714 (27: 174), Stacey, then of Gloucester, to Emerson Cogswell, Feb. 18, 1722 (39: 145). Cogswell built a house and barn but disposed of them to Henry Wise, Sept. 1, 1752 (98: 119). Wise sold to Abraham Knowlton Jr., March 6, 1751 (108: 67), but Knowlton did not pay the mortgage, and Wise sold it to Daniel Heard Jr., Aug. 13, 1762 (114: 127). Daniel Heard transferred to John Wainwright, Aug. 13, 1762 (110: 245), Wainwright to Benjamin Dutch, Jan. 20, 1764 (113: 102), Dutch to Col. Isaac Dodge, July 24, 1764 (115: 68) and Dodge to Thomas Walley of Boston, Aug. 9, 1764 (115: 37). At last a permanent owner for this peripatetic property was found, and it was not till 1793 that Mr. Walley sold to Oliver and Sarah Appleton, March 15 (158: 14). John H. Clark and others, devisees of Sarah Appleton and Harriet Appleton sold to the South Parish, the lot on which the Vestry was built, Feb. 23, 1853 (474: 279) and June 30, 1857 (623: 17). The old house had then disappeared. The Vestry and land were sold to John Heard Esq., when the South Meeting House was remodelled, in 1885. The Vestry was removed to Hammatt St. and made a dwelling.

A lot measuring three quarters of an acre was sold by old Goodman Younglove to Deacon Thomas Knowlton Sr., Dec. 26, 1671 (Ips. Deeds 3: 200). He built a house, and by deed of gift, 3 Dec. 1688, transferred it to Thomas Knowlton cordwainer and now Senior, "ye now dwelling house of said Thomas Senior." The Knowltons, Senior and Junior, deeded to Joseph Califfe, clothier, a house, two barns and shop and an acre of land, Feb. 8, 1697 & (13: 8). John Calef Esq. sold to John Heard, Gent, "the house where I now dwell ——— also a certain machine to

weigh hay standing near the Rev. Mr. Dana's meeting house," March 2, 1777 (135: 264). This weighing machine was a cumbersome affair. The wagon and its load were lifted from the ground by a powerful lever, operated by weights attached to the other end. Fifty-six pound iron weights, with a ring to facilitate handling, were in use for various purposes fifty years ago. These were probably the hay scale weights, forty of which would make a long ton. About a hundred years ago, the present Heard mansion was built, and the old residence was removed to the corner of the Heard land on Poplar St. and sold to Samuel Caldwell.

The lot on which the Meeting House of the South Parish stands was conveyed by Younglove to Deacon William Goodhue, though the deed can not be found. Goodhue sold a house, barn and an acre of land to Nathaniel Rust, June 2, 1665 (Ips. Deeds 4: 496). Nathaniel Rust, glover, sold his house, shop and barn, also "ye work house on ye other side of the way, betwixt said way and the river or Cove," to Capt. Daniel Ringe and Thomas Norton, his sons-in-law, March 9, 1710 (23: 76). Daniel Ringe disposed of his interest to Ammi Ruhami Wise, and the lot is described as "by the School House Green, so called," Nov. 4, 1723 (41: 264). Norton sold to him, Sept. 10, 1723 (41: 265). The heirs of Ammi R. Wise quitclaimed to Daniel Wise, July 11, 1749 (115: 139), and he conveyed five sixths of the messuage, to Samuel Rogers, June 19, 1750 (101: 211). Rev. Augustine Caldwell states that Madam Rogers kept a school for young ladies that was in great repute. Hannah Rogers, administratrix of Samuel, sold half the house, her dower, to John Heard, Oct. 27, 1784 (145: 50) and in the account of the estate, rendered Aug. 5, 1776 (Pro. Rec. 352: 106), credit is given for half the mansion sold to Mr. Heard. He sold the house and land to Ammi and Michael Brown, Aug. 20, 1810 (191: 97). The executors of Michael Brown sold his interest to Daniel Cogswell and others, Oct. 1829 (254: 255). The Ammi Brown interest was purchased and transfer was made by Daniel Cogswell and others to the Committee of the South Parish, Nov. 28, 1836 (296: 11). The Meeting House was built in 1837 and dedicated Jan. 1, 1838. The old Meeting House, built in 1747, stood directly in front of the present building, though the road way passed between it and the dwelling house. The Brown dwelling was removed and is now the residence of Mr. Henry Brown on County Road.

Several houses have disappeared on County St. below the Meeting House. Daniel Wise sold a quarter acre, just in the rear of the Meeting House, to Samuel Swasey, Aug. 14, 1742 (84: 57). Swasey probably built the house which came into possession of Capt. Gideon Parker, a famous Revolutionary hero of later days. Parker sold to George Stacey, Dec. 3, 1764 (112: 250); Stacey, then of Marblehead, sold to Joseph Wells, and Capt. Parker was still the tenant, Nov. 24, 1766 (117: 199). Wells sold to Solomon Giddings Jr., and this deed specifies that besides the house and land, there was included a piece of land on the shore of the Cove, granted to Ammi R. Wise, with the wharf and buildings thereon, April 9, 1771 (129: 121). Solomon Giddings sold to Col. Isaac Dodge, and he calls the lot on the other side, "the shipyard lot," sixteen square rods, May 6, 1785

(144: 222). Priscilla Dodge inherited and conveyed to her brother, Nathaniel, house lot and shipyard, Aug. 13, 1787 (148: 90). Dodge sold half the house to Thomas Gaines, May 19, 1788 (207: 214); Thomas Gaines, miller, to Thomas Burnham, Oct. 23, 1817 (213: 213), and Thomas Burnham to John Wade Jr., April 15, 1819 (221: 7). John Wade sold to Augustine Heard, July 1, 1817 (385: 158) and Sept. 21, 1848 (357: 161), who took down the old house.

Below this house and lot, Isaac Fitts of Newbury, hatter, sold "an old dwelling house," and a quarter acre to his son John, a leather dresser by trade, and a ten rod lot on the Cove, "bounded northeast upon the landing place known as Rust's wharf," Aug. 20, 1737 (79: 185). This old house was, perhaps, the dwelling of Samuel Younglove Jr. and, it may be, of Thomas Wells. Thomas Hart sold John Fitts Jr. part of the old George Hart homestead, Feb. 12, 1756 (119: 134). Nathaniel Fitts conveyed his half of the homestead to Aaron Fitts, April 5, 1789 (151: 247). Aaron Fitts sold to Nathaniel Baker, Nov. 6, 1794 (158: 196); Baker to Enoch Pearson, the land on the other side always being included, April 14, 1795 (159: 89). Lemuel Pearson inherited, and is remembered as the occupant. Pearson sold under certain conditions part of his garden to Joseph Farley, President of the Ipswich Manufacturing Co., for the purpose of making a canal through the same from the river above the dam, Aug. 12, 1835 (319: 149); but this scheme never materialized. The Pearson homestead was sold by Samuel Kinsman to Augustine Heard May 9, 1857 (555: 51) and the land was cleared of buildings.

Another house is remembered on the corner of County and Elm Sts. Samuel Younglove, we have already stated, sold his house and two acres to George Hart, and privilege on the Cove, April 16, 1696 (11: 92). Thomas Hart sold half the house and a half acre to Abraham Choate, May 13, 1757 (103: 246). Choate sold the same to Col. Isaac Dodge and two thirds of the saw-mill on Little Falls, Feb. 6, 1772 (130: 43). Col. Isaac Dodge sold to Abraham Dodge, Jan. 7, 1779 (145: 82), and the executor of Abraham Dodge to Nathaniel Dodge,¹ May 1, 1789 (150: 147). Nathaniel Dodge bequeathed the half of a dwelling he had purchased of the executor of Abraham Dodge, with the old grist mill, to his brother Thomas Burnham 4th, and Rebecca, and his sister Mary Dodge, also the "shipyard" which he had bought of his sister, Priscilla, also the new grist mill and saw mill, "my father purchased of Abraham Choate and William Dodge," 1792 (Pro. Rec. 361: 522). The administrator of Thomas Burnham sold this half of the house and land to Josiah Caldwell, and on the same day, Ebenezer Burnham and others sold the other half apparently, which had been the property of Dr. Joseph Manning, and had been sold, by his son, to Francis Cogswell in 1786 (156: 162), Aug. 13, 1833 (272: 163, 164).

Josiah Caldwell had previously purchased of Sarah Choate and others, a house and lands west of the above, on Oct. 23, 1822 (242: 135) "being the same which were granted unto us by Margaret Thurston, widow, and which were formerly purchased by John Appleton Jun. in two separate parcels, to wit, one parcel of Nathaniel Baker, June 3, 1791 (154: 5), and

the other of Enoch Pearson, May 1, 1795 (161:115).'' John Appleton built the house and bequeathed it to his sister, Margaret Thurston. Sarah Choate was John Appleton's granddaughter.

Josiah Caldwell's heirs sold the lot with the two houses to Augustine Heard, Jan. 24, 1865 (951:106). The ancient Burnham dwelling, on the corner of Elm and County Streets, shared the fate of the other houses in this neighborhood, but the Appleton-Thurston house still stands.

On the River Bank.

The River Bank from the mill dam to the Bridge was wholly unoccupied and ungranted as late as 1693, except one small lot by the dam, which was occupied by Samuel Ordway's blacksmith shop. In March 1692-3, several persons petitioned "to have liberty granted them to build shops upon ye bank by ye river side, from the bridge toward Sam. Ardway's (or Ordway's) shop." Accordingly the Selectmen laid out this stretch of land in twenty-three lots, ranging from thirty-six feet to eighteen feet in width, and granted them to as many individuals. It was stipulated by the Town that these lots were given "provided that they make up the banck strong front to ye low water mark and no further into the River, and that they build or front up their several parts within twelve months after this time, and that they build no further into the Street, than the Committee shall see fit, and that they cumber not the highway nor stop the water in the street, but make provision for the water to run free into the river under such buildings, and also that each man's part be sett out, and that each person provide and make a good way by paving a way four foot wide all along before ye said buildings for the conveniency of foot travellers, and to have posts sett up upon the outside to keep off Teams from spoyling the same, and that it be done with stone, or if they use timber, must be purchased of others, if they have not of their own timber." These rigorous conditions discouraged the improvement of the lots. Some sold their lots, others seem to have reverted to the Town, and were granted to other parties.

Joseph Fuller received a grant of the third lot from the Bridge, twenty-eight feet wide, and he may have built the house owned later by Nathaniel Fuller, which Nathaniel Knowlton of Haverhill quitclaimed to Nathaniel Fuller Jr., the house and barn, "joining the Town Bridge," Sept. 21, 1738 (77: 90). But it was not until April 2, 1740, that Thomas Perrin grantee of the second lot sold to Fuller (80: 70). Fuller sold about half a rod of land to John Appleton, on which he built a carpenter's shop, which he sold to William Burnham, April 10, 1782 (147: 146). William Burnham sold his father, Thomas, a leather dresser's shop "at the foot of the Town Bridge, that he bought of John Appleton," April 3, 1788 (147: 146). Judith Burnham, widow of Thomas, sold this to Daniel Burnham, Aug. 30, 1794 (158: 189). John Fitts had sold Daniel Burnham, a shop and land southwest of this, Aug. 24, 1793 (156: 242), which Jeremiah Fitts had conveyed to

him, Aug. 27, 1790 (151: 283). Burnham sold his shop and land here to John Caldwell, Aug. 30, 1794 (158: 189).

Meanwhile the Fuller house had become the property of John Kimball, and he sold out of the lot which remained to it, a four rod piece with a blacksmith shop to Edward Stacey, March 4, 1778 (135: 250), which Stacey conveyed to John Caldwell Jr., who already owned the abutting land, April 17, 1804 (173: 299). Eunice Caldwell, widow, sold this land and the store upon it to Samuel N. Baker, Feb. 24, 1820 (223: 151). Mr. Baker used the building for a carriage paint shop and other purposes. A small building is remembered on the river bank, much below the street level, adjoining the Bridge. Benjamin and Mark Newman bought of Mr. Baker and extended the building toward the Bridge, so that some of the parapet wall was removed to make room for it.

The John Kimball house was conveyed to Benjamin Kimball Jr., by the guardian of John, who had become insane, Oct. 23, 1816. He erected the building now used as a clothing store by Mr. Baker, and in the chamber, Otis P. Lord, the eminent Judge, had his law office in his young manhood. He sold the house to Henry Potter, Nov. 9, 1846 (374: 289), and the store to Samuel N. Baker, Dec. 15, 1847 (391: 283). The house was inherited by Mrs. Trow, and was purchased from her heirs by Mr. Samuel N. Baker.

Isaac Fitts, hatter, petitioned for forty feet on the River bank, adjoining Fuller's land, in 1726, that he might set a dwelling thereon. This was granted provided he build within two years. He built at once, for Joseph Abbe asked the Town in 1727 to add twenty feet more of the river bank to his former grant, "the front to extend from the easterly corner in a straight line toward Isaac Fitts's dwelling, which is the easterly corner of said Abbe's shop." Fitts sold to Arthur Abbott, innholder, in 1733, his house, shop, half the well, and eight rods of land, "being partly a grant made to Capt. Daniel Ringe, the other to me by the Town," Oct. 12, 1733 (75: 200). Abbott sold to Cornelius Brown of Boxford, March 9, 1738 (75: 219). Daniel Brown of Cambridge sold to Daniel Badger, Nov. 1, 1760, bounded still by Lord and Fuller (111: 66). Mary Badger, singlewoman, sold her interest to Timothy Souther, Sept. 15, 1794 (157: 278).

Timothy Souther conveyed his interest in the house, owned in common with other heirs of Daniel Badger, to Aaron Wallis, Feb. 11, 1799 (161: 241), and April 4, 1800 (166: 198). Moses Wallis and Hannah of Salem, heirs of Badger, conveyed to Jacob Spofford, millwright, the interest purchased of Souther, Sept. 16, 1802 (170: 262). By the division of the estate, March 1803, Jacob Spofford had the southwest half in his own right, and his wife, Mary, half of the other half, and Elizabeth Souther, wife of Timothy, the remainder (326: 124). Chandler Spofford and the administrator of Jacob Spofford sold the southwest end to Josiah Kimball, who conveyed it at once to Chandler Spofford, Nov. 26, 1813 (203: 108). Spofford sold to William Heard, Feb. 27, 1816 (209: 49) and Heard to Jeremiah Kimball Jr., Dec. 7, 1819 (226: 109). Deacon Kimball lived here many years. Joseph Souther sold part of the northeast end to Josiah Lord Jr. March 28, 1860 (662: 209). It is still known as the Souther house.

Jonathan Lord was the original owner of the next house, though the lot is mentioned as that of Thomas Lord's. Dr. John Manning sold it to William McKean, tobacconist, Nov. 26, 1777 (135: 214) and McKean sold to Nathaniel Rust Jr., June 16, 1778 (136: 56). His deed states that it was formerly the estate of Zechariah Brackett. Rust occupied for many years. It was owned by Capt. Samuel N. Baker and later by Josiah Lord Jr. The Ipswich Bank was located in the building.

Dr. Joseph Manning, "being desirous of settling in the town of his nativity," had no place for a dwelling, and therefore petitioned for eighty or ninety feet of the River Bank next to Mr. Thomas Lord's grant up stream, the front to be on a straight line from the corner of Mr. Isaac Fitts's dwelling to the corner of Abbe, the Smith's shop (1727 Town Record). The petition was granted and Dr. Manning built his house forthwith and occupied it at the time of his death.

Sarah, the daughter of Dr. Joseph and Elizabeth Manning, who was born Aug. 28, 1743, married Mr. William McKean, formerly of Boston. Their intention of marriage was recorded March 3, 1769. Their son Joseph was born April 19, 1776. Mr. McKean purchased two dwellings subsequently, but owned no house when his son was born. It is likely therefore, that the child was born in the old homestead. Certainly he was often in the house of his grandparents. Joseph McKean was graduated at Harvard in 1794. He was the teacher in the Latin Grammar School from 1794 to 1796. He married Amy Swasey, daughter of the inn-keeper, Major Joseph Swasey. His career as Professor at Harvard was cut short by an untimely death at the age of forty-two. His portrait hangs in the House of the Historical Society bearing the inscription:

Rev. Joseph McKean DD., LL.D.

Born at Ipswich

Died at Havana

April 19, 1776

March 17, 1818

Vir celeberrimus, optimus, carissimus.

A graduate of Harvard 1794.

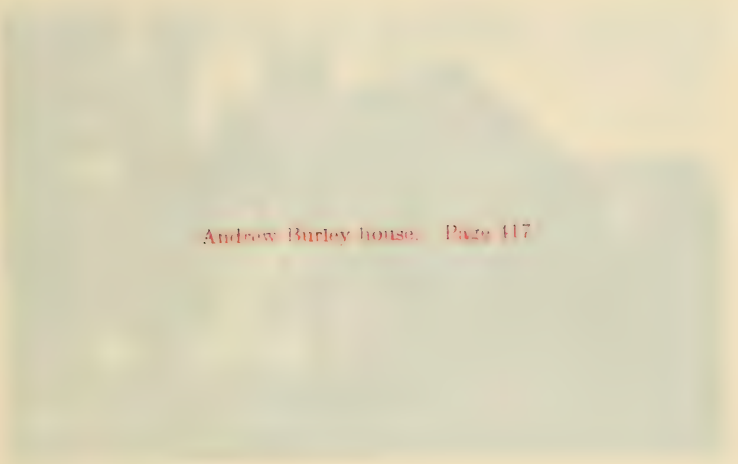
An instructor of youth.

A minister of the Gospel.

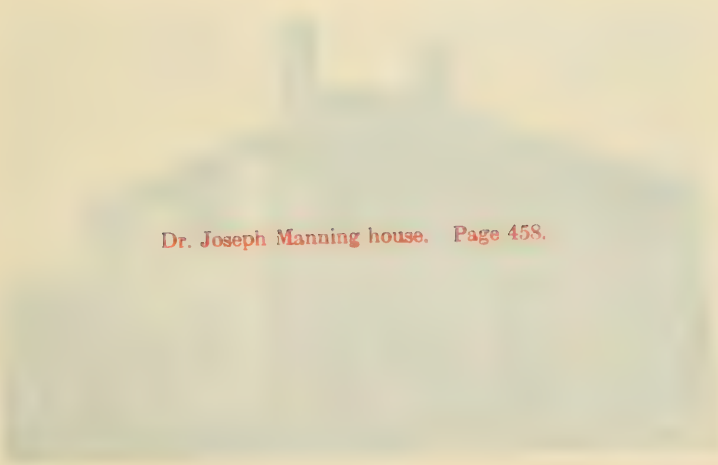
Boylston Professor at Harvard.

Founder of the Porcellian Club at Harvard College, 1791.

Anstice, daughter of Dr. Joseph, married Francis Cogswell, and their son Joseph Green Cogswell was born Sept. 27, 1786. In that year, Dr. Manning died and in the division of the estate, the homestead was assigned to Anstice (1786 Pro. Rec. 358: 375). It is very probable that Joseph was born in the house of his grandparents. His record was brilliant. He was graduated from Harvard College in 1806. From 1821 to 1823, he was Professor of Mineralogy and Librarian at the College. In company with George Bancroft, the Historian, he established the Round Hill School at Northampton, in 1823, became sole proprietor in 1829, and gave it up in 1834. In 1842, he became associated with Mr. John Jacob Astor in planning and building the Astor Library. He was the first Superintendent,



Andrew Burley house. Page 417.



Dr. Joseph Manning house. Page 458.



and continued to hold that office until 1861. He died Nov. 26, 1871. His former pupils in the Round Hill School raised funds with which a bust was secured and presented to Harvard College and a monument erected over his remains, on the spot he had chosen for himself in the South cemetery. It is a noteworthy circumstance that two grandsons of the same family should have attained such brilliant renown.

The widow, Anstice Cogswell, sold the homestead to Joseph Cogswell Jan. 2, 1808 (182: 165). Prof. Joseph Green Cogswell gained possession of the homestead, and sold to Priscilla A. Manning, Dec. 23, 1831 (265: 99). Miss Manning sold Hannah Caldwell, daughter of the late Ebenezer, and her sister, Mrs. Abigail H. Trask, wife of Capt. Richard of Manchester, a building on the south end of the lot with land, Feb. 13, 1835 (281: 132). The building was used as a store, then remodelled into a dwelling, owned later by Mark Newman, May 8, 1846 (385: 17). The administrator of Priscilla A. Manning sold the Cogswell house and land to her sister, Mrs. Mary M. Farley, Jan. 4, 1843 (335: 144), and her heirs, Alfred M. Farley of Dedham and others sold it to Amos A. Lawrence, Oct. 31, 1866 (713: 32). Mr. Lawrence conveyed this and other purchases to the Ipswich Mills, Jan. 6, 1868 (738: 253) and the Mills Corporation sold to Josiah Stackpole, May 25, 1869 (774: 84).

William Jones desired "the remaining part of the River's bank next Joseph Abbe's grant, down the River to the place reserved for a highway which is about sixty feet" in 1727. It was granted March 4, 1728 [and the Committee recommended a way to the river twenty feet wide be reserved. Jones built the house, which Thomas Jones afterward owned, and it continued in the Jones family, until Leonard Shattuck and Alfred C. Jones of Haverhill sold an undivided half to Edward Ready, May 4, 1881 (1058: 139) and the heirs of Samuel Caldwell sold him the other half, May 17, 1881 (1058: 140).

Joseph Abbe received a grant and had built a house in 1723. He petitioned the Town for help, as the house had cost more than he anticipated, and received £10. He was a blacksmith and his shop was near his home. He had a garden spot near Mr. Clark Abell's residence, in the Heard land. He sold house, shop and land to William Cogswell, May 2, 1749 (107: 216). Cogswell sold the house "and what remains of a shop" to Gideon Parker, afterwards Captain in the Revolution, Aug. 5, 1761 (107: 216). Parker conveyed to Nathaniel Souther, Dec. 23, 1763 (113: 50). The widow's third in the estate was sold by Jeremiah Fitts to Asa Baker, who owned two thirds already, Sept. 9, 1800 (167: 92). Mary Baker, widow, quitclaimed to Samuel N. Baker, "a messuage with a bake house thereon," also a piece of land and a building on the other side of the road, March 1 1832 (266: 51). George Baker sold Isaac G. Noyes, a house or bakery, July 11, 1848 (400: 96). It was then used as a dwelling, and Charles H. Noyes and others sold it to Wesley K. Bell, May 4, 1876 (952: 164). The dwelling was sold to the Mills Corporation, and was torn down and the boarding house, owned by the Ipswich Mills, was built on its site.

The old mansion, known as the "Lace Factory," was originally the house of Mrs. Dean, widow of Dr. Philemon Dean, mentioned in the Town

Record, about 1722. Ammi Ruhami Wise, "whitesmith," sold it to Mary Dane, singlewoman, Aug. 31, 1796 (160: 298). The widow Mary Farley, sold to William Dodge "the same I purchased of Ammi R. Wise," June 24, 1809 (206: 31). Dodge sold to George W. Heard and Heard to the Boston and Ipswich Lace Co., Feb. 26, 1824 (234: 221). The Lace business was an unfortunate venture,¹ and the property was sold by auction to Theodore Andrews, lace manufacturer, Nov. 9, 1827 (286: 222). The deed mentions a dwelling and factory. The wing added to the house on the north side is probably the "factory" used for the lace machines. Andrews conveyed it to the Ipswich Manufacturing Co., June 30, 1835 (286: 223). The Ipswich Manufacturing Co. transferred it, with other assets, to the Dane Manufacturing Co., Sept. 7, 1846 (463: 252). It has since remained in possession of the Mill Corporation.

Nathaniel Brown, Martha Hassell, Rachel Haffield.

(Diagram 4.)

The lot near the dam has been alluded to as occupied by Samuel Ordway, a blacksmith. On the 19th March 1661, Nathaniel Browne was granted liberty to have eight or ten rods of land to build a work house to make "pott-ashes and sope" in some convenient place. "It was layd out to him upon a poynt of upland near the mill-dam and the house wherein he now dwells." Nathaniel Brown, "sope byler," sold his sope-house, and various other properties to Joseph Leigh, Dec. 2, 1671 (Ips. Deeds 3: 249). Lee sold Samuel Ordway, two small parcels.

The one measured four rods, "bordering upon the land that was formerly William Avery's and joining to Rachel Haffield, alias Rachel Clenton's land ye breadth of that garden at one end, and bordering upon William Avery's land the length of four lengths of rails, containing two rods and a half in length." This is the same, probably, that was granted Widow Martha Hassell.

The other contained six rods, "at the poynt of the bank on ye South side of the Town River, below the Mill Dam, right opposite to the mill, and is the place where the old sope house stood, . . . and is the place where ye said Ardway hath lately built his shop, where it now standeth," Dec. 3, 1691 (Ips. Deeds 5: 442).

Sarah Ordway, relict of Samuel, sold the four rod lot and the six rod lot to Doctor Philemon Dean, Sept. 8, 1715 (32: 268). The description of the latter is of great interest. It was bounded "north by a cartway that goeth through the river, west along by ye River, south on ye Common next ye saw mill, east by the County Road, with an old dwelling house upon ye said land." Many years ago there was a waterway leading to the River, about where the fence of the Lace Factory stands. This deed of 1715 shows that it was originally a ford way for crossing the River, and an old road on the opposite side, where the Mill buildings stand, led to the River from the present Union Street. The ford way fell into disuse after

¹ See Publications of the Ips. Hist. Society, No. XIII *Fine Thread, Lace and Hosiery in Ipswich*.



the bridge was built in 1647. It is likely that South Main St., from this point to the junction with Market St., was opened when the bridge was built.

In 1655, the Town Record has the entry, "sold to Widow Hafield four rods of ground by the corner of William Averill's fence, near the Mill Dam, for twelve pence, to build a little house on, allowing no privilege of a house lot to it" (*i. e.* no privilege of commonage). This humble four rod lot grudgingly granted to the widow Rachel Hafield, alias Rachel Clinton, on which she built her little house, has a pathetic interest, from the fact that she was reputed to be a witch. An ancient Summons, printed in the Antiquarian Papers has especial significance, in this connection.

To Sarje't John Choate, sen'r. To Jonas Gregory, To James Burnam, all of Ipswich, Mary Andrews, Sarah Rogers, Marguriet Lord, Sary Hadwell you & each of you are hereby Re quired in thair majesties names To make Your personall apperance before ye Worshipfull Maj'r Sam'll Appleton Esq., & ye Clerk of ye Court to be at ye house of Mr. John Spark in Ipswich on ye 22d Day of This Instant aprile, at two o'clock afternoon. Then and There to Give in Your severall respective Evidences in behalf of thair majesties concerning web Clearing up of ye Grounds of Suspission of Rachell Clentons being a witch, who is Then and Thair to be upon further Examination. Therefore So make Your apperance according to this Sumons fail nott at your perril.

Ipswich, Dated aprill 21st, 1692

Curiam Tho's Wade, Clerk.

Ye Constable of Ipswich is alike Required to Give notis to ye said persons, & to make returne as ye Law Directs. Curr T. W. Clk.

According to this within written I haue Sumonsed and warned them: to Apere According to Time & Place by me William Baker, Constable.

Dated this 22d of april, 1692.

Fortunately the accused witch was finally acquitted, as has been narrated in the Chapter on Witchcraft, but the poor woman suffered much in that dark year.

Thomas White of Wenham sold Samuel Dutch, four full rods near the Mill Dam, "sd four rods being formerly granted the widow Martha Hassell by the freeholders of Ipswich, east upon land now in possession of Philemon Dean" etc., May 9, 1723 (42: 106). Dutch bought of Nathaniel Saltonstall and Roland Cotton, Gent, of Boston, "two thirds of the saw mill standing on the south side of the River on the same damn the grist mills and fulling mill stand on, with two thirds of the ground the mill stands on, and two thirds of the damn, to be improved only when water runs over the dam," Feb. 20, 1730 (61: 70). He must have acquired also the widow Hafield grant. In 1733, he petitioned the Town, "for ease and benefit that may arise in his business at his saw mill near his dwelling house . . . for a grant of one rod of land on the river bank next the front of his mill and to extend about half a rod below the eastern corner thereof, so as not to preju-

dice the common benefit of the watering place next Mr. Dane's." This was granted. He sold his house and twenty-four rods of land, saw mill, and the strip granted by the Town to John Treadwell, innholder, Sept. 3, 1742 (84: 68). John Treadwell sold the same to William Story, Sept. 14, 1765 (116: 91). Story mortgaged the property to Joseph Henderson of Boston, April 29, 1788 (149: 44). Henderson assigned the mortgage to Rufus G. Amory of Boston, Sept. 16, 1788 (149: 91); Amory foreclosed and sold to Nathaniel Dodge, Nov. 5, 1790 (152: 175); Dodge bequeathed to his brother-in-law, Thomas Burnham 4th (1792 Pro. Rec. 361: 522) and Burnham sold to Asa Andrews, Dec. 25, 1794 (158: 251). Asa Andrews sold the saw mill and land to the water way to Joseph Farley, Jan. 1, 1813 (226: 47). He conveyed to the Ipswich Manufacturing Co., Dec. 8, 1836 (294: 153), and it has since remained in the hands of various corporations, which have owned the Mill. A deed dated Sept. 7, 1846, mentions that the old water way has been closed by permission of the Town and County and defines certain rights of way for the Public and the Wildes estate.

The ancient saw mill disappeared and in later years, a new mill for veneer sawing was erected by Mr. Benjamin Hoyt, probably on the same site. This was removed by James M. Wellington, after his purchase of land on County Street in 1858, and was used by him as a dwelling and shoe factory for many years.

Mr. Andrews sold his homestead to Joseph Farley and George W. Heard, April 9, 1821 (227: 48). They sold to Lucy R. Dodge, Nov. 6, 1826 (242: 201). She conveyed to Mary L. S. Dodge, March 8, 1834 (303: 95), who married Stephen C. Brown. They mortgaged to Michael Brown and it was eventually assigned to Wilhelmina D. Dodge. Miss Dodge, who became the wife of Dr. Asahel Wildes, acquired the property, and it was inherited by her heirs, who sold to Clark O. Abell, Sept. 15, 1903 (1718: 82).

Isaac Comings.

(Diagram 4.)

The William Avery or Averill lot, the fine park-like meadow, now owned by the heirs of the late John Heard Esq., owned by Averill in 1655, was the property of Isaac Comings previously. Hannah Averill, widow, and other heirs of William Averill of Topsfield, sold Francis Crompton the three acre homestead "bounded southeast and northwest mostly upon land ye homestead of Mr. John Rogers, minister in Ipswich; northwest by Mill River; northeast highway that leads down to Mill River," July 10, 1693 (10: 25). The small lot of Rachel Hafield was the only break in its area.

Crompton built a large and comfortable house on this lot and kept an inn which was a popular resort. Judge Samuel Sewall records, "ate roost fowl at Crompton's," and many guests of note tarried with him. At his death Daniel Wise came into possession and kept the inn, but Hannah Perkins, widow of William Perkins and Anna Crompton, spins-

ter, sold their interest in the mansion of the late Francis Crompton, and an acre of land to John Choate, April 15, 1737 (85: 268). Mr. Wise sold Col. Choate an half acre adjoining, March 13, 1741 (84: 140). Col. John Choate was a Representative to General Court for fifteen years, a member of the Governor's Council, Justice of the Sessions and Common Pleas Courts and Judge of the Probate Court. He was a member of the Committee which built the Stone Bridge, and it was named in his honor, "Choate Bridge."

Col. Choate's will, approved March 10, 1766 (Pro, Rec. 343: 1-4), bequeathed the improvement of the mansion to his widow, Miriam, his cousin's widow Elizabeth Potter, and his niece Sarah Cheever. The latter also received a house lot out of the estate. The remainder of the Town lot was given to his nephew Abraham Choate, while Stephen Choate received the farm, known now as the Randall Andrews farm. Amos Choate conveyed to his brother John, two fifths of the house and land "bequeathed to my mother Elizabeth by her uncle John Choate" and a lot adjoining, "which my honored father, Stephen Choate, bequeathed to me," Jan. 23, 1816 (210: 13). Sarah Potter conveyed her fifth to John Choate, Feb. 13, 1816 (210: 13). John Choate also secured the interest of Sarah Cheever and Lydia Kendall, and sold his interest, four fifths, to David Baker, March 24, 1835 (282: 33). Mr. Baker took down the old Crompton-Choate mansion, and sold the land to Augustine Heard in the following year, Oct. 15, 1836 (297: 198).

At a later period, Joseph Abbe, the blacksmith, and others of the dwellers on the River-bank, acquired small garden spots in this broad field, some of which were merged in the William Story estate, which came finally to Asa Andrews. Abraham Choate sold a plot, with twenty-four feet front to William Appleton, whose house, now known as the "Sally Choate house," stood across the way, Dec. 5, 1768 (122: 106) and Stephen Choate sold him more land, Dec. 8, 1778 (138: 44). Appleton sold this land and the cabinet maker's shop, he had built, to William Treadwell, trader, Aug. 17, 1809 (187: 281). Moses Treadwell and Susanna conveyed the same to John Dudley Andrews, Oct. 14, 1813 (202: 148), and Andrews sold to Daniel Cogswell, March 4, 1816 (212: 57). John Choate Esq., sold him more land, March 6, 1816 (212: 58). Mr. Cogswell made his home and carried on his grocery business for many years. The dwelling and store were partially destroyed by fire. The store-house was removed to another part of the Heard estate, near the Cemetery, and is used as a barn. The property was purchased by Mr. Augustine Heard of the Cogswell heirs, March 21, 1866 (707: 4).

ABOUT THE SOUTH GREEN, ANCIENTLY KNOWN AS THE "SCHOOL HOUSE GREEN," WEST SIDE.

Rev. Nathaniel Rogers.

(Diagram 4.)

Rev. Nathaniel Rogers was ordained Pastor of the Ipswich Church, Feb. 20, 1638. His house lot was bounded by the "River northwest, the

Street southeast, the land of Richard Saltingstall southwest and the land of Isaac Comings, northeast." It included the sites of the "Gables" and neighboring houses. By the will of Mr. Rogers, his son John, then President of Harvard College, received this part of the estate, March 4, 1684 (Ips. Deeds 5: 146). Shortly after President Rogers's death, his widow laid claim to the South Green or some part of it, or the public roadway, by virtue of a grant of six acres made to John Winthrop in 1634. "Given and Granted unto John Winthrop Esq., six acres of Land lyeinge near the River, on the South side thereof."

In the Town Record under date of April 8, 1686, the entry is made:

"Whereas Mrs. Rogers claimeth part of the land without the line from the gate and stable end, upon a line to the land of Mr. Saltonstall's, and some land on the end of the now orchard before the land of William Avory's all this upon the satisfaction of a grant of land to Mr. Winthrop of six acres of land in 1634," "Voted and granted that, provided that Mrs. Rogers give in to the Selectmen in the Town's behalf, that she and her heirs shall secure the Town from any further demand for satisfaction of said grant from Mr. Winthrop and his heirs and her and her heirs, that then the Town will pay to said Mrs. Rogers within one year the sum of ten pounds in Common pay, and she secure the Town from any claims of herself or her heirs, from the land on the outside of a straight line, from the said gate to Mr. Saltonstall's fence, formerly as the stable end stands and from all the land on this end of the now orchard, covering the length of four rayles as the fence stands, upon a square from the paille fence to William Avory's fence, then the said sum shall be paid by the Town."

The original deed with seals and signatures is in the Town Record and it provides "that the said land laid downe shall lie common and be not impropiated by any particular future grant to any person or persons." Further specification is made in the deed of a "straight line from the fence of Stephen Cross, formerly Richard Saltonstall's Esq., ranging to her gate post, and so stretching the length of four rails beyond the causeway end, and then on a square to the fence of William Averill's." The exact meaning of this instrument is uncertain, but it locates definitely the six acre grant to Mr. Winthrop, otherwise very indefinite.

The Rogers mansion was inherited by Rev. John Rogers, son of the President, and likewise Pastor of the Church. He conveyed to his son Samuel, "all y^e part of my homestead or old orchard lying before the land that was Mr. Francis Crompton's, from the South corner of sd Crompton's land, by a strait line to y^e street or highway, about one half acre, with all buildings, trees etc.," May 6, 1734 (95: 181). There is no particular mention of a house, but when Dr. Rogers sold to Rev. John Walley, first Pastor of the South Church, his deed mentions a dwelling and part of the land, Feb. 6, 1750 (96: 91). Mr. Walley sold to Rev. Joseph Dana, his successor, who was Pastor of the South Church from 1764 to 1826, Feb. 28, 1766 (119: 180). In a somewhat altered form on the southern side the old mansion is now the attractive home of Mr. Frank T. Goodhue, who

purchased the estate from Dr. Dana's heirs. From this old mansion, there went forth three notable men. Joseph Dana and Daniel were graduated from Dartmouth in 1788. Joseph became a Professor in Ohio, Daniel attained the Presidency of Dartmouth, but resigned to reenter the ministry. Samuel was Pastor at Marblehead many years.

Daniel Rogers, son and heir of Rev. John Rogers, sold a third of an acre out of the homestead to Aaron Smith, clock maker, 1776 (134: 233). Aaron built the house, which was sold by his son Jesse Smith of Salem, watch maker, to John Lord Jr., July 27, 1853, and Lord sold to Luther Cheney Aug. 9, 1853 (481: 199). It is still in possession of the Cheney heirs.

Daniel Rogers sold the Rogers homestead to John Baker, April 11, 1761 (110: 94). The estate extended to the River, and to the Nathaniel Dutch land, now included in the Cemetery. Mr. Baker built the dwelling now occupied by Mr. C. M. Kelly. Sundry remains discovered in digging a trench for a water pipe indicate that the old Rogers dwelling was near the driveway to the "Gables," a little southward of the Baker house. Thomas Baker inherited, and Mary Ann Choate, widow, quit-claimed her interest in the homestead of her father, Thomas Baker, March 10, 1846 (364: 271) to David Baker, who built the "Gables" as a Boarding house which was in high repute with the Judges and lawyers attending the Courts. David Baker mortgaged to Augustine Heard, and conveyed the property to him May 6, 1852 (475: 119).

Richard Saltonstall.

(Diagram 4.)

Richard Saltonstall Esq., often styled The Worshipful Mr. Saltonstall, son of Sir Richard, one of the most important men of his time, had his residence, not in the ancient house of the Historical Society, but, as the Rogers deeds have already indicated, here on the South side. The most conclusive proof of this is his deed of sale. "Richard Saltonstall, now resident in Ipswich, having formerly made some agreement with Mr. Thomas Bishop of sd Ipswich deceased, concerning land and houses, and sd Thomas dying before he has paid for the same, or had any legal conveyance executed, and desiring in his will that his son Samuel should have the same house- ing," conveys "my dwelling house and orchard, with all ye land about it on both sides of ye brook commonly called Saltonstall's brook, it being fourteen acres by estimation," "on the South side the Town River, bounded by the country road southeast, southwest land of Mr. Nathaniel Rogers, northwest by Town River, northeast by Mr. Rogers' homestead," to Samuel Bishop Sept. 23, 1680 (16: 105).

The brook referred to crosses the road and flows into Ipswich River, near the cemetery. It is alluded to in the Records frequently as Saltonstall's brook, and there is mention of Saltonstall's bridge, *i. e.* the bridge over the brook.

Job Bishop, son of Thomas, sold the estate to Capt. Stephen Cross

in 1684 (Ips. Deeds 5: 51). Cross sold a half acre bounded by the brook, and the Road, to Elisha Treadwell, March 3, 1689 (Ips. Deeds 5: 378). John Treadwell, brother of Elisha, sold this lot to Thomas Manning, gunsmith, May 19, 1691 (Ips. Deeds 5: 385). Capt. Cross sold Manning a narrow strip to enlarge his lot, one rod wide on the Street and seven rods deep, April 8, 1692 (Ips. Deeds 5: 555), and a quarter acre more in the rear of his lot, April 4, 1696 (11: 102).

Thomas Manning built his house on the lot, by the brook. He bequeathed to his son Richard the east end of the house, and to his widow the west end, and at her death, this was to be Richard's as well (Pro. Rec. 322: 49, 1737). Capt. Richard divided his estate among his children by his will, April 22, 1774 (Pro. Rec. 350: 216). Jacob Manning sold to Dr. John Manning, the homestead, about an acre with the house, also a piece of land on the other side of the street, bounded by Capt. John Farley's, and twenty acres on the south corner of County Road and Essex Road, at "Parting Paths," Nov. 16, 1804 (175: 119). Dr. Manning sold to Thomas Bickford, Jan. 4, 1805 (175: 249). The present house was built by Jacob Manning, it is understood. Thomas Beckford's widow, Catherine, later the wife of George R. Baldwin, sold to William Kinsman Jr., Oct. 11, 1865 (690: 279).

Stephen Cross, Senior, gave his house and land to his two sons, Stephen and John, to be equally divided between them on their taking possession at the age of twenty-one, May 9, 1691 (9: 15). Stephen, after attaining his majority, sold to Benjamin Dutch his interest in "the dwelling house sd. Benjamin now dwells in." His brother John had apparently sold his half interest to Dutch, and Dutch had taken possession, Sept. 28, 1706 (21: 62). Dutch sold Thomas Norton, tanner, "a certain house and land" beginning at the corner next Mr. Thomas Manning's, six rods square, June 13, 1730 (52: 254). The Deacon Norton estate will be considered more fully in its place, and it is sufficient for our present purpose to say that in the division of his estate, Mary, widow of his son Thomas, received the house called "Dutch's House," 1744 (Pro. Rec. 330: 426).

Margaret Norton, singlewoman, sold her brother George Norton, the southwest half of the house, May 6, 1762 (112: 69). Thomas Appleton became the owner, and sold to John Wade, the northeast half of his dwelling, April 19, 1794 and Mr. Wade made the additions on the north side of the house (157: 171). Thomas Appleton retained the other half. In the division of his estate, the lower floor of the dwelling was given to his daughter Mehitabel, wife of Francis Merrifield, the upper part to Mrs. Abigail, widow of Daniel Appleton and her daughter, Abigail G. Appleton, March 12, 1842 (347: 187). The other half, owned by John Wade, was sold by John Whitredge Jr., Henry Dodge, Elizabeth Dodge, widow, and others to the widow, Eunice Haskell, mother of the late George Haskell Esq., Nov. 6, 1823 and April 24, 1824 (241: 183). It is now owned by Mr. T. F. Cogswell, except the interest of the Merrifield heirs. The house can, without doubt, be identified with the "Dutch house," sold to Norton in 1730, or the Capt. Cross homestead of earlier years. The style of architecture, however, hardly

warrants its identification with the Saltonstall dwelling, though it probably occupies the exact site of the original Saltonstall house.

At about the time Benjamin Dutch sold his house and its six rod square lot to Deacon Norton, he sold an adjoining lot, six rods front and five deep, to Joseph Appleton, Jan. 4, 1730 (55: 172). On this lot, now bounded by the Green on the north side, Mr. Appleton built a house for himself. His estate was divided on petition of Dr. Nathaniel Cogswell of Rowley, one of the heirs, April 13, 1798 (172: 12) and on Nov. 18, 1802, Dr. Nathaniel Cogswell of Rowley sold John Wade, that part assigned to him, "one half the house, which Joseph Appleton Esq. late of Ipswich, last dwelt in," with land behind the house, and also on the northeast side (172: 13). Mr. Wade acquired a complete title, built a new house on the west side of his lot, and the old Appleton homestead was taken down. John Wade Jr. sold the dwelling still known as the "John Wade house" inherited in part from his father, and in part conveyed to him by Samuel and Eunice Wade and Samuel and Mercy W. Day, in 1847, to Augustine Heard Esq., Jan. 15, 1850. Mr. Theodore F. Cogswell is now the owner of this estate.

The remainder of the Saltonstall land, conveyed by Cross to Dutch, four acres, was sold by Benjamin Dutch to Nathaniel Dutch, Dec. 8, 1737 (75: 246). Nathaniel Dutch sold a lot measuring ninety eight square rods to William Story Esq., Isaac Dodge, Samuel Lord Jr., a Committee of the First Parish and Joseph Appleton Esq., John Baker Esq., Isaac Smith, Gent., a committee of the South Parish, "for the purpose of a burying yard forever," Aug. 20, 1773 (134: 40). This was the first purchase for cemetery use, on the South side. Dutch mortgaged the rest of his land here, as well as his homestead near the Meeting-House, to William McKean of Boston, Jan. 5, 1785 (144: 2). McKean acquired the property and sold to Dr. John Manning, April 1, 1793 (160: 221). Dr. Manning sold a strip to John Wade April 28, 1794 (157: 241), who had bought the northeast half of Thomas Appleton's house and lot, April 19, 1794 (157: 171). Dr. Manning sold the Town twenty-two square rods "lying on the road opposite the house of Col. Nathaniel Wade" "for the purpose of widening the road for the convenience of the public," July 28, 1794 (160: 232). He sold the First and South Parishes eighty eight square rods to enlarge the cemetery, May 22, 1795 (161: 170) and "from a desire of accommodating the Town with a more convenient training field," he sold for the nominal sum of five shillings, a half acre, adjoining the old training field, May 23, 1795 (162: 131). The land in front of the John Wade house, so called, a half acre and more, was, therefore, part of the original Saltonstall land, and the ancient training field was a half acre smaller than the Common is today.

There was no house on the land in 1785, when Nathaniel Dutch sold. Dr. John Manning was succeeded in ownership of the house lot by John Symons, a man of foreign birth, but no record of the deed was made. A small dwelling with a roof curiously curved like the hull of a vessel was built, and the house and land were sold by the administrator of Symons to Michael Brown, Aug. 2, 1836 (295: 46). His son Winthrop dwelt here.

Nehemiah Brown conveyed to Ephraim Miller in 1842 and Miller to Samuel S. Skinner, Nov. 3, 1845 (410: 43). Skinner sold to George W. Heard Oct. 25, 1849 (418: 269) and Mr. Heard to John Gallagher, April 13, 1853 (776: 161). Mr. Gallagher occupied the place for many years, and sold to James Alfrey Aug. 12, 1869 (779: 231).

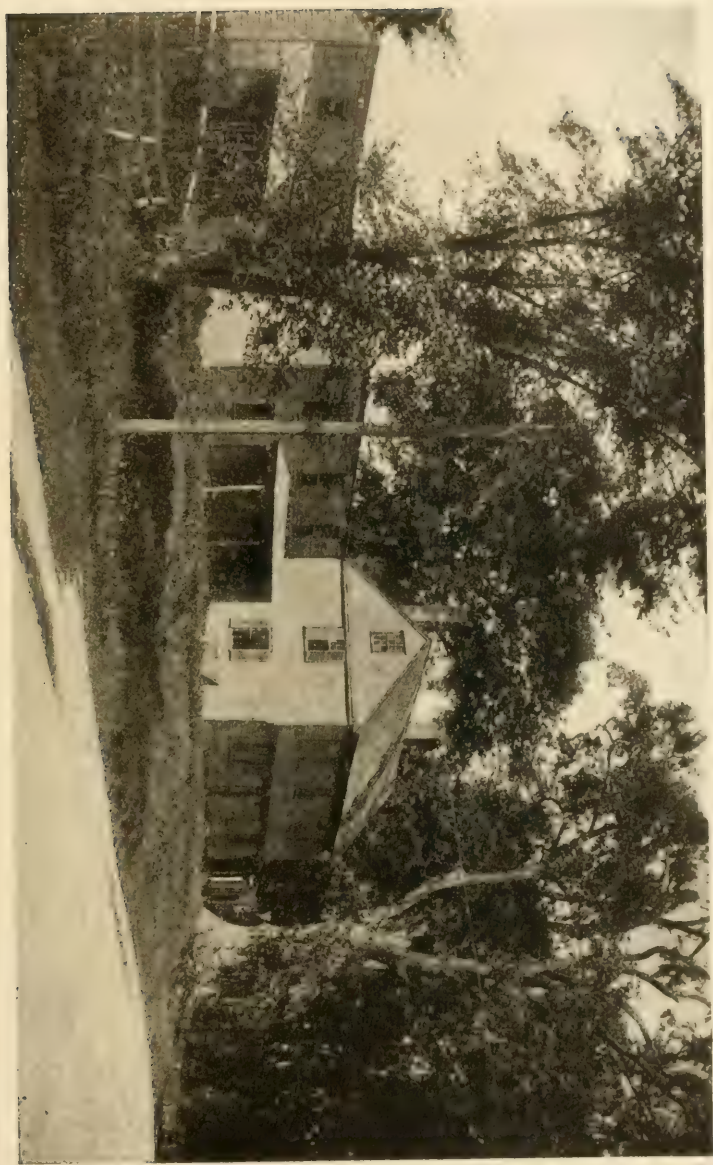
Some seven acres of Richard Saltonstall's land lay beyond the Brook then called by his name. Nathaniel Rust, a glover by trade, was in possession of this as early as 1689, when Capt. Cross sold his half acre to Elisha Treadwell. He carried on his trade here and had his tan yard, beam-house and all the appurtenances of his craft. He was called on to provide four dozen pairs of gloves for Mr. Cobbet's funeral on Nov. 6, 1685, and was a quartermaster in the expedition against Quebec in 1690. Thomas Norton was of the same trade, and on March 8, 1699-1700, Mr. Rust sold him an acre of land, "beginning at the brook commonly called Saltingstall's Brook," running twelve rods on the road, and fifteen rods back, with all "houses, tan-yard, trees, fences, orchard etc., and the benefit of half the brook" (13: 270). In November of that year, Norton married Mercy Rust, the glover's daughter. On June 18, 1701, Mr. Rust sold Norton seven acres of arable and pasture land adjoining (23: 252)..

There seems to have been no dwelling house on the tan-yard lot. Mr. Norton owned part of the Rust mansion, where the Meeting House of the South Church now stands and probably occupied it. But in 1723, he sold to Ammi Ruhami Wise and it is probable that by this time, the venerable mansion under the great elm, near the brook, had been built and that he made his dwelling there. His son Thomas, a graduate from Harvard, and teacher for some years of the Grammar School, married Mrs. Mary Perkins in 1728, and the Deacon took for a second wife, the widow Mary Rayment of Beverly in 1729. This double marrying may have led the Deacon to buy the "Dutch house," in the following June, 1730, as has been noted, to afford a separate home for each. Thomas inherited the estate, and his will probated in 1750 (Pro. Rec. 329: 453-5) was long and elaborate. The inventory included the dwelling house and homestead, valued at £266-13-4 and the upper house, £80, a negro woman called Phillis, and a valuable stock of leather, etc. In the division of the estate, as has been remarked, the widow received the house called "Dutch's house," and an acre and a half in the homestead by the river. Thomas, the eldest son, received the Deacon's dwelling, with the tan-yard, pitts, "old house" "half the little house" etc. (Pro. Rec. 330: 426). Thomas sold to Dummer Jewett, July 24, 1771 (129: 99) and his widow, Mary Jewett, sold to the County of Essex, "to be improved and used as a house of correction," Jan. 21, 1791 (154: 9).

The prison was built on the adjoining land to the northward and was surrounded by a high fence. The house was used as the keeper's dwelling, and served this purpose till the new buildings were erected by the County on Green St.

The County of Essex sold the mansion and eight acres, to Asa Brown April 22, 1828 (250: 16). He built a wing on the old dwelling, for his

Dea. Thomas Norton house. Page 468.



accommodation as a shoe manufacturer. When the new Meeting House of the South Church was built, he removed the old dwelling from that spot to his land, near the Brook. This became the house of his sister, Mrs. Rhoda B. Potter, and is now owned by her heir, Mr. Henry Brown.

The old Norton house was torn down in 1903, and the process of demolition revealed finely carved oaken beams, and the original finish of the lower rooms. Large bricks were laid in clay, between the studs as high as the second story, and, on the north side, to the plate. Thin rift laths were nailed to the studs, and a thick coat of clay was laid on, which remained firm, and retained its original reddish stain, behind the later wall of laths and mortar. The original size of the windows was also revealed. The old house and thirty-five acres of land were sold by Mrs. Rhoda B. Potter, sister and heir of Asa Brown, to Edward P. Wildes, May 1, 1871 (822: 114). Mr. Wildes built the mansion on the hill about the year 1880. This property was originally owned by Rev. Nathaniel Rogers and by his son John, the President of Harvard in 1701. Abraham Choate owned in 1771, John Heard in 1791. Michael Brown owned in later years.

ABOUT THE SOUTH GREEN AND COUNTY ROAD, EAST SIDE.

John Winthrop.

(Diagram 4.)

The School Orchard, as it was called a century ago, was the two acre tract bounded by the Argilla Road, County Road and Poplar Street, across which Payne St. was laid out in recent years. When Mr. Samuel Symonds filed an inventory of his land holdings in 1637, he included "a parcel of ground one and one half acres abutting on the east side thereof upon the lower end of Mr. William Hubbard's close before his town house, and the rest of the said parcel is surrounded with highways, which said parcel was part of Mr. John Winthrop's six acre lot there granted him by the freemen of the town," which was transferred from Winthrop to Symonds, by deed, 24 Oct. 1638. It will be remembered that the widow of President Rogers laid claim to land in or near the Green or the roadway, by virtue of the same grant. The only hypothesis that offers any explanation of this grant is that the six acre lot may have extended from the Hubbard lot to the River; and that County Road and the Green were subsequently laid out across it.

It passed from Mr. Symonds to one Samuel Heifer, and was purchased by Mr. Robert Payne, with a house, of Richard Coy, attorney to Heifer, for the use of the schoolmaster. In the succeeding year, 1653, "att his own proper cost and charge, he built an edifice for a grammar school, which was erected upon part of the land so purchased" (Ips. Deeds 5: 268, 1652). Here Ezekiel Cheever taught, and made his home. The school-house, as appears from various deeds, was on the vacant lot on the corner of Poplar St. and County Road. It was used for the Grammar School

until 1704, when the Town built a Town House "with a school-house under it," near the great ledge on Meeting House Hill. The property continued in the possession of the Feoffees, and was sold in 1835 to various parties of the South Parish for horse sheds (281: 213), and to Augustine Heard, Asa Wade and Otis Holmes, on County Road, June 15, 1835 (287:248, 249, 250).

The corner lot, on which the Ezekiel Cheever school house stood, was purchased by Zenas Cushing from the heirs of Augustine Heard May 29, 1872 (855: 167) and is now owned by Dr. William E. Tucker. Asa Wade built the store and dwelling, which he sold to Ebenezer Cogswell. His heir, Theodore F. Cogswell, sold to Frank T. Goodhue.

Otis Holmes sold to Calvin Locke, Sept. 28, 1835 (286: 247). Mr. Locke built the spacious mansion in the following year (292: 225), but exceeded his resources, and mortgaged to John Baker 3d, Jan. 7, 1837 (296: 95) and quitclaimed to Baker, April 29, 1844 (343: 190). His heir, Manasseh Brown, sold to Thomas J. Roberts, April 30, 1862 (638: 64).

The hip-roofed building, used for many years by Mr. Thomas Tilton for a barn, was built on the corner of County Road and Argilla Road, a century ago, for a school house. When the Feoffees sold the land they moved the building to its present location, but it was occupied by the High School until the Manning School building was finished.

Nathaniel Ward.

(Diagram 4.)

Rev. Nathaniel Ward, Pastor of the Ipswich Church, author of "The Simple Clobber of Agawam," and compiler of "The Body of Liberties," built his house very near the site of the Col. Wade house, it is commonly thought. But we know nothing of the size of the house lot assigned him, nor when he sold nor to whom. The only item that has come down to us is that his homestead was bounded on the south by that of his son-in-law Dr. Giles Firmin, and that Firmin's was bounded by the Brook, known as Saltonstall's. The lot was merged with Firmin's, and the two will be considered together.

Giles Firmin.

(Diagram 4.)

Giles Firmin, who married Susan, the daughter of Rev. Nathaniel Ward, was born about 1614. He was a Cambridge University man, and had studied medicine before he came to New England. His services as the Town physician were in demand. He wrote to John Winthrop Jr., "Wee have divers very ill; and fluxes and fevers, I observe, are very dangerous." Nevertheless his mind was set upon the ministry, and after his return to England in 1644, he studied divinity and was ordained at the age of forty. He died in 1697, having attained a prominent place among the preachers of his time. His house was very near the site of the

present Parsonage of the South Church. Deacon William Goodhue conveyed this property to his wife, in August, 1646, and the deed recites "as I have received from my father Watson, this year 1646, that he hath paid Mr. Giles Firmin, £32 for the house I live in and the land that belongeth to it, six acres more or less as it is bounded by the Highway towards the North and ye land of Mr. Ward's towards the East, and ye land of Thomas Howlett's toward ye South, and a brook towards the West and Norwest, being in the Southwest end of Ipswich towne as we goe to Boston and my father Watson desires that I would make this house and land over to my wife, Marjery Goodhue, after my death, and to my eldest son, Joseph Goodhue, etc.," (12: 51). On the occasion of Joseph's marriage with Sarah, daughter of John Whipple, the Deacon and the Elder drew up an instrument securing the house and land to the newly married pair, 1666 (12: 52). On Sept. 24, 1688, Deacon Goodhue summoned Joseph from his Chebacco house to live in his house, and act as his attorney in his business affairs (12: 52). But Joseph died before his father, and his son, William Jr., was made attorney in his place, Oct. 1697 (13: 104).

The worthy Deacon was one of the principal merchants of the Town. When Rev. Mr. Cobbet died, the Town assumed all the expense of the burial. The Records reveal what large demands were made upon Deacon Goodhue, and his neighbor Nathaniel Rust, the glove maker by the Brook side, in preparation for that event. Very extravagant outlays were often made for mourning garments and refreshments for funerals.

Att a meeting of the Selectmen the 6th of Novem^{br} 1685.

Agreed with respect to the Reverend Mr. Cobbitt's funeral. That Deakon Goodhue provide one barrill of wine, and half a hundred weight of suger, and that he send it to Mr. Cobbitts house next second day of the week in the morning for which he is to have in pay, not money, four shillings by the gallon, and six pence a pound for the sugar.

That Mr. Rust provide if he can against the funerall gloves suteable for men and Women to the value of five or six pounds not money pay & some spice and ginger for the syder. That a man be sent to Lyn to acquaint friends with y^e solemn providence here.

That some be taken care with the Corps be wrapt up in the Coffin in Tarr with Canvass, That some persons be appoynted to look to the burning of the wine and heating of the syder, against the time appointed for y^e funerall next Monday at one of the clock & such as will be carefull in the distribution. . .

The Selectmen desire Ensign Stacy to se there be effectuall care taken with respect to the above named particulars, care having been taken about the above named occasions, and an account taken of the charge and cost Expended.

Imprimis. To Deakon Goodhue for wine 32 gall. at 4 ^{is}	6-08-00
It. for 62 ^{lb} sugar of said Goodhue at 6 ^d per lb.is.....	1-11- 0
It. for Gloves of said Goodhue.....	1-10- 0
It. To Mr. Nathaniel Rust, money layd out for funerall....	2-04-00

It. for said Rust going to Salem charge.....	00-04-00
It. To Mrs. Towsey for Sugar 10 ^s -0.....	00-10- 0
It. To John Annable for wood for the fire 4 ^s	00-04- 0
It. To Edward Dear for Syder 11 ^s	00-11- 0
It. To Ensign Simon Stacy 2 ^s	00- 2-00
It. To Nathaniel Lord, makeing the Coffin 8 ^s	00-08-00
It. To Mr. Willson Digging the Grave 2 ^s 6 ^d	00-02-06
It. To John Sparks for wheat as money 3-6.....	00-03-06
It. To Abraham Perkins goeing to Nubury to inform John Cobbit of his Father's death 3 ^s	00-03-00
It. To Bonus Norton goeing to Lynn to inform friends there.....	00-04-00
Suma Totalis.....	17-19-00

The above placed 2£ 4^s 0 in money as to Mr. Rust's disbursements is already paid to him in money by the Constables pr. order of the Selectmen. Therefore not to be deducted cut of that Assessed on Mr. Cobbitts account..... 02-04-00

Rest to be paid by the Constables.....15-15-00

William Goodhue Jr. and others, heirs of Joseph, son of Deacon William Goodhue, sold the property, bounded now by Jonathan and Thomas Wade, and by Daniel Rogers, southwest, to Jonathan and Thomas Wade, Jan. 28, 1699-1700 (77: 172). The Wades evidently had succeeded to the ownership of Nathaniel Ward's land, though the deed was never recorded. Jonathan Wade owned land here in 1667, and bequeathed his property to his son Thomas, 1684 (Pro. Rec. 304: 125-6). Thomas Wade left his estate to his sons, Jonathan and Thomas, Oct. 3, 1696 (Pro. Rec. 305: 216-17). Thomas Wade owned eighteen acres including probably the Ward and Firmin properties in 1716 (34: 53), and built the mansion in 1727.

Jonathan Wade owned land north of his brother Thomas. He bequeathed his wife the use and improvement of half his real estate and the use of his negro man, Dick, to his grandson, William Cogswell, the pasture he had purchased of Daniel Rogers, "commonly called Gravel Pitt pasture" (now owned and occupied by Mr. Albert S. Brown), and to his grandson, Nathaniel Cogswell, the residue of his real estate, Jan. 17, 1749 (Pro. Rec. 329: 133). Dr. Nathaniel Cogswell of Rowley held it at the time of his death. The Wade brothers, Jonathan and Thomas, owned nearly, if not all, the land from Argilla Road to the Essex Road at Parting Paths.

The inventory of Dr. Cogswell mentions "one acre at the north corner of the close so called with the buildings thereon," and "about twenty-five acres, the remainder of said close." 1822 (Pro. Rec. 400: 324).

The one acre lot fell to Wade Cogswell, a son, and he sold David Giddings, measuring 17 rods 20 links on the Argilla Road to Samuel Wade's land, and 5 rods southwest and northwest on Wade, with buildings, April 18, 1828 (259: 229). Mr. Giddings enlarged the one story shop on



"Dutch's house." Page 466.

Col. Nathaniel Wade house. Page 473.

the premises and made the dwelling, which was lately purchased by Mr. Gardiner A. Brown of the heir of the Giddings property, on the corner of County Road and Argilla Road.

David Giddings sold a quarter acre house lot to Asa Wade, May 23, 1831 (259: 229), on which he built the house, that he sold to Alfred Kimball, which is owned still by his heirs.

Samuel Wade purchased a lot, adjoining this, and erected the dwelling occupied by his daughter, Miss Lydia Wade, until her death. It is now owned by Miss Joanna Kinsman.

Northend Cogswell and others, heirs of Dr. Cogswell, sold "The Close or Homestead" to Nathan Brown, Oct. 4, 1823 (258: 158). It was a spacious field, containing twenty-one acres, extending from the Burnhams on Argilla Road, a quarter mile to Wade Cogswell's land, reaching out to the County Road and extending from the residence occupied by Miss Joanna Kinsman to the Wade mansion. Nathan Brown removed a house from Candlewood to the corner, where it stands today, and made his home there. He sold a house lot, north of his house lot, to Samuel Wade Jr., Oct. 10, 1829 (258: 167), who built a house and sold it to Rev. Moses Welch of Plaistow, and Rev. Daniel Fitz, Pastor of the South Church, Feb. 17, 1831 (260: 196). Mr. Fitz sold the south half of his house to Epes Sargent, April 4, 1832 (264: 235), and the half in which he made his home, to Levi Willett, April 18, 1836 (300: 184). His son, Wallace P. Willett, is now the owner of the whole estate.

Nathan Brown sold a house lot, north of the Willett house, to Jacob Lakeman, March 1, 1830 (259: 230). Lakeman sold this to Mr. Fitz, May 18, 1831 (259: 230) and Mr. Fitz to the widow Judith Manning and Mary Brown, singlewoman, Oct. 12, 1835 (300: 61). They built the residence which has continued in the family line until its present owners purchased a few years since.

Capt. Thomas Wade built the old Wade mansion in 1727, as family tradition has always affirmed. He bequeathed his wife, Elizabeth, the use of one half his dwelling, to his daughter Elizabeth Cogswell, "my negro girl, who is now at my daughter Cogswell's and I account her at £40," and to his son Timothy, the real estate, Jan. 2, 1737 (Pro. Rec. 322: 97-100). Timothy gave his wife, Ruth, a third of the real estate during her life, "and my negro man Pomp, except she finds best to sell him," April 9, 1763 (Pro. Rec. 340: 308). Pomp was a famous character in his day, and his bondage as a slave set lightly upon him. A room in the garret is still known as Pomp's room.

The remainder of the estate was divided among the children of the deceased. The northwest half of the house was assigned to the widow Ruth, and four acres of land in the homestead, 1764, March 8 (134: 53). Ruth sold her interest in the dwelling to Col. Nathaniel Wade, the Revolutionary hero and friend of Lafayette, Jan. 28, 1791 (153: 61). William Wade had the lot adjoining the mansion, and Ruth sold Nathaniel the four acre lot, south of William's, April 15, 1797 (162: 168). The Col. Wade house

has continued in the family line and is now owned by a daughter of the late William Foster Wade. The William Wade lot was owned by Capt. Thomas and by his son William, whose heirs sold to William H. Kinsman. A carpenter shop had been remodelled into the dwelling. The Nathaniel Wade lot with the shop, in which he plied his trade of a mast and spar maker, also transformed into a dwelling, is owned and occupied by his great granddaughter, Miss Nellie F. Wade. Another carpenter shop, owned by John Wade, occupied the site of Mr. Jesse H. Wade's residence.

Timothy Wade sold Benjamin Lamson, a tanner, a tract of land near the brook, the old Firmin lot in part, Feb. 1, 1762 (110: 224), which Lamson sold to John Farley of Newbury, also a tanner, June 26th of the same year (115: 112). The Farleys built the old house, which stood near the site of the present Parsonage, and the ancient barn near by. Traces of their tan yard appear about the Stackpole buildings.

Financial difficulties came to the family. Suits were brought and part of the estate was set off to Benjamin Merrill of Rowley, July 10, 1820, which he sold to Moses Wardwell of Danvers, June 16, 1832 (264: 265). John Adams sold the other half to Wardwell, Sept. 25, 1828, which had been set off to him on execution (251: 229). Mr. Wardwell sold the land and "Tan House" to Aaron Wallis, William L. Wallis and Thomas W. Lord, May 9, 1849 (411: 39). Aaron Wallis sold to James Semple, currier, Oct. 10, 1851 (453: 82) and he quitclaimed to Nathan Brown, April 4, 1854 (495: 18).

Mr. Brown had gained possession of the old Farley homestead adjoining the Tannery, and he bought another piece, 38 ft. front, of Francis H. Wade, Oct. 18, 1844 (350: 74), which was half the lot, John Wade and others had sold him, with Mr. John Wade's carpenter shop, Oct. 11, 1844 (347: 227). Nathan Brown sold the whole property to John Worth and John T. Miner, July 10, 1855 (516: 26). Mr. Worth built a house on the lot in 1860, which was purchased by the South Parish, and is still the Parsonage. The old "Tan-house," was sold with other buildings by Mr. Worth to Josiah Stackpole, soap boiler.

Jonathan Wade owned the pasture lot, originally of the Rogerses (66: 2, Dec. 20, 1727) extending from Timothy Wade's line nearly to the corner of the Essex Road. It was known as the Gravel Pit Pasture, contained twenty acres, and was valued at £200 in 1749 (Pro. Rec. 329: 133). He bequeathed to his grandson, William Cogswell, "the pasture I purchased of Mr. Daniel Rogers, commonly called Gravel Pit Pasture," but in case of his death, the same was to be divided among his granddaughters. In the division of his real estate, the Gravel Pit Pasture was divided into three lots, one of which was assigned to Elizabeth Farley, formerly Elizabeth Cogswell, daughter of Jonathan, the next to Abigail Cogswell, who married Thomas Pickard of Rowley, and the third to Susanna Cogswell. Thomas Pickard of Rowley sold Nathaniel Farley, ten acres in this Pasture, settled on his wife, Abigail, April 1766 (125: 237). Farley sold to Abraham Choate, April 18, 1769 (125: 231) and this same division, was sold by

Samuel Kinsman, to Asa Baker, March 26, 1789 (149: 261). Baker acquired more land, and in the distribution of his estate, ten acre lots were set off to Doreas Brown and Polly, the wife of Michael Brown (April 6, 1814) and after Michael Brown's death, the widow Polly sold to Ira Worcester, twenty acres and the new dwelling and barn, reserving to the Town right to dig gravel, April 23, 1841 (324: 95). This pit was sold to Worcester by the Town, Aug. 9, 1854 (509: 293). A brick powder house was constructed on the estate by the Town in 1792. Ira Worcester sold Jane Rowell, the half acre lot on which she built a dwelling, now owned by Mr. Homans, Aug. 31, 1865 (697: 274), and the main estate to Ellen M. Burnham, wife of Frank H. Burnham, reserving right to the Town to keep the Powder house, April 18, 1871 (821: 150). Mr. Albert S. Brown purchased and occupies the property (Feb. 27, 1889, 1243: 514). The remaining division of the old Pasture, set off to the granddaughter Susanna, was owned afterwards by Charles Kimball and now by Mr. Maynard Whittier.

William Lampson.

(Diagram 4.)

The lot, now owned by Dr. William E. Tucker, was conveyed by John Burnham and Mary to Samuel Ayers "a dwelling house and lot, one and a half acres, which was lately Anthony Potter's, who bought them of Deacon Whipple, who bought them of William Lampson, to whom the same was granted," 10th 3d, 1651 (Ips. Deeds 1: 133). Samuel Ayers Sr. sold his son, Joseph, a quarter acre, "part of my orchard, near the school house," "bounded south by the highway next the school house two rods etc., west by the highway that leadeth down toward the wharf by Mr. Rust's," Feb. 10, 1692-3 (Ips. Deeds 5: 572).

Joseph Ayres built a dwelling and sold house and land to Joseph Whipple, May 7, 1705 (18: 212). Whipple sold the lot, "with a good mansion house" to Increase How, housewright, Dec. 28, 1724 (45: 242). The housewright turned inn-keeper and the "good mansion house" became a popular inn. Samuel Ayres sold How a small piece out of the Ayres homestead, Aug. 18, 1738 (100: 61) and Joseph Ayres sold Mr. How his interest ($\frac{2}{3}$) in his uncle, Samuel Ayres's homestead, adjoining How's land, Nov. 8, 1753 (100: 49). Increase How devised his estate by will, to his wife, Susanna, the use of the east half the house, to his eldest son, Joseph, the house and land, 1754 (Pro. Rec. 332: 109).

The schoolmaster, Joseph How, bequeathed his title in the house to his sister Susanna, widow of Samuel Swasey, allowing his mother the use of the east half, 1762 (Pro. Rec. 339: 52). The widow Susanna Swasey married Capt. George Stacy of Marblehead, June 30, 1763, and made a third marriage with Capt. Richard Homan of Marblehead (published Aug. 10, 1776). She kept the inn and entertained many distinguished visitors.

In the "Diary of George Washington," from 1789 to 1791 the following entry occurs,

Friday, October 30th 1789.

"From this place, (Beverly) with escorts of Horse, I passed on to Ipswich, about ten miles; at the entrance of which I was met and welcomed by the Selectmen, and received by a Regm't of Militia."

"At this place I was met by Mr. Dalton and some other Gentlemen from Newburyport; partook of a cold collation and proceeded on to the last mentioned place, where I was received with much respect and parade about four o'clock."

Mr. Felt, writing in 1834, while many still remembered the particulars of Washington's visit, remarks:

"George Washington . . . is escorted into town, receives a short address; dines at the inn, then kept by Mrs. Homans; reviews a regiment, mustered to honor him; is visited by many; stays three hours, and leaves for Newbury, through lines of a multitude comprising both sexes of all ages, who had assembled to give him, with deep emotions of gratitude, a welcome and a parting look."

After Mrs. Homan's death, her step-son, George Stacey of Biddeford, conveyed to her son Joseph, his interest in the tavern, Oct. 29, 1792 (156:15). Joseph had served with honor in the Revolutionary war. Major Swasey kept open house, as well, and "Swasey's Tavern" was a notable feature of the Town for many years. He was the Town Clerk, and his sudden death in the Town House, during Town meeting on April 1, 1816, was long remembered. His wife was Susanna, daughter of Henry Wise, and granddaughter of Rev. John Wise. His daughter, Amy, became the wife of Professor McKean of Harvard. He mortgaged and finally conveyed the Tavern property to Mr. John Heard, June 28, 1805 (174:250). Mr. Augustine Heard sold to Zenas Cushing "the Swasey House, conveyed to me by my father, John Heard, with the shipyard" July 2, 1855 (515:198). Dr. William E. Tucker purchased of the Cushing heirs. It was originally a three-storied, hip-roofed mansion, but was remodelled. After the Seminary was established it was filled with students. The identity of the modern dwelling with "the good mansion house," built in 1693 or thereabout, which Increase How began to use as a tavern in 1724, seems possible, though no trace of such antiquity can be discovered in the present dwelling.

Samuel Ayers Sen., it was stated, sold a house lot to his son, Joseph, in 1692. He bequeathed his homestead to his son, Samuel, 1697 (Pro. Rec. 305:281) and he, in turn, to his wife, Mary, and sister, Mary Ayers, 1743 (Pro. Rec. 325:363-4). The widow, Mary, sold a small piece to Increase How, Sept. 20, 1746 (100:48). Benjamin George and wife conveyed to Susanna Stacey their right of revision in the homestead of their great uncle, Samuel Ayers, July 23, 1774 (133:179). Susanna Ayers, single-

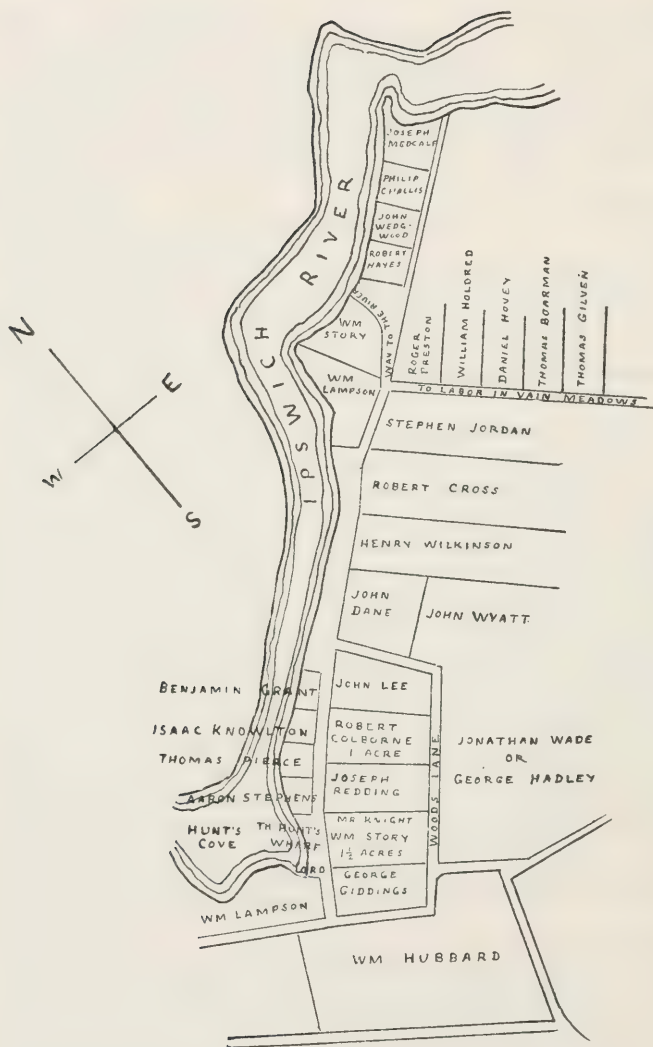


Diagram No 5

woman, sold Susanna Homan, about half an acre, which was bounded by Homan's land on each side, "reserving to myself for my personal improvement, the small dwelling house, on the above devised Premises during my natural life," Oct. 12, 1784 (142: 266). The old Ayers homestead, therefore, stood between Dr. Tucker's residence and the old Nathaniel Heard house, on the corner, but no trace of the cellar remains. The Homan's land descended to the Swaseys, presumably, and has since been a part of the estate.

The extreme corner lot was sold by Thomas Jackson of Windham to Nehemiah Abbot, twenty-nine rods, "beginning at the south corner of Ayers's lot, over against Mr. William Dodge's dwelling," Feb. 23, 1775 (134: 114). Abbot sold the lot, measuring forty-six rods, to John Heard, April 1, 1776 (135: 262). The house was built near this time, probably, and was occupied and owned in part by Nathaniel Heard, brother of John. John Heard sold the half, he still owned, to Capt. Richard Lakeman 3d, June 2, 1795 (168: 44). It is still remembered as the Lakeman house.

Ebenezer K. Lakeman of Salem quitclaimed to his mother, Lucy, widow of Capt. Richard, his interest in the north half of the house, Nov. 19, 1842 (335: 241). Her heirs sold to Samuel H. Green, March 21, 1851 (445: 81), who conveyed to John Birch, one of the company of English stocking weavers, March 8, 1856 (531: 78).

The other half was conveyed to Mr. Birch by George Haskell, "the same conveyed to Martha A. and Maria Rogers by the heirs of the late Nathaniel Heard, my interest being five undivided twelfths, which have been conveyed to me by the heirs of said Martha A. Rogers," Jan. 16, 1874 (900: 98). Martin Ehrlacher and others sold their interest at the same time.

William Hubbard.

(Diagram 4.)

The fine estate, now owned by Mr. Gustavus Kinsman, belonged by the original grant apparently to Mr. William Hubbard. He had erected a house and was dwelling there in 1638 (Ips. Deeds 1: 14). His son, William, was a member of the first class that graduated from Harvard College in 1642. He entered the ministry and became the colleague of Mr. Cobbet in 1656; married Margaret, daughter of Rev. Nathaniel Rogers, and made his home in the old homestead. Financial reverses came upon him and he made conveyances of his property to secure his creditors. He was obliged finally, to execute a deed of sale of his "Messuage Tenement . . with the orchard, Garden and pasture behind the same and Cornfield before the same contayneing by Estimation Seaven acres, with other lands," to John Richards, agent of Major Robert Thompson of London, March 5, 1684 (Ips. Deeds 1: 10; 4: 182).

A century later, Robert Thompson of Elsham, Great Britain, sold Mr. John Heard, the same lot, June 16, 1788 (149: 206). Mary, daughter of John Heard, sold Augustine Heard, her brother, an undivided half,

with the barn, called the "Pinckin Close" Sept. 1, 1838 (329: 233), and Augustine Heard sold the lot, "commonly called the Pynchon lot," to Capt. Ebenezer Caldwell, on Nov. 1, 1851 (452: 104). Capt. Caldwell erected the spacious mansion and occupied it until his death. His heirs sold to Mr. Gustavus Kinsman. No remembrance of the Hubbard homestead remains, but it is probable from the deed quoted, that it stood on the knoll, on which the present dwelling is built.

Mr. John Heard built the present Heard mansion, next the Meeting House of the South Church, and removed the old Calef house to the corner of the "Pinchem Close." He sold it, with a quarter acre of land, to Ebenezer Caldwell, April 16, 1803 (179: 280). Samuel Caldwell conveyed this to his mother, Abigail, April 24, 1826 (242: 69). One half of it is still the home of the Caldwell heirs. Mrs. Clarissa Caldwell sold a building lot out of the "Close" to Mr. William Seward, Oct. 15, 1873 (895: 191), on which he erected a residence, next the Caldwell house above mentioned, and on another lot, sold from the ancient Hubbard Close, Mr. George H. Green built the residence next in line.

TURKEY SHORE, SO CALLED IN 1832.

George Giddings.

(Diagram 5.)

The lot on the corner of Turkey Shore Road and Poplar St., now owned and occupied by Mr. George H. Green, was sold by George Giddings to Thomas Burnham, one and a half acres, with Samuel Hunt, north, June 3, 1667 (11: 216). Thomas Burnham sold to his son Aaron, his house and homestead "now occupied by my sons Moses and Aaron," Dec. 30, 1710 (32: 142). Aaron Burnham and Esther, then of Norwich, Conn., sold to his brother Thomas, Oct. 3, 1720 (37: 166). He conveyed to William Dodge of Wenham, March 18, 1728-9 (58: 18) and he to his son, William, May 1, 1752 (119: 154). Nathaniel Wade, executor of Abraham Dodge, sold the house and one and three quarters acres to John Patch, "reserving Priscilla Dodge, the northwest lower room and kitchen according to the will of her father, William Dodge," Aug. 4, 1795 (164: 149). Bethiah Dodge, widow, and Abigail Cogswell, widow, sold to Abner Day, "the homestead of the late John Patch, our father, devised to us by will," May 7, 1814 (204: 121). Abner Day sold to Samuel Day, March 14, 1825 (238: 234) and he to Samuel H. Green, Jan. 22, 1847 (377: 68), whose heirs still own and occupy. The oldest part of the present dwelling is of venerable age, but no precise date can be assigned. During the ownership of the Days, it was a well-known Tavern.

Mr. Knight, Joseph Redding, Robert Colborne, John Lee Sr.

(Diagram 5.)

The one and a half acre lot adjoining the two acre corner lot, was sold with a house, by William Story to William Smalledge, fisherman, which

Story had purchased of Mr. Knight, Joseph Reading northeast, Thomas Burnham south, 21-8-1650 (Ips. Deeds 1: 90). Jeremiah Belcher sold the same premises to Joseph Redding, July 12, 1666 (Ips. Deeds 3: 292). On April 12, 1666, John Lee, Senior, and Joseph Redding had purchased of Robert Colborne his house lot of an acre, bounded northeast by Lee's land and south by Redding (Ips. Deeds 3: 181). Reading or Redding was thus the possessor of several acres on the east side of the Turkey Shore road. His daughter Elizabeth, wife of Samuel Hunt, was executrix of the estate, and her sons inherited the estate of their grandfather. Joseph Hunt received the house and two acres, adjoining Aaron Burnham's, and William the lot adjoining this. Joseph sold his estate to William, May 26, 1710 (22: 113); William Hunt Sr. sold the same to his son William, March 19, 1714-15 (30: 77); William Hunt Jr. sold this to William Dodge, who then owned the corner lot, April 9, 1745 (91: 134).

William Dodge Jr. sold William Story of Boston, a piece of land near the mansion house, "bounded west on the road leading to my wharf, four and a quarter rods, north on my land purchased of William Hunt, eight rods," Oct. 9, 1765 (125: 224). Story mortgaged to Royal Tyler of Boston and Nathaniel Hatch, Dorchester, and the deed mentions a distill house, and other buildings on it, two distills, two worms, two worm tubs etc., May 1, 1769 (125: 224). Story sold half his interest in the distillery property to John Heard, May 1, 1770 (128: 171) and the rest to his son, William Story Jr., on the same day (129: 11). John Kendall executed a deed of the property to Mr. Heard, Nov. 6, 1810 (191: 209). It is interesting to note that in these deeds, the name "Turkey Shore" nowhere occurs. The old wharf opposite is alluded to as Hunt's wharf, then as Dodge's wharf, and the cove is called Hunt's Cove. While the distilling business was carried on, the wharf was used by light draught vessels, bringing molasses from the West Indies.

John Heard transferred the property to George W. Heard, Feb. 10, 1818 (217: 234). Augustine Heard sold a half interest in the distillery to Gustavus Farley, with land and wharf across the street, June 22, 1836 (291: 114). Farley belonged to a race of tanners, and he converted the distillery into a tanning and currying establishment. He sold to Edward Heard and Robert Farley, April 1, 1848 (395: 252). Edward Plouff conveyed to N. W. Frye, Nov. 6, 1863 (658: 85); Frye to J. B. Flint, Oct. 13, 1865 (690: 135). Joseph B. Flint conveyed this property to Jacob H. Loud of Plymouth, 1865 (692: 122), who sold to James Damon, Jan. 9, 1873 (930: 201).

William Dodge retained the house and land, formerly Hunt's, beyond the distillery lot, and his heirs sold the house and two acres to Ebenezer Caldwell, Jan. 5, 1805 (176: 58). Ebenezer Caldwell and others sold one half the house to John Dodge, Jan. 5, 1805 (198: 52), and Jonathan Farley of Bath and Susanna, in her own right, sold half to Benjamin T. Read, May 4, 1808 (183: 272). Benjamin T. Read of Marble-

head sold the east half to George W. Heard, July 23, 1818 (217: 234) and John Dodge sold him the west half, Oct. 10, 1818 (219: 35). George W. Heard conveyed to his brother, Augustine, who sold to Eliza Plouff, wife of Edward Plouff, April 2, 1849 (409: 291). After her decease, it was purchased by Mr. A. Story Brown.

The Leigh-Colborne land, owned by the Hunts, included the tract occupied by the houses of Edward and Alfred Norman and others. William Hunt dwelt here in 1745, and Ezekiel Hunt sold his homestead, a house, and three acres, to Increase How, the inn-keeper, Nov. 17, 1747 (90: 155). In his will, he bequeathed the house and land bought of Mr. Hunt to his son, John, 1754 (Pro. Rec. 332: 109). Samuel Swasey, probably nephew of John Howe, sold two acres to John Appleton, Aug. 16, 1797 (161: 251).

To the northeast of this lot, Joseph Lee or Leigh had sold a lot to William Lakeman, a fisherman, recently from the Isle of Shoals, 1697 (12: 13) and Lakeman had sold his house and four acres to Thomas Hodgkins June 24, 1697 (12: 12). Hezekiah Hodgkins conveyed to Daniel Hodgkins his right in the house and four acres, "bounded northwest by the highway (Turkey Shore), northeast by a lane, southeast by a lane (Fruit St.), southwest by William Hunt, now occupied by my mother Hodgkins," June 5, 1741 (81: 272). Joseph Hodgkins sold John Appleton two acres, bounded southeast and southwest "by the lane to Francis Merrifield's," to the land of John Appleton, and northwest by Appleton's land to "the Road from the South Meeting House to Boardman's Bridge," (now called Turkey Shore Road), Sept. 17, 1792 (156: 34). Mr. Appleton had previously acquired the other part of the Hodgkins estate.

This purchase of the old Leigh-Colborne land from Samuel Swasey in 1797 made him the owner of the whole tract from the old Heard house, now owned by Mr. A. Story Brown, to the Lane, now called Fruit St. John Appleton bequeathed this lot to his son, William, (Pro. Rec. 363: 110). William Appleton bequeathed the six acre lot called "Hunt and Hodgkins lot," to his daughter, Mrs. Hannah Wallis, July 1809 (Pro. Rec. 378: 179). The widow Hannah Wallis of Salem sold this lot to her son Robert, April 9, 1819 (222: 167). The executors of Robert Wallis sold to Joseph Kinsman, April 6, 1824 (235: 93). Asa Kinsman, son of Joseph, inherited and sold to William Grant, "the Appleton Lot," Sept. 13, 1859 (594: 88). Jonathan N. Felton of Colchester, Conn., sold an undivided fourth to Joshua B. Grant, May 27, 1864 (669: 28). Mr. Grant acquired the whole lot, and sold to the present occupants. No trace remains of the ancient dwellings.

John Dane and Henry Wilkinson.

(Diagram 5.)

Beyond the Lane, anciently known as Wood's Lane, now Fruit St., to the road to the Labour-in-vain fields, several grants were made, chiefly for tillage lands. Henry Wilkinson received three acres in 1635 and Robert Hayes the same. Hayes sold to Wilkinson and the latter conveyed the





six acres to Thomas Emerson in 1638. It was bounded by the planting lot of Robert Cross on the east, the house lot of John Dane west, the lot of William Wildes, south, and the Town River on the north. The highway was only a cart-path at this period. Mr. Emerson built a house and sold house and land, six acres, to Daniel Ringe, "lying next the dwelling house and land of John Dane towards the south," 1648 (Ips. Deeds 1: 169). Uzall Wardell, whose son had married Susanna Ringe, acquired the Ringe homestead and sold it to William Hayward or Howard, April 7, 1679 (Ips. Deeds 4: 289). John Dane is mentioned as abutting on the southwest and southeast. John Howard sold his interest in his father's house and land, three acres only, to his brother Samuel, March 20, 1714 (41: 188). The bounds are, northwest, the highway, northeast, Philemon Dane, south, Walter Fairfield, west, highway (then known as Wood's Lane). Dr. Philemon Dane seems to have acquired part of the original six acre lot of Emerson, Ringe and Howard. Stephen Howard succeeded to the ownership, and Daniel Ringe and others sold to Ebenezer Caldwell, their interest in one half of the house and two acres, our "father Samuel Ringe, bought of Stephen Howard," April 1, 1769 (129: 221). Andrew Dodge and wife conveyed the other half to Mr. Caldwell, on Apr. 3 (129: 222). Sylvanus Caldwell, administrator of Ebenezer Caldwell, sold the estate to Aaron Wallis, bounded southwest, "by Merrifield's Lane," April 15, 1822 (231: 100). The estate of Aaron Wallis, in bankruptcy, was assigned to George Haskell Esq., and sold by him to Benjamin Dawson, a house and two and a half acres, on "Turkey Shore," April 18, 1853 (477: 128). It was owned later by Frederic and William Willcomb, and now by Arthur W. Dow.

The three acres owned by Philemon Dane or Dean in 1714, probably part of the Howard lot, were sold to John Appleton prior to 1769. Mary Rogers, widow of Capt. Daniel Rogers, conveyed the same to Martha A. and Mary A. Rogers, "being the same which was formerly owned by John Appleton, and which I inherited as an heir to him," June 28, 1832 (265: 300). George Haskell Esq. sold to Austin Measures, three and a half acres, "the same conveyed to me by the heirs of Martha A. and Maria A. Rogers," March 10, 1874 (901: 18). Mr. Measures built the house, since sold to Mr. Walter Shepard.

Robert Cross.

(Diagram 5.)

The next original grant, as has been mentioned, was that of Robert Cross, who had built a house on part of his six acres by 1638. He sold to Daniel Ringe Sr., owner of the abutting property. Stephen Jordan owned the planting lot on the northeast side by grant from the Town. Susanna (Ringe) Wardell sold to her father-in-law, Uzall Wardell, her third of her father's estate, bounded by the highway, next the River, north and Daniel Hovey east, May 2, 1669 (Ips. Deeds 3: 129). Wardell sold to Daniel Ringe (Junior) the three acres formerly owned by Daniel Ringe Senior,

"with a barne and an old house, that was formerly a dwelling house of Robert Cross Sr., and by him sold to the aforesaid Daniel Ringe deceased," April 7, 1679 (Ips. Deeds 5: 198). A mortgage, discharged in 1741, describes the homestead of the late Capt. Daniel Ringe, owned in part at least by his son Samuel, as bounded northeast by Thomas Hovey (102: 250). Capt. Ringe probably built a new house, in place of the old Cross dwelling, but it disappeared long since. He was a distinguished officer in the Indian wars.

Abraham Soward and Elizabeth, in her own right, quitclaimed to Ebenezer Caldwell, part of the Samuel Ringe estate (abutting on the lot of Mr. Walter Shepard), and bounded by "the land this day quitclaimed to us," Oct. 31, 1799 (179: 279). Sylvanus Caldwell, administrator of Ebenezer, conveyed to his widow, Abigail, seven acres of land in the rear, "with privilege of a road one rod wide to pass and repass through the northerly side of Samuel Caldwell's land," April 15, 1822 (245: 199). Samuel Caldwell transferred to Samuel Day, four acres, on the Turkey Shore road, April 3, 1827 (244: 66). Samuel Day sold to Thomas McMahon the lot conveyed to him by Abigail Caldwell, seven acres and more, and the four acre lot formerly owned by Samuel Caldwell, April 18, 1835 (361: 243). Lucy M. Rust conveyed the same to Francis A. Wait, and the deed recites that they are the same lots conveyed by Day to McMahon, and conveyed to her by Priscilla B. Choate, April 1, 1872 (850: 142). This deed is dated April 1, 1876 (951: 252). Mr. Wait built the house, and the property is owned by his heirs.

The other part of the Captain Daniel Ringe estate, as has been stated, reverted to Abraham Soward. Mr. Otis Glover married the daughter of Soward, and she inherited the property, which still remains in the family line. The old Soward house was moved back some years ago, and a new dwelling was built on the same spot.

Stephen Jordan.

(Diagram 5.)

The lot, granted to Stephen Jordan, then owned by Daniel Hovey and Thomas Hovey, was sold to Stephen Boardman. He sold to Benjamin Wheeler the land, six and a half acres and buildings, "which I purchased of Thomas Hovey, reserving a way for Samuel Howard to pass to his land" July 14, 1744 (85: 229). David Wheeler of Harpswell sold the same to Major Woodbury, April 9, 1784 (142:139). Mary, daughter of Major Woodbury, married Thomas MacMahon, Dec. 17, 1826, and inherited the estate. The MacMahon heirs sold the house and ten acres to James Galbraith Nov. 28, 1864 (678:21), who sold to the present owner, Isaac H. Foss, March 21, 1870 (802:155). The house is of venerable age, and was built probably early in the eighteenth century.

On the River Bank, beginning with the lot now owned by Mr. Benjamin Fewkes, a series of house lots was granted in the beginning, and

there was an expectation apparently that this attractive locality would become a compact neighborhood. The houses disappeared, however, and some lots were never utilized. William Lampson and William Story owned the Fewkes property. Robert Hayes owned an acre adjoining on the northeast, John Wedgwood was next, with a quarter acre house lot. East of Wedgwood, Philip Challis had a house lot and beyond him Joseph Medcalf received grant of the point which is surrounded by the River on three sides. A road, alluded to in the grants, as a "highway leading to the River," gave access to all these lots. On the road leading down to Labour-in-vain, another series of house lots was granted. Roger Preston owned one on the northeast side, William Holdred another, then Daniel Hovey, Thomas Boarman and Thomas Gilvern. The widow, Katherine Gilvern sold her lot to Boarman, and Daniel Hovey bought the Holdred lot, adjoining his on the southwest, in 1639. The Joseph Metcalf property was purchased by Nathaniel Emerson, and he conveyed it to his brother, Rev. John Emerson of Gloucester, twenty acres with his house, Jan. 4, 1677 (Ips. Deeds 4: 488).

No record remains of the Challis lot. Wedgwood sold to George Hadley and he conveyed the lot with a small house to Samuel Boarman in 1639. Robert Hayes sold to Thomas Bishop, Bishop to John Andrews, Andrews to William Knowlton, Knowlton to Edward Bragg, and the deed mentions that a house had been built and removed. Knowlton had purchased the house lot, on which he lived, of William Lampson and William Story. All these transfers had been made prior to 1644 (Ips. Deeds 1: 7). Evidently the neighborhood did not prove popular.

Daniel Hovey bought the Knowlton house lot prior to the year 1652, when it was recorded, "Daniel Hovey hath liberty to set his fence down to the River, at his ground bought of William Knowlton, making a stile at each end, the two rods still notwithstanding is the town's." In 1659, he was allowed to build a wharf, "against the ground he bought of William Knowlton."

Daniel Hovey Sr., then of Quabaug, now Brookfield, sold John Dane Sr., a small lot, four rods wide, six rods long, at the southerly corner of the Knowlton lot, May 1, 1677 (Ips. Deeds 4: 99). It seems to be the corner bounded by the Labour-in-Vain Road and the old way to the wharf. Dane built a house here and transferred his right of commonage belonging to a house on Hog Lane, to the new residence, June 1, 1677 (Ips. Deeds 4: 97). John Dane, seemingly son of the preceding, sold this house and land to Richard Lakeman, "immediately after the death of Alice Meacham, widow and relique of . . . Meacham, late of Salem, and formerly widow of Doctor John Dane," May 4, 1704 (18: 45). The administrator of Lakeman sold to Ensign George Hart, June 5, 1718 (36: 113).

Another lot was sold by Hovey, apparently to Thomas Hodskin, and William Lakeman of Smutty Nose Island sold Rev. John Emerson, a house, barn and a fifth part of a wharf a little below said house, bounded on the east by the hundred rods which Daniel Hovey Sr., deceased, gave in his

will to the children of Joseph Hovey deceased, west by the hundred rods which Daniel Sr., bequeathed to the children of Nathaniel Hovey deceased, north, by the highway that leads to the land of the aforesaid John Emerson, in the field commonly called Labour-in-Vain fields, April 13, 1703 (19: 204). Daniel Hovey Sr., of Quabaug, sold Abraham Perkins, half an acre, on the northeast side of his lot by the river, "extending toward the river, within two rods of highwater mark, also his claim to land betwixt this and low water mark," on condition that he maintain a substantial five rail fence, down to low water mark, May 8, 1672 (Ips. Deeds 3: 227).

Abraham Perkins built a house on his lot, which is mentioned in a deed of Luke Perkins to John Gould of Topsfield, as "due him from Abraham his brother," Nov. 26, 1684 (Ips. Deeds 5: 67). The sale was not effected, however, and eventually Perkins sold to Thomas Smith, who sold Robert Knight, the house and land he bought of Luke Perkins, with Daniel Hovey Jr., southwest, July 3, 1694 (10: 182). Knight sold to Ebenezer Hovey, a half acre, house and barn, bounded east, "by a bitt of appropriated wharf land," and west, by land belonging to Hovey, Feb. 16, 1704 (15: 232). Ebenezer Hovey sold Edward Webber, "the house and homestead which I now live in," Sept. 13, 1714 (30: 127), bounded south west by Hovey's land. Webber sold to Robert Cross, April 4, 1719 (39: 123), and the southwest bound was "land formerly Daniel Hovey's." Robert Cross sold to William Robbins Jr., Feb. 7, 1728 (51: 275) and William Fuller is located on the southwest side. The widow Esther Robbins sold Nathaniel Rust, a half acre lot, from which the house had disappeared, March 15, 1800 (184: 290). Nathaniel Rust sold the same to William Fuller Andrews, who then owned the adjoining property, Nov. 26, 1810 (192: 84).

The Daniel Hovey homestead, which had been owned by his heirs for many years, was sold by Thomas Hovey to William Fuller, "my house he now lives in," with half an acre, Jan. 18, 1719-20 (38: 272). The grandchildren of William Fuller sold to William Fuller Andrews, Sept. 30, 1807 (182: 229). His purchase of the Nathaniel Rust lot adjoining, Nov. 26, 1810 (192: 84), reunited the two parts of the Daniel Hovey lot. David Andrews sold the house and land to Mark Foss, April 7, 1853 (477: 147). The house fell into decay, and was used by Mr. Foss for the storage of hay, until it was destroyed by fire. Mr. Josiah Mann purchased the lot, and built his mansion a little to the eastward of the spot occupied by the ancient Hovey dwelling.

The deed of Thomas Hovey to William Fuller of the land now owned by Mr. Josiah Mann specifies that it was bounded on the west, "by a narrow lane that goes down to Nathaniel Hodgkin's land, and so by his land that was bought of Daniel Hovey Sr., to the River." The Fewkes estate as it appears from this, was originally part of the Daniel Hovey land, and was purchased by Nathaniel Hodgkins. He may have built the house, which was afterward conveyed by Hannah Hodgkins, spinster, to William Fuller, beginning at the south corner on the Town road opposite widow

Elizabeth Ringe, "except one lower room and one quarter acre during my life and then it will go to sd William Fuller and Lucy Hodgkins," June 2, 1786 (152: 260). Col. Joseph Hodgkins conveyed the same property to David Andrews, April 23, 1813 (246: 54); Andrews to Mrs. Annie P. Bachelder, April 5, 1865 (754: 48); Calvin and Annie P. Bachelder to Daniel Newell, March 4, 1870 (794: 30); Newell to Gustavus Kinsman, Aug. 16, 1875 (935: 203) and he to Benjamin Fewkes, Sept. 1886 (1181: 258).

Aaron Stephens, cordwainer, received a grant of four square rods "by the River by the Lime Pit Rock, over against Serg. Hunt's," to build a house, in March 1730. It was widened to the river the next year. Thomas Pierce received a grant on the northeast side of Stephens, and Isaac Knowlton, a lot next to Pierce. Benjamin Grant received a grant north of Knowlton in 1734. Knowlton sold his lot to Pierce in 1732. Thomas Lord was allowed a lot, south of Stephens, for a ship building yard in 1732. Pierce was the Town Crier for many years. He built a house and barn and William Campanel, a weaver, sold William Dodge, part of the house and homestead of Thomas Pierce, "which I purchased of him," and half the barn, June 6, 1765 (119: 127). The heirs of Dodge sold Ebenezer Caldwell, his homestead, and "also about an acre between the road and the river, called Pierce's lot," Jan. 5, 1805 (176: 58). So large a lot would include, apparently, all these small grants. The widow Mercy Caldwell sold this lot to George W. Heard, March 16, 1825 (240: 67), who had already received a grant of a shore lot from the Town, by vote of March 24, 1818.

Mr. Heard sold his whole lot, including the ancient Pierce lot, to Mrs. Eliza Plouff, wife of Edward Plouff, May 1, 1862 (637: 115, 116). Edward Plouff sold his son, Augustine H. Plouff, the lot he now owns, Jan. 9, 1874 (896: 162) and June 25, 1874 (907: 51) and his mother sold him again, Jan. 25, 1876 (947: 51). Edward Plouff sold James H. Lakeman, the lot on which he built, Sept. 18, 1874 (913: 294). An old cellar, presumably that of Pierce's house, was disclosed, when the foundation was laid. Mrs. Plouff sold the rest of this lot to Charles W. Estes, April 2, 1874 (902: 221).

FRUIT STREET.

John Dane.

(Diagram 5.)

Leaving Turkey Shore road by the Lane, known originally as Wood's Lane, then as Merrifield's Lane, now Fruit St., on the left hand, John Dane Sr. seems to have had a house lot abutting on the Emerson lot, by original grant, but the identification is not satisfactory. He conveyed his house and three acres to his son Philemon, and six acres of pasture, joined with a lane or driftway to the house lot, March 27, 1683 (Ips. Deeds 4: 501).

Philemon Dane sold to Daniel Hodgkins, Dec. 7, 1736 (72: 237). Benjamin Hodgkins and William Stone Jr., son-in-law of Daniel Hodgkins, sold to John Appleton, July 1746 (89: 118 and 88: 163) and, at his death, he still owned part at least, of this land.

John Wyate.

(Diagram 5.)

The lot on Fruit St., east of the Dane lot, was owned originally by John Wyate, who sold to Thomas Leigh, who sold in turn to Symon Tompson, May 2, 1659 (Ips. Deeds 1: 220). He gave his grandson, Samuel Wood, the property occupied by his father, Isaiah Wood, which Samuel mortgaged to Deacon William Goodhue, a house and four acres, March 2, 1685-6 (Ips. Deeds 5: 177). Eventually Madam Elizabeth Wainwright, widow of Col. John, and Francis Wainwright, levied an execution upon this estate and it was sold to Walter Fairfield, Aug. 9, 1710 (23: 151). Fairfield sold to Thomas Hodgkins, May 1, 1716 (28: 156). Frances Crompton conveyed a quarter of the dwelling to Daniel Hodgkins, Aug. 9, 1728 (81: 271), who bought the adjoining lot in 1736. As has been mentioned, his heirs sold to John Appleton in 1746.

Jonathan Wade or George Hadley.

(Diagram 5.)

Simon Tompson bequeathed to his grandson, Simon Wood, the house where he dwelt, and to his granddaughter, Mary Wood, "an acre toward Mr. Hubbard's corner, being part of the house lot I bought of Mr. Jonathan Wade or George Hadley," March 28, 1675 (Ips. Deeds 4: 33). Daniel Wood sold one acre of Simon Wood's estate on the northeast side to John Appleton, May 17, 1754 (104: 17). William Wood and others, heirs of Simon, sold three quarters of an acre to Mercy Merrifield, July 1, 1754 (100: 146), and Daniel Wood sold her the remainder of his share in the estate, Nov. 6, 1754 (100: 263). The dwelling was sold as well to Mrs. Merrifield.

Francis Merrifield, son of Mercy, sold to Francis Jr., a house lot, out of the homestead, abutting on Stephen Smith, Aug. 29, 1792 (155: 108), and a lot of the same size, 63 ft. front, 36 ft. deep, to Thomas Merrifield, July 14, 1801 (170: 140). The heirs of Francis Merrifield sold the homestead to John A. Kimball, Jan. 26, 1830 (258: 58); Kimball to Charles Giddings, Sept. 25, 1835 (284: 232); Giddings mortgaged to Greenleaf P. Perley, April 18, 1867 (767: 178); Perley foreclosed and sold to John Gallagher, whose heirs still own, July 7, 1869 (777: 21).

Francis Merrifield Jr. built a dwelling on the lot he purchased in 1792, and his heirs sold the house and land to Mary Wade Jr., Aug. 21, 1827 (251: 83). Miss Wade bought of Abigail Kimball, widow, and others, the corner lot, formerly the property of Stephen Smith, Jan. 24, 1829 (250: 222), and a lot on the northeast side of her property of Thomas Merrifield, who inherited from his father, April 18, 1834 (273: 304). She bequeathed her estate to her nephew, Francis H. Wade, who still owns and occupies it.

Another portion of the Lieut. Simon Wood estate was sold by Moses Kimball and Ephraim Gibson, two and a quarter acres, to Jabez Treadwell, Nov. 17, 1744 (85: 205); Kimball sold an acre and a quarter more, and twenty-nine rods on the other side of the way to the pastures, to Treadwell, July 1, 1747 (90: 124). Capt. Treadwell built a dwelling, and bequeathed house and land to his son, Daniel Treadwell, who sold to Ephraim Fellows, April 9, 1814 (206: 97). His son, Ephraim, inherited, and at his decease, it was sold to Mr. George Haskell, and transferred by him to Mr. Frank A. Stackpole.

The land on the west side of Fruit St. was inherited by Mrs. Mercy Caldwell from her father, William Dodge, and the early titles of this tract have been considered in the study of the Turkey Shore lands. She sold several house lots to Sanford and James Peatfield and Jabez Mann, Sept. 1833 (272: 310).

Sanford Peatfield sold his lot to Eliza, wife of Edward Plouff, Feb. 4, 1837 (296: 291). Mr. Plouff built a house and sold house and land to Robert Jordan, April 7, 1849 (414: 52). Mr. Jordan sold to Asa Kinsman, April 14, 1858 (569: 298) and he to William Grant, uncle of the present owner, Joshua B. Grant, Sept. 13, 1859 (594: 88).

James Peatfield built, on his lot, the brick house, which he sold to Asa Kinsman, Sept. 13, 1859 (593: 257) and is owned now by Mr. Sturgis Coffin 2nd. Jabez Mann built a dwelling, owned later by Andrew Low. Benjamin Newman bought the corner lot of Samuel Day, and built a dwelling.

"Falls Island."

(Diagram 4.)

The "Little Island" sometimes called "Falls Island."

In the year 1673, permission was given "to Cornet Whipple to sett up a fulling mill at the smaller falls, by Ezekiel Woodward's house, provided the other fulling mill now begun be not finished before midsummer, and not prejudicing the corn mill, provided also it be finished within a year and that he take not the timber to build it off the Commons." Also "Granted to Mr. Wade that little Island of rocks at the falls in Exchange for so much to enlarge the highway by the windmill, provided he hinder no man from taking away loose rocks, nor hinder fishway nor making of a bridge, nor prejudice the mills."

For some time, there had been a growing dissatisfaction with the Saltonstall monopoly of the mill privilege at the upper falls. Complaint was made that the Town was too large to be accommodated with a single mill, and it was averred that the miller was not over civil, and that his fair dealing could be called in question. This mill privilege was granted Mr. Wade, no doubt, in the hope that he would establish a mill there, and formal permission was granted him in 1681 to build corn mills, after much correspondence with Mr. Saltonstall, on condition that no harm was done the other mills. Nothing resulted from this however, and in April, 1682, Mr. Saltonstall was granted liberty to build another mill lower down the

river, near Sergeant Clark's, "provided he have gates eighteen or twenty feet wide to let up canoes or boats loaded into the cove, and to let out boats and canoes when the tide serves." The location chosen was at the foot of Summer St. Sergeant Clark was a tanner, and his establishment was on the northeast corner of Summer and Water Sts. Jonathan Wade and others made natural opposition to this scheme, and it failed of accomplishment.

There is a note of impatience in the vote of 1686, that "privilege is granted any one to build grist mills at the Falls near Goodman Rust's." Mr. Wade had not taken advantage of his grant, evidently, nor had Mr. Saltonstall afforded better facilities. Again in 1695, it was voted that Col. Saltonstall have liberty to build a new mill by Clark's, and again a written dissent from many citizens was presented, objecting to the closing of a navigable river, and claiming that other locations were available. Once more in November 1696, it was voted that "two or three persons (not mentioned by name), that are so minded, shall have liberty to erect a mill and raise a dam" near John Clark's. At last, Robert Calef petitioned for liberty to build a grist mill at the Little Falls. It was granted, on March 8, 1714-5, and he built a mill.

Mr. Wade may have built a saw mill in 1673, when the fulling mill was erected, and the Island was given him. His heirs, Jonathan, Thomas, and Elizabeth, sold Joseph Caleffe and Francis Crompton, their title, in "a certain saw mill and fulling mill now standing together at ye Falls in ye Great River," and "an island and privileges as granted to our predecessors" May 16, 1702 (18: 172). Crompton sold Robert Califfe "my third part of Island and fulling mill and saw mill," Feb. 2, 1714 (29: 76). Robert Calef, clothier, conveyed the Island and mills to William Dodge of Wenham, Nov. 22, 1729 (54: 169).

Mr. Dodge was not satisfied with his investment, we may believe, for in the next year, 1730, he repeated the oft-made request for privilege to dam the river "at the end of Green Lane, so called, near Serg. Clark's formerly so called," and remove the grist mill he had recently built to this site, but the request was negatived. He continued to operate his mills on the Island until 1748, when he sold a two thirds interest to Col. John Choate and Andrew Burley, and a third to his son, William Jr., March 22, 1748 (94: 222). The use of the power was conditioned however, "when the water runs over any part of the dam in said river, between ye saw mill, now of John Treadwell, and the corn mill on the other side of ye dam etc." Privilege was also given to move the dam to the lower end of the Falls.

Abraham Choate conveyed the two thirds interest of John Choate to Col. Isaac Dodge, Feb. 6, 1772 (130: 43) and William Dodge Jr. sold his third to him, Dec. 31, 1783 (147: 169). Col. Dodge bequeathed the two grist mills and a saw mill which then occupied the Lower Falls, to his son Nathaniel, 1786 (Pro. Rec. 358: 518). Nathaniel Dodge bequeathed the mills, the old grist mill, and the new grist mill and saw mill, and his house, (near William A. Spiller's wheelwright shop), to his brother-in-law Thomas Burnham 4th, 1792 (Pro. Rec. 361: 522). Burnham sold a half interest

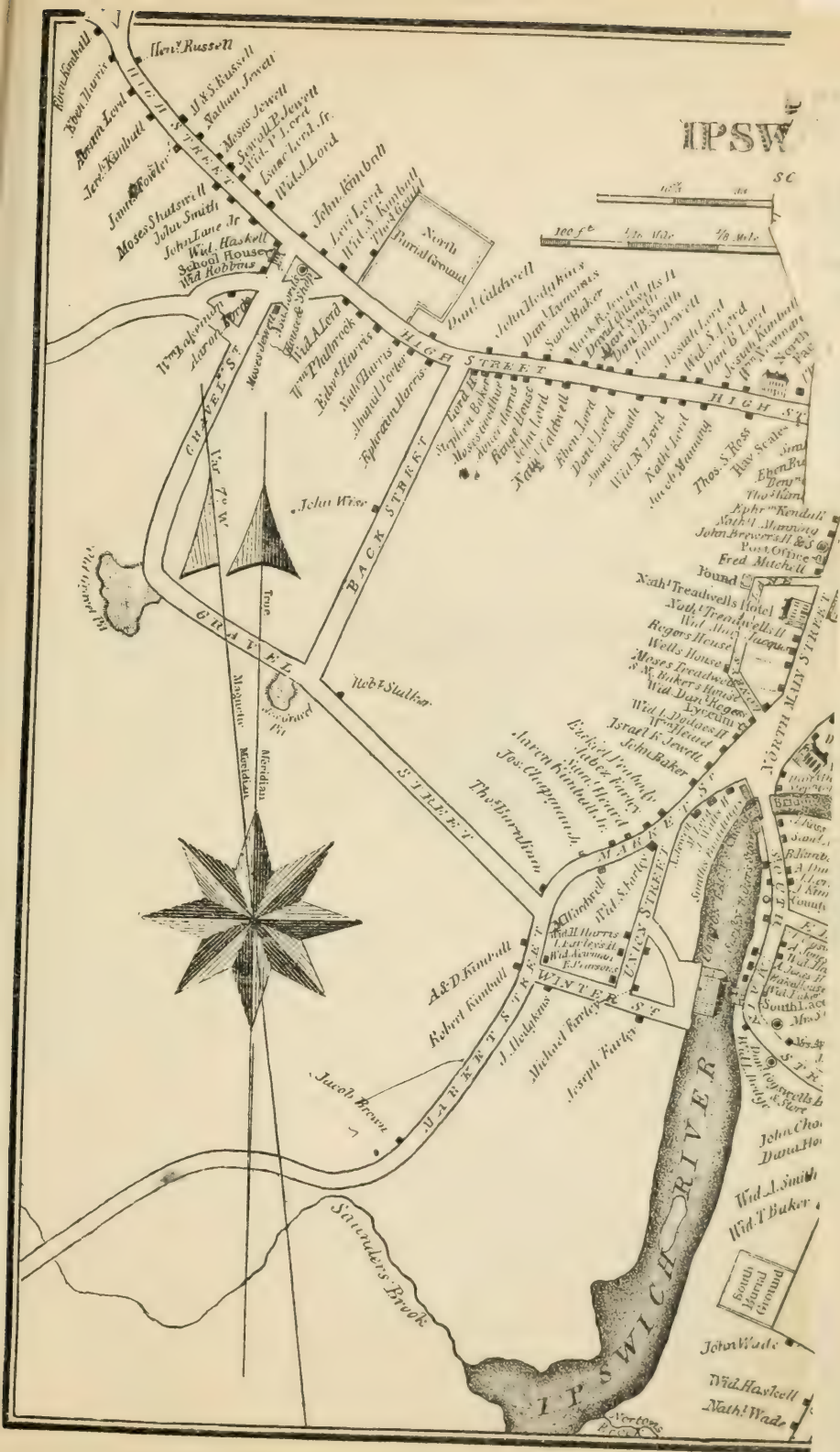
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in the mills and three fourths of the dwelling to Mary Farley, and the other half to John Baker 3d, July 20, 1820 (224: 73). Mrs. Farley and Mr. Baker conveyed the same to George W. Heard on the same day (231: 115). Mr. Heard sold to his brother Augustine, Dec. 1, 1824, and Augustine conveyed two thirds of the mill property to the Ipswich Manufacturing Co., Dec. 22, 1837 (302: 205). It was held by the Manufacturing Co. through various vicissitudes, and was sold by the Ipswich Mills to Frederick Damon, May 25, 1870 (988: 85), and his heirs still own. The larger saw mill was destroyed in part by fire some years since and has now been entirely removed.

The "Island" is not recognized as such, as the stone-bridge built in 1860 connected it with the main land, but its boundaries may be discovered by examination of the locality.

Capt. Ammi Ruhami Wise, who owned the lot now covered in part by the Meeting House of the South Church, and a lot on the other side, was engaged in trading operations and owned sailing vessels. "For the security and safe laying of his vessell more especially in the Winter season," he received a grant of "some of the flats at the westernmost part of the Great Cove, whereon he will build a wharf for the said purpose, of the same breadth with the front of his close next the said Cove." He built his wharf and buildings. This wharf and lot passed from owner to owner, as the house lot was sold again and again, to Samuel Swasey, Capt. Gideon Parker, a shipwright, George Stacey, Joseph Wells, Solomon Giddings Jr., and Col. Isaac Dodge. It was sold to Col. Dodge in 1785, and was then called the "ship yard" lot, measuring sixteen rods. The ship building industry is remembered well into the nineteenth century. It came to Thomas Burnham, and to Augustine Heard, who sold Mr. Cushing his spacious estate and the "ship yard" was included in it.

PLAN OF IPSWICH VILLAGE.

95 Rods to an Inch



APPENDIX A.

A SUMMARY OF THE NAMES OF THE FIRST SETTLERS FROM 1633 TO
1649 WITH THE YEAR, WHEN THE NAME OCCURS FOR THE
FIRST TIME IN THE TOWN RECORDS.

This indicates only approximately the date of their coming as, in many cases, the record of a land grant was made some time after the grant was made.

Adams William	1641	Boswell Nathaniel	1643
Adams William Jr	1648	Bosworth Haniel	1648
Andrews John Sr.	1634	Brabrook Richard	1643
Andrews John Jr.	1648	Bradley Daniel	1643
Andrews Robert	1635	Bradstreet Humphrey	1635
Annyball John	1641	Bradstreet Mr. Simon	1636
Appleton Samuel	1637	Bragg Edward	1642
Appleton John	1648	Brewer Thomas	1639
Archer Henry	1638	Brey Mr. Thomas	1635
Ayers John	1643	Bridges Edmund	1641
Avery William	1637	Browne Edward	1637
		Brown John	1640
Bachelor Mr. Henry	1639	Brown Richard	1638
Baker Mr. John	1638	(now of Newbury)	
Bartholomew Mr. William	1635	Bucklye William	1648
Beacham Robert	1641	Burley Giles	1648
Belcher Jeremy	1639	Burnham John	1639
Berry Thomas	1641	Burnham Thomas	1643
Betgood Richard	1641	Button Matthias	1639
Betts Richard	1646		
Biggs John	1633	Cacham Edward	1638
Bigsby Joseph	1648	Cacham John	1647
Bird Jathnie	1641	Carr George	before 1634
Bird Thomas	1639	Carthane Edward	1637
Bisgood Richard	1641	Cartwright Michael	1637
Bishop Job	1648	Castell Robert	1639
Bishop Nathaniel	1637	Challis Philip	1637
Bishop Thomas	1637	Chapman Edward	1643
Boreman Samuel	1639	Chesson Roger	1641
Boreman Thomas	1635	Chote John	1648

Chute James	1646	Fawn Mr. John	1631
Chute Lionel	1639	Fellows William	1639
Clark Daniel	1634	Filbrick Robert	1639
Clark John	1648	Firman Mr. Giles	1638
Clerk Mr. William	1633	Firman Mr. Thomas	1635
Clarke Matthew	1648	Foster Abraham	1643
Clark Thomas	1634	Foster Reginald	1635
Clark Thomas Jr.	1648	Foster Mr. William	1635
Cogswell Mr. John	1635	Fowler Joseph	1647
Cogswell William	1647	Fowler Philip	1634
Colborne Robert	1648	Franklin William	1634
Coleby Anthony	1637	French Edward	1637
Coles Robert	1633	French Thomas	1635
Cookes Richard	1648	Fuller John	1648
Cooley John	1638	Fuller William	1635
Covington John	1635		
Cominges Isaac	1637	Gage John	1633
Crane Robert	1638	Gardiner Edmund	1636
Cross John	1635	Giddings George	1635
Cross Robert	1635	Gilbert Humphrey	1643
Carrin Matthias	1634	Gilman Edward	1648
		Gilven Thomas	1639
Dane Francis	1641	Goodhue William	1635
Dane John	1635	Granger Lanslot	1648
Dane John Jr.	1641	Graves Robert	1637
Davis John	1641	Gray Robert	1646
Day Robert	1641	Green Henry	1642
Denison Mr. Daniel	1635	Green Thomas	1648
Denison John	1647	Greenfield Samuel	1638
Dillingham Mr. John	1634	Griffin Humphrey	1641
Dix Ralph	1643	Gutterson William	1647
Dix widow	1637		
Dorman	1634		
Douglass William	1641	Hadley George	1639
Dudley Mr. Samuel	1635	Haffield Richard	1635
Dudley Thomas Esq.	1635	Hall Samuel	1636
Dutch Robert	1648	Hanchett John	1638
		Hardy Thomas	1633
Easton Mr. Nicholas	1634	Harris Antony	1648
Eliot —	1634	Harris Thomas	1643
Emerson John	1648	Harte Thomas	1639
Emerson Joseph	1648	Hassell John	1635
Emerson Thomas	1638	Hayes Robert	1635
English William	1637	Heard Luke — inventory	1647
Epps Mr. Daniel	1647	Heifer Samuel	1648
		Hodges Andrew	1639
Farrar or		Holdred William	1637
Farrow George	1643		

Horton Barnabas	1641	Lovell Thomas	1647
Hovey Daniel	1637	Low Thomas	1641
Howe Abram	1648	Lumas Edward	1641
Howe James	1646	Lumkin Richard	1637
Howlett John	1644		
Howlett Thomas	1633	Manning John	1634
Hoyt John	1641	Manning Susan	1638
Hubbard Mr. William	1635	Manning Thomas	1638
Hucklyes Richard	1639	Medcalfe Joseph	1634
Huttley Richard	1641	Meriell John	1636
		Miller William	1643
Ingalls John	1648	Moody William	1634
		Morse John	1645
Jacob Richard	1635	Morse Joseph	1637
Jackson John	1635	Mussey John	1634
Jeffrey William ¹		Mussey Robert	1634
Johnson John	1637		
Jordan Francis	1634	Ned the Indian	1646
Jordaine Stephen	1636	Newlande Jeremy	1643
		Newman John	1647
Kent Richard	1634	Newman Thomas	1638
Ketcham Edward	1639	Newmarsh John	1648
Kimball Henry	1649	Nichols Richard	1648
Kimball Richard	1636	North John	1637
Kimball Richard Jr.	1647	Norton Rev. John	1637
Kingsbery Henry	1638	Norton Mr. William	1648
Kinsman Robert	1635		
Kinsman Robert Jr.	1648	Osgood Christopher	1634
Knight Alexander	1635		
Knight Mr. William	1638	Parker Rev. Thomas	1634
Knowlton John	1639	Payne Mr. Robert	1649
Knowlton Thomas	1642	Payne Mr. William	1638
Knowlton William	1641	Pearpoint James	1646
		Pebody Francis	1636
Ladd Daniel	1637	Pendar John	1648
Lamson William	1637	Pengry Aaron	1641
Lancton Roger	1635	Pengry Moses	1641
Langton Joseph	1648	Perkins Isaac	1637
Layton John	1643	Perkins Jacob	1648
Leach Ambrose	1642	Perkins John the elder	1634
Lee John	1640	Perkins John Jr.	before 1634
Long Philip	1648	Perkins Thomas	1643
Long Samuel	1648	Perkins William	1633
Lord Robert	1636	Perley Allen	1637
Lord widow Katherine	1641	Perry Thomas	1642

¹ Jeffrey gained possession of Jeffries Neck, before 1633, probably.

Pettis John	1641	Silver Thomas	1637
Pitney James	1639	Simons ———	1636
Podd Samuel	1641	Simmes William	1647
Potter Antony	1648	Sknelling Jafery	1645
Preston Roger	1639	Smith George	1648
Pritchett William	1641	Smith Richard	1645
Proctor John	1635	Smith Robert	1648
Purrier William	1638	Smith Thomas	1638
Pyke Mr.	1637	Spencer Mr. John	1634
Pyndar Henry	1641	Stace ———	1637
		Stace Thomas	1646
Quilter Mark	1637	Stone Nathaniel	1648
		Story Andrew	1635
Reading Joseph	1639	Story William	1642
Ringe Daniel	1648	Swinden William	1637
Roberds Robert	1643	Symmons William	1635
Robinson John	1635	Symonds Mark	before 1634
Rogers Rev. Nathaniel	1637	Symonds Mr. Samuel	1638
Rolison Thomas	1637		
Rolison Thomas Jr.	1648	Taylor Samuel	1648
Rosse Daniel	1648	Thorndike Mr. John	1633
Rosse Ezra	1648	Thornton John	1639
		Tingley Palmer	1639
Safford Thomas	1641	Tompson Symon	1636
Saltonstall Mr. Richard	1635	Tredwell Edward	1637
Saltor Theophilus	1648	Tredwell Thomas	1638
Satchwell John	1633	Tuttle Mr. John	1637
Sachwell Theophilus	1639	Tuttle Simon	1648
Saunders John	1635		
Sawyer Edmund	1636	Varnham George	1635
Sayward Edmund	1635	Varneham Ralph	1639
Schofield Richard	1641	Vincent Humphrey	1637
Scott ———	1634		
Scott Robert	1636	Wade Mr. Jonathan	1635
Scott Thomas	1635	Wainwright Francis	1639
Scott Thomas Jr	1648	Walderne Edward	1648
Seaborn John	1636	Walker Henry	1642
Sellan Thomas	1633	Wallis Robert	1638
Severance John	1636	Waltz Robert	1639
Sergeant William	1633	Ward John, surgeon	1648
Sewall Mr. Henry	1634	Ward Rev. Nathaniel	1634
Sherratt Hugh	1635	Wardall Thomas	1648
Shorman Samuel	1636	Warner John	1637
Shorte Anthony	1634	Warner William	1637
Short Henry	1634	Warr Abraham	1648
Silsby Henry	1647	Wattles Richard	1637

Webster John	1634	Wilkinson Henry	1635
Wedgwood John	1637	Williamson Paul	1635
Wells Thomas	1635	Williamson Michael	1637
West John	1649	Wilson Theophilus	1636
Whipple Mr. John	1638	Willson Mr. William	1649
Whipple John Jr.	1648	Winthrop Mr. John Jr.	1633
Whipple Mr. Matthew	1638	Wood Daniel	1643
White William	1634	Wood Obadiah	1649
Whitman Robert	1648	Woodam John	1647
Whitred William	1638	Woodmansy Mr. Robert ¹	1635
Whittingham Mr. John ¹	1637	Wyatt John	1635
Whityear John	1635	Wyeth Mr. Humphrey	1635
Wilds John	1643		
Wildes William	1635	Younglove Samuel	1635

¹ Robert Woodmansey, schoolmaster, of Boston, sold his farm to Thomas Bishop in 1655.

APPENDIX B.

SOME EARLY INVENTORIES, WHICH GIVE AN INTERESTING GLIMPSE OF THE
HOUSEHOLD GOODS AND PERSONAL EFFECTS IN SOME SEVENTEENTH
CENTURY HOMES. IN SOME CASES PORTIONS ONLY ARE
GIVEN. THE FULL DOCUMENTS MAY BE FOUND IN
THE RECORDS OF THE COUNTY.

The Inventory of Richard Lumpkin, an innkeeper, presented on the
23d of November, 1642 (Ipswich Deeds 1: 7)

IN THE HALL.

It	One large table, one stoole, two formes	0 - 15 - 0
	Three chaers and six cushions	4 - 0
	In bookes	2 - 10 - 0
It	One pair of cob-irons, one fire pan one gridiron, and two paire of trammels and one paire of bellows	10 - 0
It.	one muskett, one fowling piece	1 - 10 - 0

IN THE PARLOR.

	one table with six joined stools	1 - 5 - 0
It.	three chairs and eight cushions	14 - 0
	one bedstead, one trundle bed and curtins	1 - 10 - 0
	one paire cob-irons one fire pan	4 - 6
	one chest	4 - 0
It.	one fether bed, two bowlsters two pillows, two flock beds, five blanketts one rugg one coverlett one warming pan with other implements	8 - 0 - 0 6 - 0

IN THE CHAMBER OVER THE PARLOR

	one bedstead, one trundlebed	10 - 0
	two flock bedds, one fether bed, one fether bolster, four blanketts, two pillows two coverletts	4 - 0 - 0
	four chests, two boxes	1 - 5 - 0
	one table	3 - 0
	one corslet	1 - 10 - 0
	one fether bed tike	1 - 10 - 0

IN THE LEANTO

seven brass kettles, one iron kettle	4 - 10 - 0
one small copper	1 - 0 - 0
one iron pott, four posnetts, with other implements	1 - 0 - 0
Ten pewter dishes, etc.	2 - 0 - 0
In plate	4 - 0 - 0

The Inventory of Lionel Chute, school-master, presented June 25, 1645 (Ipswich Deeds 1: 15).

40 bushels wheate	7 - 6 - 8
8 bushels rie	1 - 6 - 0
40 " Indian corn	5 - 15 - 0
1 casting nett	13 - 4
3 pair of bootes and 4 pair of shoes	1 - 10 - 0
hemp drest and undrest	1 - 4 - 0
2 bushels of mault	8 - 0
12 sacks and bags	1 - 10 - 0
8 yards of linsy wolsy	16 - 8
a halbert	6 - 8
2 haire lines and 3 sives	4 - 6
6 hogshheads	8 - 0
1 rope	5 - 0
3 chests and 3 boxes	1 - 2 - 0
fether bed and bolster	3 - 10 - 0
5 fether pillows	1 - 5 - 0
1 flock bed and 1 flock pillow	13 - 4
1 pair blanketts	9 - 0
2 coverletts and an old rugg	2 - 0 - 0
1 old paire of curtains and rodds	10 - 0
bedstead, matt and cord	14 - 0
2 flock beds and 2 flock bouldsters	1 - 0 - 0
fether pillow	5 - 0
1 paire of blanketts and 1 coverlett	1 - 0 - 0
bedstead and line	4 - 0
4 yards of yard wide tyking	16 - 0
12 paire of sheets	10 - 0 - 0
6 pilllow beers	1 - 0 - 0
4 table cloths	1 - 10 - 0
1 dozen of napkins	12 - 0
5 towels and 1 yard kerchiefe	10 - 0
1 short course table cloth	1 - 6
shirts	10 - 0
his wearing apparell	12 - 0 - 0
books, parchments and other things in a chest	2 - 0 - 0

3 yards of holland	7 - 0
1 old damakell coverlet	5 - 0
pewter dishes, small and great, 14 salts }	
sausers, porringers 11 one ale pot }	2 - 0 - 0
dozen aleamy spoons	3 - 4
2 great kettles, 2 small kettles }	
and 1 brass pan }	3 - 0 - 0
4 skillets, 1 scimmer, and a ladle	6 - 0
2 iron pots, old ones	8 - 0
frying pans	4 - 0
1 trevitt, 2 paire of cob irons, tongs and }	
fire pan, 2 trammells, 2 pr. of }	1 - 12 - 0
pott hookes, 1 spit	
1 silver spoone	6 - 0
1 bible and other books in ye hall	1 - 0 - 0
1 great boarded chest	10 - 0
3 chairs and other lumber	6 - 0
2 pewter candlesticks, 1 pewter bottle	8 - 0
1 powdering tubb, 2 beere vessells, 1 cowle	8 - 0

John Satchwell in his will, Feb. 11, 1646 (Ips. Deeds 1: 22), bequeathed to his brother Theophilus, "my best cloth sute and coate," to his brother Curwin, "my stuff sute," to his sister Webster, "about seven yards of stuff to make her a sute."

The inventory mentions

guns and swords	5 - 12 - 0
a swarme of bees	1 - 0 - 0
a sett of [bed] curtains	1 - 0 - 0
curtaines, valance and carpit	2 - 5 - 0

Matthew Whipple, in his will (Ips. Deeds 1: 28) mentions his brother, John, and children, John, Joseph, Matthew, Mary, Anna, Elizabeth. He owned the corner, on which Miss Sarah P. Caldwell's house stands.

Inventory, presented November 24, 1646.

IN THE HALL.

Imprimis. 3 musketts, 3 pr. bandaleers, 3 swords,	
2 rests	3 - 0 - 0
Item one fowling piece	1 - 0 - 0
" a costlett, pike and sword	1 - 0 - 0
" 1 rapier	5 - 0
" 1 halberd, 1 bill	4 - 0
" 3 brass pots, weighing 68 lb. at 9d.	2 - 11 - 0
" 1 old brass pott	2 - 6
" 5 kettles, and a pot-lid waying 58lb. a 16d.	3 - 17 - 4
" 1 copper waying 40 lb.	2 - 0 - 0

Item	5 possnetts	12 - 0
"	85 pieces of pewter, 147 lb. a 16d.	9 - 16 - 0
"	4 pewter candlesticks	10 - 0
"	2 pewter salts	5 - 0
"	2 pewter pots, 1 cup and a bottle	4 - 6
"	1 pewter flagon	7 - 0
"	21 brasse alchemie spoons at 4s of the spoone	4 - 4 - 0
"	9 pewter spoons at 18d per dozen	1 - 0
"	5 chaffing dishes and a skimmer	14 - 0
"	7 pieces of latten	7 - 0
"	2 pr. of cob-irons, 1 fire pan, 2 pr. tongs }	
	1 fire fork and 1 fire iron, 58lb. @ 4d }	19 - 4
"	4 spitts weighing 20 lb. @ 6d	10 - 0
"	2 warming pans	14 - 0
"	2 iron dripping pans	6 - 0
"	1 silver bowl and 2 silver spoons	3 - 3 - 0
"	1 pr. cob irons with brasses	6 - 0
"	29 books	4 - 8 - 6
"	6 dozen trenchers	3 - 0
"	4 trayes and a platter	5 - 0
"	3 jugs	3 - 6
"	1 earthen salt, 1 pan, 3 pots	3 - 0
"	3 cheese mootes and 2 cheese breads	3 - 0
"	1 cowle, 1 paile, 2 bowls and 4 dishes	5 - 6
"	2 firkins, 1 chirne	4 - 0
"	2 frying pans and a trevitt	11 - 8
"	2 bottles and 2 jacks	4 - 0
"	1 pr. bellows, 1 gridiron, 1 pair sheeres, }	
	and 1 smoothing iron with one heater }	6 - 0
"	2 keelers	4 - 0
"	2 formes, 1 dresser, 2 chaires, }	
	1 long boarded chest }	11 - 6

IN THE PARLOR

Imprimis.	1 joyned table, 3 chests	1 - 12 - 0
Item	1 chest with glasse	2 - 0 - 0
"	1 pair of cob-irons, with fire pan and tongs	12 - 0
"	1 clock	1 - 0 - 0
"	4 chest locks and 4 box locks and 6 pr. of joints	7 - 6
"	1 stainell bearing cloth	1 - 0 - 0
"	1 baies " "	8 - 0
"	2 cloaks	3 - 0 - 0
"	1 old coate	10 - 0
"	1 sute	1 - 0 - 0
"	1 dublett and jackett	1 - 4 - 0
"	1 leather sute	1 - 6 - 8

Item	1 leather dublett	14 - 0
"	2 hatts 0-7-0 2 pr gloves 2 ^s 4 ^d 2pr stockings 4s	13 - 4
"	1 diaper table cloth and 2 dozen diaper napkins	2 - 6 - 8
"	2 table cloth 1-0-0 1 little table cloth 7 - 6	1 - 7 - 6
"	1 laced cubbord cloth and 1 fringed	8 - 0
"	1 " " "	6 - 0
"	4 towells	6 - 0
"	4 remnants of holland and sack cloth	12 - 6
"	1 silke girdle	2 - 6
"	1 feather bed, 1 bolster, 9 pillows waying 106 lb. a 22d	5 - 6 - 0

IN THE CHAMBER OVER THE PARLOR.

Imp.	3 flock beds and 3 bolsters	4 - 6 - 0
It	1 rugg	1 - 0 - 0
"	1 pair of curtins and vallence	1 - 5 - 0
"	1 cupboard cloth	4 - 0
"	4 cushens	3 - 0
"	1 pair curtins	12 - 0
"	7 children blankets	7 - 0
"	1 pillion cloth and foot stool	6 - 8
"	3 old axes, 6 pitch forks, 1 iron peelee with other implements	1 - 0 - 0
"	2 linen wheels and 1 cotton wheele and a basket	9 - 0
	1 seller with glasses	5 - 0
	dwelling house, barn and four acres of land	36 - 0 - 0

The inventory of Michael Carthrick (Ips. Deeds 1: 32), presented January 25, 1646-7, mentions

1 great cubberd	1 - 0 - 0
a great bible psalm booke and another book	10 - 0
a looking glass and half hour glass	2 - 6
2000 of nails	10 - 0
a lanthorne 2 beer vessels and beerestall	6 - 0
house, barn etc.	20 - 0 - 0

John Godfrey's testimony (Ips. Deeds 1: 38.)

I doe testifie that Mr. Easton had in his hands a sute of cloth of Mr. Spencer's, a piece of damson colored cloth, which I knew it to be Mr. Spencer's, which Mr. Easton sold to Mr. Jeffry. I kept 12 of Mr. Easton's calves all a summer when I was Mr. Spencer's servant.

Jo + Godfrey's mark
March 28, 1648.

I doe testifie that Mr. Nicholas Easton did receive of Mr. Spencer's goods at Ipswich, two whole peeces of cloth, one grass greene colour and the

other damson colour and two whole buff skins, worth five pounds per skin, a buff sute, a new hollan quilt, curtains and vallence for a bed, a covering for a bed, greene hangings for a room, 3 woolen blankets. These things I can testify Mr. Easton had of Mr. Spencer's (Ips. Deeds 1: 38).

(Mrs.) Margaret Gardiner
28 March 1648.

Robert Mussey, in his will, made Jan. 5, 1642 (Ips. Deeds 1: 40), bequeathed his wife, "the house and house lott that lies in the west street, neer joyning to the house of John Dane, the elder," during her life, also a mortar, a bell-mettle skillett, one iron pott and pott hangers, a coltrell or trammell;

to his oldest son, Joseph,

his farm near Egypt River, reserving a piece of land called the Cow leas; to his daughter Mary,

the house, "my best bible, a great brasse pan to be reserved for her until she comes of yeares" "the broad box with all her mother's wearing linen;"

to his son

"my handsaw, a long saw, also I give unto him the practice of piety, also I give unto him my little hammer, also my pesterill shot mould, also Mr. Preston's works, 2 S bullet moulds, my horse booke, my physike book;" to daughter Mary,

Mr. Donnham's works, and Mr. Dod's works, the second best gowne and a green wast cote.

John Whittingham bequeathed landed estate in the parish of Souther-ton, near Boston in Lincolnshire (Ips. Deeds 1: 49). His inventory, pre-sented Dec. 25, 1648.

IN THE PARLOR.

1 joyne table, with 5 chairs and 1 ould carpet	10 - 0
fetherbed, flock bed, 2 bolsters, 1 pillow, 1pr. blanketts, 1 rugg, curtains and valients and bedstead	12 - 0 - 0
1 cupboard and cloth	10 - 0
2 pr cob irons	15 - 0
2 window curtains and curtain rodd	6 - 0
1 case of bottles	5 - 0
bookes	6 - 5 - 0
11 cushions	1 - 10 - 0
1 still	5 - 0

IN THE KITCHEN.

1 copper	3 - 10 - 0
2 muskets, 2 fowling pieces	2 - 10 - 0
1 table, 1 dresser, 3 tubbs and 2 forms	1 - 1 - 0

IN THE CHAMBER OVER THE PARLOR.

(quoted in full on Page 30.)

Sarah Baker's inventory, Sept. 1651 (Ips. Deeds 1: 115) includes

a black stuff gowne	1 - 0 - 0
a stufte petty coate	6 - 0
a cloth waste coate	8 - 0
a mohair petty coat	1 - 0 - 0
2 red pretty coates and 2 wast coates	1 - 0 - 0

The widow, Jane Kenning, in her will, 1653 (Ips. Deeds 1: 141) bequeathed to her sisters, Elizabeth, wife of Theophilus Wilson, and Margery, wife of John Knowlton.

The inventory, presented March 3, 1653, mentions

her serge gowne	2 - 0 - 0
her cloath gowne	2 - 5 - 0
her red petticoat with two laces	1 - 0 - 0

The will of Rev. Nathaniel Rogers from his own mouth, July 3d, 1655 (original on file in Probate Office). "The summe of my estate both in Old England and New seems to be about y^e value of twelve hundred pounds of which summe four hundred pounds is expected from my father, Mr. Robert Crane, in England."

"To Mary Quilter, my maidservant	£3
"To Sarah Fillybrowne, my other maid servant	10s
"To Harvard College	£5
"To ye poore	£3

Inventory, taken 16 August 1655.

IN THE HALL

a round table with 5 joined stools	16 - 0
6 chairs and five cushions	1 - 0 - 0
a trunke, chest and hanging cupboard	1 - 1 - 0
2 spanish platters	5 - 0
a small cisterne with other implements	17 - 0
a corslet, musket and fowling piece	3 - 0 - 0
pr. of cob irons and tongs	17 - 0

IN THE PARLOR

a short table and a forme	19 - 0
6 cushion stooles and 2 chairs	2 - 0 - 0
a livery cupboard	15 - 0

featherbed, bolster, 2 down pillows,	
coverlet, blanket, canopy bed	6 - 18 - 0
a great chaire	6 - 0
2 pictures	2 - 0 - 0
a clock and other implements	3 - 0 - 0
a pr. of cob irons, fire pan and tongs	13 - 0
2 window curtains and rods	10 - 0
a carpet, cupboard cloth, and round table	1 - 5 - 0
a treble viol	10 - 0

IN THE KITCHEN.

2 pudding pans, stewing pan and	
dripping pan	5 - 0
pewter 153½lb. @ 16d.	10 - 04 - 08
a jacke, pot-hooke and other implements	1 - 0 - 0
gally basin	

IN THE CHAMBER.

Bed, bolster, down pillows etc.	14 - 10 - 0
2 window cushions	1 - 0 - 0
a perpetuanny coverlet	1 - 05 - 0
a carpet, 2 window curtains and rods	16 - 0
a gilt looking glass	6 - 08
a childing wicker basket	3 - 0
a table basket	2 - 0
andirons	
a suit of diaper table linen	4 - 0 - 0
another suit of diaper table linen	2 - 15 - 0
a diaper cupboard cloth	1 - 05 - 0
2 pr of holland sheets	3 - 10 - 0
5 fine pillow beeres	1 - 15 - 0
2 cupboard cloths and a pr. of sheets	1 - 13 - 0
23 napkins	1 - 06 - 0
a diaper cupboard cloth	10 - 0
goods out of England	21 - 06 - 08
3 pr stockings	1 - 1 - 0

IN HALL CHAMBER.

bedstead and cord	
a yellow rugge	2 - 0 - 0
in English goods	16 - 0 - 0
a couch and an old coverlet	7 - 0
in plate	35 - 18 - 0
a watch	4 - 0 - 0
one chest with a drawer	16 - 0
6 yards of sattenistoe?	1 - 0 - 0

IN YE GARRET OVER YE PARLOUR.

1 bedstead, cord, bed, bolster, 2 old rugs	4 - 2 - 0
1 chaire	1 - 2

IN YE STUDY.

his library	100 - 0 - 0
a cabinet, deske and 2 chaires	1 - 5 - 0
a pair of creepers and pr of tongs	2 - 06
ye dwelling house barne Orchard and 24 acres in Common field	200 - 0 - 0

APPENDIX C.

LETTERS OF REV. NATHANIEL WARD.

(1)

NATHANIEL WARD TO JOHN WINTHROP JR.¹

(The letter begins with remarks about Mr. Hall.)

“Our towne of late, but somewhat too late, haue bene carefull on whome they bestowe lotts, being awakned therto by the confluence of many ill & doubtfull persons, & by their behaviour since they came, in drinking & pilferinge: I pray, if you speake with Mr. Hall, advise him to suffer no priuate drinking in his howse, wherein I heare lately he hath bene to blame. The reasons which moue our freemen to be very considerate in disposall of lotts & admission of people to vs are thes: ffirst, we conceiue the lesse of Satan’s kingdome we haue in our towne, the more of God’s presence & blessinge we may expect.

2 ly. we haue respect to the credit of our Church & towne, from which we heare there are too many vniust detractions in the bay, to serue their owne ends. 3 ly. we consider our towne as a by or port towne of the land remote from neighbours, & had neede to be strong & of a homogeneous spirit & people, as free from dangerous persons as we may. Lastly, our thoughts & feares growe very sadd to see such multitudes of idle & profane young men, servants & others, with whome we must leave our children, for whose sak & safty we came over, & who came with vs from the land of their nativity, their freinds & many other comforts, which their birthright intituled them to, relying vpon our loue, wisdom & care, to repay them all in this wildernes either in specie or compensations; but I must confesse it sinks vs almost to the graue to looke vpon the next generation, to whome we must leaue them & the fruite of our adventures, labours & counsellis; we knowe this might haue bene easily prevented by due & tymely care of such as had the opportunity in their hand, & if it be not yet remedied, we & many others must not only say with grief, we haue made an ill change, even from the snare to the pitt, but must meditate some safer refuge, if God will afford it; but I hope he will cause light to shine out of darkness & glorifie his strenght in the weaknes of men; & do that which seemes to be past all doing. We haue our eyes vpon you

¹ Mass. Hist. Coll., Fourth Series, vol. vii.

magistrats, to helpe vs; & now, good Sir, giue me leaue with patience to tell you, as I did before you went to England, that your absence hath bredd vs much sorrowe, & your still going from vs to Connecticote doth much discourage vs. I feare your tye or obligation to this state, & in speciall to this towne, is more than you did well consider when you ingaged your self another way; & I feare your indeauors that way will not be *operare ac spei pretium*. I am in a dreame, att least not awake, if it be the way of God for so many to desert this place, turning their backs upon vs, & to seeke the good of their cattell more then of comth & my thoughts are that God doth iustly rebuke our state by the losse of so many men, vessells & victualls, in a tyme of dearthe, for their facility in giving way to their departure; for your part we looke & long for you here, & are in a misery for the want of you. The Lord bring you in his season, & in the meane tyme afford you his presence & blessinge whereuer you are: & so I rest

Your worships in all truth

of loue

NATH^L WARDE

Ipswich, Dec. 24.

I forgett not my due respect to your father, mother & wife.

I heare Mr. Coddington hath the sale & disposall of much provision come in this shipp. I intreate you to do so much as to speake to him in my name to reserve some meale & malt & what victualls els he thinks meete, till our Riuer be open; our Church will pay him duely for it. I am very destitute, I haue not above six bushells corne left & other things answerable.

(2)

NATHANIEL WARD TO JOHN WINTHROP.¹

To our much honoured Governor att Boston.

Sir:—

I thanke you very much for your loue and liberality by Mr. Rawson, you sent me more then I desired. I haue 2 more earnest requests to you.

1. That you would please to advise throughly with the counsell, whether it will not be of ill consequence to send the Court business to the common consideration of the freemen. I feare it will too much exauctorate the power of that Court to prostrate matters in that manner. I suspect both Commonwealth & Churches haue disceded to lowe already; I see the spirits of people runne high & what they gett they hould. They may not be denyed their proper & lawfull liberties, but I question whether it be of God to interest the inferiour sort in that which should be reserued *inter optimates penes quos est sancire leges*. If Mr. Lachford haue writt them out, I would be glad to peruse one of his copies, if I may receiue them.

The other is that you would not passe your promise, nor giue any

¹ Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll., Fourth Series, vol. vii.

incouragment concerning any plantation att Quichichacke, or Penticutt,¹ till myself & some others either speake or write to you about it, which shalbe done so soone as our counsilles & contrivalls are ripened. In too much hast, I comitt you & Your affaires to the guidance of God, in whom I rest.

Your worships in all Christian service

NATHL. WARDE.

There is a necessity that the Covenant, if it be agreed vpon, should be considered & celebrated by the seuerall congregations & townes, & happily the [.....] but I dare not determyne concerning the latter. I meane of putting it to the suffrage of the people.

(3)

NATHANIEL WARD TO JOHN WINTHROP²

To the Worshipfull our Gouvernour att Boston.

Sir:—

We are bold to continue our suite concerning the plantation I lately mentioned to you; our company increases apace from diuers townes, of very desirable men, whereof we desire to be very choise: this next weeke, if God hinder vs not, we purpose to view the places & forthwith to resort to you, & in the meane tyme we craue your secrecy & rest

Your Worships

NA: WARDE

We haue alreddy more than 20 families of very good Christians, purposed to goe with vs, if God will, & we heare of more.

Our neighbour townes are much greiued to see the lauish liberality of the Court in giving away the Countrye. Some honest men of our towne affirme that in their knowledge there are 68 townes in England, within as litle compasse as the bounds of Ipswich; I knowe neere 40—where I dwelt—Rowley is larger than Ipswich, 9 or 10 miles longe, & will haue other plantations within it, tributaries to it, & intend as we heare, to stretch their wings much farther yet, & will spoile Qutchicquite vtterly, if not Pentucket. We earnestly pray you to prevent it. We shuld incourage many

¹ The editor of the Historical Society Publications assigns this letter to 1639. "The brief reference to "Quichichacke" and "Penticutt", subsequently Andover and Haver was explained four days after in a letter from Giles Firmin, the son-in-law of Ward, then living at Ipswich, to Gov. Winthrop, giving full particulars respecting their plans for a new settlement and craving the privilege of selecting either of the two places named above, so soon as the season would permit an examination of them. This informal application was followed May 13, 1640, as we learn from our Colony Records, by a petition from Ward and others to the Government, asking permission to begin a new plantation on the Merrimack, which resulted in the settlement of Haverhill: the Rev. John Ward, the son of of Nathaniel, being the first minister of the place."

² Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll., Fourth Series, vol. vii.

to come over, if many plantations were not spoiled by the extreame largnes of those that are already giuen. Our purpose is to haue no great bounds.¹

(4)

NATHANIEL WARD TO JOHN WINTHROP.²

Sir:—

I thanke you much for your letter & loue, & those also of the plantation for their good esteeme of mee, which I trust I shall not be backward to requite to my poore power. When I came out of the bay, matters were left thus betweene Mr. Shepheard & mee. That if there might be any subsistence there this winter, I should heare from him, speaking both with him & some of the plantation, I discerned that they thought it too difficult to adventure thither till the extremity of the winter were abated. I acknowledge I am tender & more vnfit for solitariness & hardshipp then some other, especially att this tyme, through many colds & seeds of the bay sicknesses I brought from thence yet if God & counsell cast me vpon any worke or condition I should labour not to wayue his good prouidence. I heare there is no private roome there, litle prouision, and not a woman to dresse meate or wash linnen, & the cheif of the men are like to be absent for the most parte att their own homes. I am much troubled what to doe, but vpon Mr. Shepheards letters I shall take advise, and doe what God shall direct & inable me vnto. In the mean tyme, iterating my thankfull respect to your selfe and them, craving your prayers, I rest

Your worships in all Christian services.

Ipswich 9th 26.

NATHL. WARDE.³

¹ Rowley was incorporated 4 Sept. 1639. This letter was probably written in the early part of 1640.

² Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll., Fourth Series, vol. vii.

³ Probably 1640 or 1641.

APPENDIX D.

DR. GILES FIRMIN'S LETTERS.

(1)

GYLES FIRMIN'S LETTER TO GOVERNOR WINTHROP, ABOUT HIS SETTLING.¹

Much honoured and deare Sir:

But that I thinke it needlesse (God hauing more than ordinarye fitted you for such trials) my letter might tell you with what grieffe of spirit I received the news of that sad affliction which is lately happened to your worship, by means of that unfaithful wretch; I hope God will find a shoulder to helpe you beare so great a burthen. But the little time there is allotted me to write I must spend in requesting your worships counsel and favour. My father-in-law Ward, since his sonne came over, is varey desirous that wee might sett down together, and so that he might leave us together if God should remove him from hence. Because that it cannot be accomplished in this town, is verey desirous to get mee to remove with him to a new plantation. After much perswasion used, consideringe my want of accommodation here, (the ground the town hauing given mee lying 5 miles from mee or more) and that the gaines of physick will not finde me with bread, but, besides, apprehendinge that it might bee a way to free him from some temptations, and make him more cheereful and serviceable to the country or church, have yielded to him. Herein as I desire your counsel, so I humbly request your favour, that you would be pleased to give us the libertye of choosinge a plantation; wee thinke it will be at Pentuckett, or Quichichcek, by Shawshin: So soon as the season will give us leave to goe, wee shall informe your worship which we desire: And if that, by the court of election, we cannot gather a company to beegine it, wee will let it fail. Wee desire you would not graunt any of them to any before wee have seene them. If your worship have heard any relation of the places, wee should remaine thankful to you, if you would bee pleased to counsel us to any of them. Further I would entreate for advise in this. The towne gave mee the ground (100 acres) upon this condition, that I should stay in the towne 3 yeeres, or else I could not sell it: Now my father supposes it being my first heritage (my father having none in the land) that it is more than they canne doe to hinder me thus, when as others have no business, but range from place to place, on purpose to live upon the countrey. I would entreate your counsel whether or noe I canne sell it. Further: I am strongly sett upon to stydve diuinitie, my studyes else must be lost: for physick is but a

¹ Hutchinson's Collection of Original Papers.

meene helpe. In these cases I humbly referre to your worship, as my father, for your counsel, and so in much haste with my best services presented to your worship, wishinge you a strong support in your affliction, and a good and comfortable issue, I rest

Your worships in what he canne to his power,

GILES FIRMIN¹

Ipswich, 26, 10th, 1639.

We humbly entreate your secrecye in our desires.

(2)

GILES FIRMIN TO JOHN WINTHROP.

To the Right Worshipfull & our honoured Gouvernour John Winthrop Esq. att his house in Boston dd.

Much Honoured & Dearest Sir

I can hardlye thinke of you, much less write to your worship, without some greife of spirit; I am glad yet to heare, & cannot but looke vpon it as a great power of a God to carry his creature through such a triall without discontent or frettinge against his Providence. I haue heard a conclusion gathered against these Plantations; because the Lord hath so sadlye afflicted the founders of them in their estates; that therefore it was not a way of God to forsake our Countrye & expose our selues to such temptations, as wee haue done, so long as wee might haue enioyed God in any comfortable measure in the place whence wee came; alledginge that it is scarcely knowne that any church in a way of separation, as wee are, did euer yet thrive in grace. At first hearinge the thing I was a little affected, onely when I came to consider that those who haue thus suffered in their estates, haue been no seekers of themselus, but the commonnesse of their spiritts or vnfaithfulness of seruantes, as a means, haue beene the onely cause, I haue againe gathered my thoughtes to rest, hopinge still that God will finde out a way to make your burden lighter. For the letter which your worship sent mee & for your vnderuened loue therein manifested, I humbly thanke you. Your counsell carryinge reason & your owne experience in it I cannot set light by, hauinge beene a means to calm my disquiett thoughtes, & to stopp them in their hurrye: my ffather-in-law² still holdes his owne & would yet haue mee rise from hence, my brother Ward wauers much but rather declines it, from your arguments, & some others which wee finde out together; howsoeuer, if time will giue us leaue (the Lord willinge) some of vs will veiw Pentuckett in the springe, because every one that hath seene it giue it such large commendations for a small

¹ Giles Firmin, born about 1614, was the son of Deacon Giles Firmin, who came over in the fleet with Winthrop, and was chosen Deacon of the Church in Boston in 1633. The son, who had been educated at Cambridge University, removed to Ipswich. His house lot adjoined that of his father-in-law, Rev. Nathaniel Ward near the Parsonage of the South Church. He returned to England about 1644, was ordained at the age of forty, and was settled as rector of Shalford in Essex. He was ejected from his living in 1662. He died in April, 1697.

² Rev. Nathaniel Ward.

towne; the way also thither beeing passable for a great pinnace; onely my feare is that Passattonaway liuinge there sometimes, hee will hardly be bought out with a little. My brother Ward hath beene offered the place at Marblehead, when the minister goeth away to Jefferies Creeke who is there. The message was first done to my ffather Ward who should have enformed my brother of it, but he kept it in his own breast, & did not reueale it till long after by accident hee heard of it; so that now hee fears the opportunity is slipt; diuers enticements hee hath to returne to England, but his wife is vtterlye against it; & hee is willinge, if hee might but haue any employment, to stay still. If your worship did but put in a word for him, if you thinke the place conueniente for him, your word would doe much: he did helpe at Rowlye, but because hee was not in couenant, some took offence, & hee layed it downe at my vnckles desire, & his church, who else would gladly [haue] enioyed his helpe. This letter I would desire your worship might haue safely deliuered to your sonne, containinge in it some money which I ought him. Thus still crauinge pardon for my boldnesse, with due thanks for your loue & care of mee; my due seruice being presented to you, desiringe the Lord to support your spirit vnder your affliction & to giue a fauourable issue out of it. I rest,

Your worships in any service

GILES FIRMIN.

Ipswich: 12th of the 12th 1639.¹

(3)

GILES FIRMIN TO JOHN WINTHROP.¹

To the right Worshipful & our honoured Gouvernour, John Winthrop Esq. at his house in Boston.

Right worshipfull honoured & deare Sir—

I receiued your louing letter with many & heartye thanks for your remembrance of mee; it is no small comfort to mee that I haue a roome in your thoughtes, & that my welfare should bee so much desired & regarded by you as your letter intimates. For the corne which your worship haue procured mee, I am sorry I should put you to trouble, but humbly thankfull that you will doe it & that you haue answered my bold request; what price it carry your worship mention not, yet I suppose it will bee as cheape as any. I thanke the Lord I haue louinge freinds who doe supply my necessitie, & doe send in beyond my thoughtes. For your counsell about removinge into the Bay, I doe not sett light by it, consideringe from whom it came, hauinge a deeper reach than myselfe: onely for matter of imployment I haue as much heere as I desire & loue my plantinge more than it, onely the highest ambition of my thoughtes & desires are to bee vsefull & seruicable heere in a common way. Freinds, I haue, very louinge ones, & Mr. Rogers ministry very searchinge yet if your worship shall please to lend mee your thoughtes, I shall receiue them thankfully & view them well. Wee haue diuers very ill; & fluxes & ffueurs, I obserue, are very dangerous.

Ipswich, 15. 2: mo:

¹ Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll., Fourth Series, vol. vii.

APPENDIX E.

LETTERS OF SAMUEL SYMONDS.

(1)

SAMUEL SYMONDS TO JOHN WINTHROP JR.

To the Right Worshipfull his much honored brother John Winthrop of Ipswich, Esqr: speed this I pray.

Good Sir—

I have received your lettre, I thanke you for it, it hath bin my earnest desire to have had an oportunity longe ere this to have bene with you againe, but was hindered by the weather, and still my desire lasts, but now I cannot by reason that my wife her tyme draweth very neare. Concerninge the bargaine that I have made with you for Argilla,¹ my wife is well content, & it seemes that my father Peter² hath imparted it to the Governor, who (he tells me) approves of it very well, alsoe, soe I hope I shall now meete with noe rub in that businesse, but goe on comfortably, accordinge as I have & daily doe dispose my affaires for Ipswich. Concerninge the frame of the howse, I thanke you kindly for your love & care to further my busines. I could be well content to leave much of the contrivance to your owne liberty vpon what we have talked together about it already.

I am indiferent whether it be 30 foote or 35 foote longe; 16 or 18 foote broad. I would have wood chimnyes at each end, the frames of the chimnyes to be stronger then ordinary, to beare good heavy load of clay for security against fire. You may let the chimnyes be all the breadth of the howse if you thinke good; the 2 lower dores to be in the middle of the howse, one opposite to the other. Be sure that all the dorewaies in every place be soe high that any man may goe vpriht vnder. The staiers I thinke had best be placed close by the dore. It makes noe great matter though there be noe particion vpon the first flore; if there be, make one bigger then the other. For windowes let them not be over large in any roome, & as few as conveniently may be; let all have current shutting draw-windowes, having respect both to present & future vse. I think to make it a girt howse will make it more chargeable then neede; however,

¹ The Argilla Farm was conveyed by John Winthrop to Samuel Symonds by deed, dated 8, 12mo. 1637 (Feb. 1638 N. S.) As he alludes to the bargain as already made, and plans for the spring planting the letter was written during the winter of 1637-38.

² Rev. Hugh Peter of Salem, who married Elizabeth, widow of Edmund Reade, and mother of Martha, the second wife of Dep. Gov. Symonds.

the side bearers for the second story being to be loaden with corne, &c., must not be pinned on, but rather eyther lett in to the studds, or borne vp with false studds, & soe tenented in at the ends. I leave it to you & the carpenters.

In this story over the first, I would have a particion, whether in the middest or over the particion vnder, I leave it. In the garrett noe particion, but let there be one or two lucorne¹ windowes, if two, both on one side. I desire to have the sparrs reach downe pretty deep at the eves to preserve the walls the better from the wether. I would have it sellered all over, & soe the frame of the howse accordeingly from the bottom. I would have the howse strong in timber, though plaine & well brased. I would have it covered with very good oake-hart inch board, *for the present* to be tacked on onely for the present, as you tould me. Let the frame begin from the bottom of the seller, & soe in the ordinary way vp-right, for I can hereafter (to save the timber within ground) run vp a thin brick worke without. I thinke it best to have the walls without to be all clap boarded besides the clay walls. It were not amisse to leave a doreway or two within the seller, that soe hereafter one may make comings in from without, & let them be both vpon that side which the lucorne window or windowes be.

I desire to have the howse in your bargaineing to be as compleatly mentioned in particulers as may be, at least so far as you bargain for, & as speedily done alsoe as you can. I thinke it not best to have too much timber felled neare the howse place westward etc. Here are as many remembrances as come to minde. I desire you to be in my stead herein, & what euer you doe shall please me.

I desire you would talke with Mr. Boreman & with his helpe, buy for me a matter of 40 bushells of good Indian corne, of him or of some honest man, to be paidd for now in ready money & to be deliured at any time in the sumer, as I please to vse it. I would deale with such a man as will not repent if corne rise, as I will not if it fall. Thus acknowledging my bouldnes, I desire to present our respectfull love to you, my sister, & your little one, not forgetting my daughter. I cease, committing you to him that is mercy and wisdom itselfe & soe rest.

Yours ever,

S. SYMONDS.²

My wife desires her spetiall love to be remembered to you both, & to let you understand that she is very glad that she shalbe your neighbour at Ipswich.

I have herewith sent you inclosed 50li for yourselfe, in part of payment, as my father Peter willed me from you to doe, & twenty pounds more to be disposed in corne, & to workemen as you please; & for the payment for the rest, as you are willing to let my father Peter set downe the tyme, soe am I.

¹ luthrn.

² Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll., Fourth Series, vol. vii.

My wife and I desire to be kindly remembered to your good neighbours, Mr. Boreman & his wife & the rest of our friends. I could have wished he had written one word by Mr. Tuttell how those 3 bullocks be disposed of. Our desire now is to hasten to Ipswich as fast as we can, at least our servants. I heare that your Church hath settled the choyce of your ministers in their offices, & that now things are likely to goe on very well & comfortably, which ministers matter of great ioy to all that love Jesus Christ. And truly the peace of any Church (because pretious) is soe difficult to preserve, in respect of the subtilty & mallice of the common enemy, that it requires answerable cautelosness on all hands, every one waighing well that one sentence of the Apostle, Let every one esteeme an other better then him selfe & study the vally-way to rise to true honour.

(2)

SAMUEL SYMONDS TO JOHN WINTHROP JR.

Sir—

After I had dispatched my letters & busines to you by my fater Peter, it so came to passe that a kinde neighbour & an understandeing man came into the howse where I was, & after some discourse about imploying of servants this winter tyme, & of my particuler case about my sendeing any servants to Ipswich, I resolved to take the oportunity of my fater's barke, now at Boston, to send certaine necessarie things by it, as far as Salem, that soe by some means or other, they may be gotten to Argilla.

I have also sent Daniell and two men, to sett forward (what they can) my businesse there. They are rawe planters as yet, they want experience, but we doubt not but you will be pleased to counsell & order them in their businesses. While the hard weather last(s) I suppose that their worke wilbe to deale in wood-worke, as stubbing of trees, cleareing of grounds, &c. and as soon as any open weather come, not to omit breakeing vp of grounds for Indian corne this yeare. Its indiferent to me whether they cleare in the mowed plow ground, or in the other, onely this I take it to be best, to begin where most grownde may easliest and spediest be cleared. I would faine get as much corne growing this yeare as I can, & then seed being gotten into ground, we shall attend breaking vp & tilling of ground for next yeare. They will want direcons alsoe I feare, for their lodgings to be warme, for provideing besides Indian corne, some other cheape provision, as garden things, fish &c. Albeit I shalbe glad to find some good entrance made in my businesse against my comeing, yet if with a litle matter done, it please God that I meet them in health, I hope I shall rest well content. The Lord God prosper all our enterprises. Amen.

Vale.

Yours ever in all brotherly affeccion

S. SYMONDS.²

¹ Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll., Fourth Series, vol. VII.

² This letter was written evidently near the date of the preceding, in the early spring of 1638.

(3)

SAMUEL SYMONDS TO GOVERNOR WINTHROP, JAN. 6, 1646.¹

[The first part of this letter relates to "A Remonstrance and Petition of Robert Childs and others" which was presented to the General Court in 1646. This document arraigned the Government for refusing to allow those who held to the Church of England, to be admitted to the churches, for withholding the franchise and the privilege of holding civil office from a large proportion of the people, and for various unjust and oppressive measures. Copies of this petition had been circulated in the towns, and the peace of the Colony was sorely threatened. Childs and his associates were arrested and fined. They refused to submit to the authority of the Court, and were preparing to go to England to lay their case before Parliament. Thereupon the magistrates made a seizure of their papers and found two petitions and various queries which were to be sent to England. For this they were fined again. Winthrop says, "We could hear of but twenty-five (subscribers) to the chief petition, and those were (for the most part) either young men who came over servants and never had any show of religion in them, or fishermen of Marblehead, profane persons." It appears from the following letter that one of these petitions had been circulated in Ipswich.

In the second portion of the letter, Mr. Symonds declares "what seems to be Gods ende in bringing his people hether." It reveals a reverent and thoughtful mind, intensely interested in the well-being of the Colony, profoundly concerned for the Puritan cause in England, and a noble desire for the Christianizing of the Indians.]

Sir:

I thanke you for the intelligence you sent me before the fast day. I am sorry for the trouble you were put unto. Troubles and difficulties we must looke for (if we will reere a building to the Lord) but the encouragement exceeds when we consider the worke is his. I am informed that coppies of the petition are spreading here, and divers (specially young men and women) are taken with it, and are apt to wonder why such men should be troubled that speake as they doe; not being able suddenly to discern the poyson in the sweet wine, nor the fire wrapt up in the straw. And albeit I do conceive this towne² affords very few malignants, yet withall I doubt not but here are some active spirits for any such project once sett on foote. I am informed of the suspicious expressions here and there of some, but I shall attend full matter, and the fittest season, before I thinke meet to meddle with them. I perceive that our people here when through the cunning of some and mistake of others, any doubts concerning the publique proceedings are in minds, they are soone satisfied when they are rightly informed. Upon these and such like considerations I do desire

¹ From Hutchinson's Collection of Papers.² Ipswich.

you would hasten the sending of a copy of the courts answer to the petition and remonstrance, also of the charge of their answer thereunto, and also a reply (if any be made unto it) if none be made, then a copy of the reply to their answer in the first particular, which I suppose is with the rest in Mr. Secretaries hands. If it be not too much trouble to you I should desire now and then a few lines from you how matters proceed at the Bay. Its none of the least poynte of the petitioners policie to beare people in hand of multitudes to be of their mind: but its conceived that its a meere empty vant, for except a few (not affected to religion, and others erroneous in opinions) the people are firme.

Yours in him who ever watcheth over us

6th 11th 46.

S. S.

I had ended as you see what I intended at this tyme, but it being still in my hand I thought good to add a little more. The scope of what I would expresse is, to observe Gods providences in mans motions at this tyme seeme plainly to tend to settle his people here, and to recover new English spirit for Christs kingdome againe. The irregular departure of some causeth a deeper search of heart, wherefore God hath brought his people hither (I will briefly mention Gods ends, as I conceive them, by and by) and the plotting of others under the alluring notion of liberty, thereby to winne the opinionists and looser sort, causes the solid christians to prize the rare and rich liberty which God hath given them, and they have deerly purchased (viz: in respect of men in this their great adventure) at a very high rate. Is not government in church and common weale (according to Gods own rules) that new heaven and earth promised, in the fulnes accomplished when the Jewes come in, and the first fruites begun in this part New England, though neglected by many and opposed by some? Now to name what seemes to be Gods ende in bringing his people hether, whatever more there may be which tyme may yet discover.

1. To be an occasion to stirre up the zeale of the two nations to sett upon reformation of religion, and that with good successe.
2. To have liberty and power to sett up Gods owne ordinances in church government, and thereby to hold forth matter of conviction to the episcopacy and others that this way of church government and civill government may stand together.
3. To exercise the graces of the richer sort in a more mixt condition, they shall have the liberty of good government in their hands, yet with the abatement of their outward estates. And that the poorer sort (held under in England) should have enlargement.
4. To afford a hiding place for some of his people that stood for the truth while the nation was exercised unto blood.
5. To have an opportunity to trayne up a godly skillful soldiery, which shortly may be employed against that blasphemous citty. And to these may be added (at least a sprinkling) of godly seamen, formerly rare in the world.

6. To make this place a rendezvous for our deare English friends when they shall make their voyages to the West Indies, to dry up that Euphrates.
7. To be hopefull instruments in Gods hands to gaine these Indians to Christs kingdome. Which mercy if attained in any considerable measure will make us goe singing to our graves.

I will also mention the text preached upon at our last fast, and the propositions raised thereupon, because it was so seasonable to New Englands condition, and so prosecuted, that did you see a copy I thinke you would desire the sermon to be sett forth in print for publick advantage.

Jeremy 30: 17 For I will restore health to thee, and heale thee of thy wounds, saith the Lord: because they called thee an outcast, saying, this is Zion, whom noe man careth for.

1. Prop. That sick tymes doe passe over Zion.
2. That sad and bitter neglect is the portion and aggravation and affliction of Zion in the tyme of its sicknes and wounds, but specially in the neglect of those that doe neglect it, and yet notwithstanding doe acknowledge it to be Zion.
3. That the season of penitent Zions passion is the season of God's compassion.

This sermon tended much to the settling of godly minds here in Gods way, and to raise their spirits, and as I conceive hath sutable effects.

I think the magistrates &c may justly long for a happy conclusion of the Synod, that they may attest to the government of Christ in his Church, and that they may with renewed vigor attend the mighty providences of these tymes and opportunities for the advance of Christs cause, the elders being soe zealously sett thereupon.

Sir, its conceived this place will prove either very honourable or very meene and contemptible, according as religion is attended or neglected.

If you think it meete, I pray send also a copy of their petition found in Dands¹ studdy, its directed to the commissioners.

(1)

SAMUEL SYMONDS² To JOHN WINTHROP, JR.

[It is recorded, under the date Jan. 13, 1637, that the Town "granted to Mr. John Winthrope Castle Hill and all the meadow and marsh, lying within the creeke provided y^t he lives in the Towne, and that the Towne may have what they shall need for the building of a Fort."

Mr. Winthrop had already been commissioned Governor of the "Connecticut Plantations," and was actively engaged in forwarding that settlement. He sold Mr. Samuel Symonds about a hundred acres of the Castle Hill Farm on Jan. 1, 1645 N. S. and the balance on Aug. 20, 1645.

¹ John Dands, one of the signers of the Remonstrance and Petition.

² Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll., Fourth Series, vol. VII.

The Town, as appears from the following letter, resenting Mr. Winthrop's departure, disputed unsuccessfully his title, and Mr. Symonds wrote Mr. Winthrop the minute and interesting account of the proceedings which follows.

Various allusions are made to the action of the Town in Town meetings of which no record remains. It is evident from this and other omissions that the Town Records, which have been preserved, are very incomplete. It is evident also that the date of entry in many cases does not determine the date, when the Town took action.]

Good Brother:—

I presume you doe heare what is the yssue of the triall of the title of Castell-Hill: but had not the castle beene grounded vpon records & full testimony by the then Recorder, it might have bene shaken, as it wanted noe battering to doe it. There came in such testimony & pleadings (as I doe assure my selfe) you never dreamed of. The case was debated in Court the Tewesday after noone & the fore-noone the next day. The second grant was that which was endeavoured to have bene made voyde & the first difficulty obtained.

It was vrged that you were denied a vote all the former part of the day, albeit your writing & the thinge itselfe speaks that the land was not now the Townes to giue, but that you yeilded, to part with the greatest part of the neck to them. There were (as I remember) 4 that did testifie concerning the number of the freemen &c present, all variously from each other, when they did deliuer theire testimony una voce: one, before he was sworne, said it was done an houre &c. within night by candle light, but did not deliuer it soe vpon oath: 2. that it was very late, but not by candle light. You and I are noe witnesses in this case: we know it was in the afternoone & the Record agreeth with vs; another act being done at same tyme, which must require a little debate before it was written, which was your grant of 300 acres, which is well approved of.

But I did know it would require some skill to make one act of the same meeting after the other good, & the former null; soe it was said that your said farme was given before, only the quantity appoynted now; which (though tyme must be given to believe) yet they confesse enough to make the meeting valid in determyng the number of acres; alsoe to confirme this & nullifie the other, it was tendered to be testified that this farme, part of it, you had plowed before this grant. Tis nine yeares since the grant, Aug. 6th last. I suppose you may call to minde who did plow it & when. Though it makes nothing to the case, yet I would willingly let them see their mistaks. It was testified that the meeting was called for another purpose, but next day when they brought in their testimonies, in writing, one of the Jury minded them that this meeting (as before did appeare) was called or warned by the man that did vse to warne the meetings.

It was alsoe said that this last grant was voted in the meeting howse, at that tyme mentioned in the record indeed, but it was written in another howse & at another tyme, & this is a thinge, alsoe (I suppose) you never

dreamt of. Whereas besides one knowledge & presence at the doing of it, *res ipsa loquitur*, for in grants where there must be describing of bounds soe & soe, *limittacion* hither, & a line soe, it will require to be written before it be voted, according to reason & vsuall practice. Mr. Bartholmew was a cleare & full witsesse, agreeing with the Recorde. There was noe necessity of any. I summoned none: I did expect him, & he did well to be present.

Concerning the poynt in law touching the presedent order or grant of this land to the Town by the freemen, this did not hold longe debate in the Court.

Their last plea to save the accion & charges at least, was that I have not sett the fence right: soe there are three Commissioners appoynted to view it, if they be found to have broken the fence vpon my ground, then I am to have 3 li dammages.

After all the rest was pleaded &c. poynt of Chancery or equity was pleaded, the argument whereof I suppose is generally knowne to be vpon a grosse mistake. It was to this effect, that you left the Towne when Mr. Ward was leaving his place, the Church settling our present officers, & the Church ready to crack, how longe these things were done before, you know better than I, but sure I am, I was a member of the Church first by our present elders in office &c. &c.

An other thinge was on the second daye testified, I having touched the strangnes of averring against a Record, & not soe much as a protestacion against it, at that tyme made. The next day one of them remembered vpon his oath, there was a protestacion. I know not whether he well vnderstands what it is, but vnlesse had there bene one, yet if not recorded, what would it effect to prevent any purchaser from deceiving himselfe, building vpon the Record for the Grant, & finding nothing to question the same?

For as much as I was present & there is Mr. B: his oath to the recorder for a full consent, for ought appeared to him & by their owne confession by the maior part it was done, this seemes very strange; save that the space of tyme since doth help to make the most charitable interpretation &c.

A protestacion doth not overthrow an act, noe more then when 2 or three doe enter their dissent vpon an act of Court, it doth render the matter more doubtfull, &c.

Vrgent occasions doe call me off. I pray God send you a prosperous iourney. Our love to you, my sister & all my cosens.

I rest

Your ever loving brother

October 6th 47.

SAMUEL SYMONDS.

APPENDIX F.

THE COPY OF A VALEDICTORY AND MONITORY WRITING, LEFT BY SARAH GOODHUE.

THE WIFE OF JOSEPH GOODHUE, OF IPSWICH, IN N. E. AND FOUND AFTER HER
DECEASE: FULL OF SPIRITUAL EXPERIENCES, SAGE COUNSELS, PIOUS
INSTRUCTIONS, AND SERIOUS EXHORTATIONS:

DIRECTED TO HER HUSBAND AND CHILDREN, WITH OTHER NEAR RELATIONS AND
FRIENDS, AND PROFITABLE TO ALL THAT MAY HAPPEN TO READ THE SAME.

She was the youngest daughter of Elder Whipple, ¹ born at the said Ipswich Anno 1641, and
died suddenly (as she had presaged she should) July 23, 1681, three days after she
had been delivered of two hopeful children, leaving ten in all surviving.

Cambridge, New England: Printed in 1681. Salem: Reprinted by Samuel Hall, 1770, Portland.

Again reprinted, by request, by Jenks & Shirley, 1805. Cambridge, New England:

Again reprinted by Metcalf & Co., for David Pulsifer of Boston, 1850.²

Dear and loving Husband, if it should please the Lord to make a sudden change in thy family, the which I know not how soon it may be, and I am fearful of it:

Therefore in a few words I would declare something of my mind, lest I should afterwards have no opportunity: I cannot but sympathize and pity thy condition, seeing that thou hast a great family of children, and some of them small, and if should please the Lord to add to thy number one more or two, be not discouraged, although it should please the Lord to deprive thee of thy weak help which is so near and dear unto thee. Trust in the living God, who will be an help to the helpless, and a father to the motherless: My desire is, that if thou art so contented, to dispose of two or three of my children: If it please the Lord that I should be delivered of a living child, son or daughter, my desire is, that my father and mother should have it, if they please, I freely bequeath and give it to them. And also my desire is, that my cousin *Symond Stacy* should have *John* if he please, I freely bequeath and give him to him for his own if thou art willing. And also my desire is, that my cousin *Catharine Whipple* should have *Susanna*, which is an hearty girl, and will quickly be helpful to her, and she may be helpful to the child, to bring her up: These or either of these I durst trust their care under God, for the faithful discharge of that which may be for my children's good and comfort, and I hope to thy satisfaction: Therefore if they be willing to take them, and to deal well with them, answer my desire I pray thee, thou hast been willing to answer my

¹ His house is now owned and occupied by the Ipswich Historical Society.

² The following reprint is from the Pulsifer Print.

request formerly, and I hope now thou wilt, this being the last as far as I know.

Honoured and most loving father and mother, I cannot tell how to express your fatherly and motherly love towards me and mine: It hath been so great, and in several kinds; for the which in a poor requital, I give you hearty and humble thanks, yet trusting in God that he will enable you to be a father and mother to the motherless: Be not troubled for the loss of an unworthy daughter; but rejoice in the free grace of God, that there is hopes of rejoicing together hereafter in the place of everlasting joy and blessedness.

Brothers and Sisters all, hearken and hear the voice of the Lord, that by his sudden providence doth call aloud on you, to prepare yourselves for that swift and sudden messenger of death: that no one of you may be found without a wedding garment; a part and portion in Jesus Christ: the assurance of the love of God, which will enable you to leave this world, and all your relations, though never so near and dear, for the everlasting enjoyment of the great and glorious God, if you do fear him in truth.

The private society, to which while here, I did belong; if God by his Providence come amongst you, and begin by death to break you; be not discouraged, but be strong in repenting, faith & prayers with the lively repeatal of God's counsels declared unto you by his faithful messengers: O pray each for another and with one another; that so in these threatening times of storms and troubles, you may be found more precious than gold tried in the fire. Think not a few hours time in your approaches to God mispent; but consider seriously with yourselves, to what end God lent to you any time at all: This surely I can through grace now say; that of the time that there I spent, through the blessing of God, I have no cause to repent, no not in the least.

O my children all, which in pains and care have cost me dear; unto you I call to come and take what portion your dying mother will bestow upon you: many times by experience it hath been found, that the dying words of parents have left a living impression upon the hearts of Children; O my children be sure to set the fear of God before your eyes; consider what you are by nature, miserable sinners, utterly lost and undone; and that there is no way and means whereby you can come out of this miserable estate; but by the Mediation of the Lord Jesus Christ: He died a reproachful death, that every poor humble and true repenting sinner by faith on God through him, might have everlasting life: O my Children the best counsel that a poor dying Mother can give you is, to get a part and portion in the Lord Jesus Christ, that will hold, when all these things will fail; O let the Lord Jesus Christ be precious in your sight.

O children, neighbours and friends, I hope I can by experience truly say, that Christ is the best, most precious, most durable portion, that all or any of you can set your hearts delight upon: I for ever desire to bless and praise the Lord, that he hath opened mine eyes to see the emptiness

of these things, and mine own; and to behold the fulness and riches of grace that is in the Lord Jesus Christ: To that end my children, I do not only counsel you, but in the fear of the Lord I charge you all, to read God's word, and pray unto the Lord that he would be pleased to give you hearts and wisdom to improve the great and many privileges that the Lord is at present pleased to afford unto you, improve your youthful days unto God's service, your health and strength whilst it lasteth, for you know not how soon your health may be turned into sickness, your strength into weakness, and your lives into death; as death cuts the tree of your life down, so it will lie; as death leaveth you, so judgment will find you out: Therefore be persuaded to agree with your adversary quickly, whilst you are in the way of these precious opportunities: be sure to improve the lively dispensations of the gospel; give good attention unto sermons preached in publick, and to sermons repeated in private. Endeavour to learn to write your father's hand, that you may read over those precious sermons, that he hath taken pains to write and keep from the mouths of God's lively messengers, and in them are lively messages: I can through the blessing of God along with them, say, that they have been lively unto me: And if you improve them aright, why not to all of you? God upbraideth none *of the seed of Jacob*, that seek his Face in truth: My children be encouraged in this work, you are in the bond of the covenant, although you may be breakers of covenant, yet God is a merciful keeper of covenant. Endeavour as you grow up, to own and renew your covenant, and rest not if God give you life, but so labour to improve all the advantages that God is pleased to afford you, that you may be fit to enjoy the Lord Jesus Christ in all his Ordinances. What hath the Lord Jesus Christ given himself for you? if you will lay hold upon him by true faith and repentance: And what will you be backward to accept of his gracious and free offers, and not keep in remembrance his death and sufferings, and to strengthen your weak faith; I thank the Lord, in some measure, I have found that ordinance, a life-making ordinance unto my soul.

Oh the smiles and loving embraces of the Lord Jesus Christ, that they miss of, that hold off, and will not be in such near relation unto their Head and Saviour. The Lord grant that Christ may be your Portions all.

My children, one or two words I have to say to you more, in the first place, be sure to carry well to your father, obey him, love him, follow his instructions and example, be ruled by him, take his advice, and have a care of grieving him: For I must testify the truth unto you, and I may call some of you to testify against yourselves; that your Father hath been loving, kind, tender-hearted towards you all; and laborious for you all, both for your temporal and spiritual good:— You that are grown up, cannot but see how careful your father is when he cometh home from his work, to take the young ones up into his wearied arms, by his loving carriage and care towards those, you may behold as in a glass, his tender care and love to you every one as you grow up: I can safely say, that his love was

so to you all, that I cannot say which is the child that he doth love best; but further I may testify unto you, that this is not all your father hath been doing for you, and that some of you may bear me witness, that he hath given you many instructions, which hath been to the end your souls might enjoy happiness, he hath reprov'd you often for your evils, laying before you the ill event that would happen unto you, if you did not walk in God's ways, and give your minds to do his will, to keep holy his sabbaths, to attend unto reading God's Word, hearing it preached with a desire to profit by it, and declaring unto you this way that he had experienced to get good by it; that was to pray unto the Lord for his blessing with it and upon it, that it might soke into the heart and find entertainment there: and that you should meditate upon it, and he hath told you, meditation was as the key to open the door, to let you in, or that into your heart, that you might find the sweetness of God's word.

Furthermore, my children, be encouraged in this work, your father hath put up many prayers with ardent desires and tears to God on behalf of you all: which if you walk with God, I hope you will find gracious answer and showers of blessing from those bottled tears for you. O carry it well to your father, that he may yet be encouraged to be doing and pleading for your welfare: Consider that the scripture holdeth forth many blessings to such children that obey their parents in the Lord, but there are curses threatened to the disobedient.

My children, in your life and conversation, live godly, walk soberly modestly and innocently: be diligent, and be not hasty to follow new fashions, and the pride of life, that now too much abounds. Let not pride betray the good of your immortal souls.

And if it please the Lord that you live to match yourselves, and to make your choice: Be sure you chuse such as first do seek the kingdom of Heaven.

My first, as thy name is *Joseph*, labour so in knowledge to increase,
As to be freed from the guilt of thy sins, and enjoy eternal Peace.

Mary, labour so to be arrayed with the hidden man of the heart,
That with *Mary* thou mayest find, thou hast chosen the better part.

William, thou hadst that name for thy grandfather's sake,
Labour so to tread in his steps, as over sin conquest thou mayest make.

Sarah, *Sarah's* daughter thou shalt be, if thou continuest in doing well,
Labour so in holiness among the daughters to walk, as that thou mayest excel.

So my children all, if I must be gone, I with tears bid you all *Farewell*.

The Lord bless you all.

Now dear *Husband*, I can do no less than turn unto thee,
And if I could, I would naturally mourn with thee.

And in a poor requital of all thy kindness, if I could, I would speak some things of comfort to thee, whilst thou dost mourn for me.

A tender-hearted, affectionate and entire loving husband thou hast

been to me several ways. If I should but speak of what I have found as to these outward things; I being but weakly natured: In all my burthens thou hast willingly with me sympathized, and cheerfully thou hast helped me bear them: which although I was but weak natured; and so the more unable to go through those troubles in my way: Yet thou hast by thy chearful love to me, helped me forward in a chearful frame of spirit. But when I come to speak or consider in thy place, thy great pains and care for the good of my soul.

This twenty years experience of thy love to me in this kind, hath so nstamped it upon my mind, that I do think that there never was man more truly kind to a woman: I desire for ever to bless and praise the Lord, that in mercy to my soul, he by his providence ordered that I should live with thee in such a relation, therefore dear husband be comforted in this, (although God by his providence break that relation between us, that he gave being to at first) that in thy place thou hast been a man of knowledge to discharge to God and my soul, that scripture commanded duty, which by the effects in me wrought, through the grace of God, thou mayest behold with comfort our prayers not hindered; but a gracious answer from the Lord, which is of great price and reward. Although my being gone be thy loss, yet I trust in and thro' Jesus Christ, it will be my gain.

Was it not to this end that the Lord was pleased to enable thee and give thee in heart to take (as an instrument) so much pains for his glory and my eternal good, and that it might be thy comfort: As all thy reading of scriptures and writing of sermons, and repeating of them over to me, that although I was necessarily often absent from the publick worship of God, yet by thy pains and care to the good of my soul, it was brought home unto me: And blessed be the Lord who hath set home by the operation of his spirit, so many repeatales of precious sermons and prayers and tears for me and with me, for my eternal good: And now let it be thy comfort under all, go on and persevere in believing in God, and praying fervently unto God: Let not thy affectionate heart become hard, and thy tears dried away: And certainly the Lord will render a double portion of blessing upon thee and thine.

If thou couldest ask me a reason why I thus declare myself? — I cannot answer no other but this; that I have had of late a strong persuasion upon my mind, that by sudden death I should be surprized, either at my travail, or soon after it, the Lord fit me for himself: although I could be very willing to enjoy thy company, & my children longer, yet if it be the will of the Lord that I must not, I hope I can say cheerfully, *the will of the Lord be done*, this hath been often my desire and thy prayer.

Further, if thou could'st ask me why I did not discover some of these particulars of my mind to thee before, my answer is because I knew that thou wert tender hearted towards me, and therefore I would not create thee needless trouble.

O dear husband of all my dearest bosom friends, if by sudden death

I must part from thee, let not thy trouble and cares that are on thee make thee to turn aside from the right way.

O dear heart, if I must leave thee and thine here behind,
Of my natural affection here is my heart and hand.

Be courageous, and on the living God bear up thy heart in so great a breach as this.

Sarah Goodhue.

Dear husband, if by sudden death I am taken away from thee, there is infolded among thy papers something that I have to say to thee and others.

July 14, 1681.

APPENDIX G.

The original manuscript of the following "Narrative," written by Rev. John Wise, while serving as a chaplain with Phips's Expedition to Canada, was found in Paris, with another manuscript of similar nature and both were purchased by the Trustees of the Lenox Library of New York in 1883. Copies of both Narratives were made for the Massachusetts Historical Society and they were published in pamphlet form by the Society in 1901, and a copy was sent to the Ipswich Historical Society.

His services were highly esteemed. A "Character" by an unknown writer, appended to Rev. John White's Funeral Sermon on Mr. Wise, preached April 11, 1725, affirms that "not only the Pious Discharge of his Sacred Office, but his Heroick Spirit, and Martial Skill and Wisdom did greatly distinguish him." For his services as chaplain on this expedition the Legislature of Massachusetts granted his heirs, three hundred acres of the unappropriated land of the Province.

[1] *The Narrative of M^r John Wise, Minister of Gods Word at Chabacco*
S^r

I have received yo^r Request relating to the late unhappy Voyage to Canada and upon a Serious Review of the whole Travel I find it will not be possible for me to give you a full Account of the Severall Remarkable Passages which did fall, within my observation. Yet to satisfy your Inquiry after the true Reasons of our defeat according to my Apprehensions I shall freely impart them unto you, in which I must tell you severall passages of the Story which serve to Illustrate the Truth which I offer,] and if time permit me I shall present you wth some Notes upon the Country as Reasons why our Land or Nation should not take this late foyle for a Fall or be so dejected so as to suppose it Impossible improbable or unproffita[ble] to take Kebeque, and thus I begin Vizt

Under the Conduct of the truly Valiant S^r William Phips K^t General, and of John Wally Esq^r Li[eutⁿ] General, about 2500 Souldjers and Marri-ners are imbarked out of New England Colonies and set Sayle upon the 9th August 1690 from Massachusetts bay with great hopes and expectations to conquer New France and therefore bent our Course thither[ward] with all convenient speed hastening to Canada River and then up to the chief Towne on the River called Kebeque. Before which Towne after many yea af[ter] many sensible Items of Divine favour all allong of[ur] Voyage, We Cast Anchor early in the Morning upon [2] the 6th of October 1690.

Now instead of filling up the Space between the two forementioned Termes with a Journal of our Voyage I will leave that for a more Accurate Observer or for a more convenient Opportunity and at this time only gratifie your Curiositie and theires to whom you shall see cause to impart them with the Reasons how so likely and generous an Attempt and a Birth under so hopefull a prospect proves little else but intollerable pain as the vast Charges upon all men and the Cries and Sighes of the Bereaved sufficiently but dolefully declare, I intend to be as true as plain and you may take my Reasons cast into this Method.

The first Reason of our Defeat is made up of three principal parts which all men in the Action confesse to have such Influence into the Disappointments and possibly many men may insist upon as the Principal Causes from whose Judgment I ask leave to enter my Dissent.

But next to our Sinne the provoking & procuring Cause of all Misery We Reekon,

That Want or Scarseness of Provision might be a great Disadvantage and Discouragment under some of our last Thoughts, our Stoares being so far Spent and the Countrey not capable of Recruiting us now upon easy termes might much disadvantage us from taking such Measures as we might have thought of when we were put by our first Attempts.

[3] 2 The Want of Amunition Souldiers of all men may be indulged in a Prodiggallity whilst they without sparing spent up the Stores of Warr upon the Walls heads and Hearts of their Enemies and whilst they have Courage to do it Pity't is any should blame their Martial Zeale for being over prodigal but rather blame they had not a more lasting Store for it's hard to confine Martial men when their blood is up to all the Niceties of good husbandry But in all probability our Ammunition was not at first proportionable to our Undertaking & some of it was spent in the Ordinary Braveries of Warr which could not be avoided and much of it laid out at a good Market to the Terrour & Ruine of many of our Enemies whilst we were upon o^r Voyage up the River and when a great part was improved on the Towne under y^e Valiant Attempts of our General and Shippes of Warr and all the pitty is that such Valiant Soules had not ten times as much to spend in such hot fitts whilst they did such Ruine upon the Lives as well as the Towne of their Enemies and were so eminently preserved themselves Our Shippes of Warr lost but one Man in the fights by great or Small shot and in probability and by Information the Enemy had many Slaine Thus our Amunition growes low and upon Examination is found to [be] too smal to attempt great things which might influence our Disappointment in some Degree.

[4] 3 The Want of Time It was Cæsars motto *Veni vidi vici*, to overcome a Place so soon as a General doth come to a place hath not been y^e Ordinary fortune of Generals in Warr as it was Cæsars The most prudent and most Valiant of men in great Designes of Warr doe ordinarily require time more then will Suffice only just to turne the tryal of a Stratagem or Expediment of Warr or two upon the Enemy There is a time for every thing

under the Sun: Eccl. 3. ch: and there must be time allowed for every production that any less than an Infinite agent is to be the cause of. Now it is readily Acknowledged we were very much pinched up for want of time it was very late in y^e Yeare and and Winter comes on a great pace the Cold nights tells us and this proves a great Disadvantage S^t. We are to think of new methods when our first fayle us wherever y^e fault may be All these particulars any men will acknowledge to be great Disadvantages to an Army so Farr from their owne Countrey and as these particulars may be used or improved may be made a mask upon all faults w^hsoever which might have a more direct Operacon in Effecting the Overthrow of o^r Brave Voyage [5] growne great wth hopes from many Signal Tokens of Gods presence with us and just ready to break forth into the Shouts of Triumph as soon as our Courageous army have broken through the Paper Walls of Kebeque and Dared Frontiniack's Palace wth their display'd Coulours within those Confines which for my part I expected within a few houres after we had taken the North-Shore, and thus S^t I am now ready to give you my second Reason of the Grounds of our Defeat at Kebeque.

2 My Second Reason grows big with Twinns: and if no other will owne them let them be left at my Door for Patronage and Defence.

1. First then I suppose that whilst we consider our actions under humane Operacons distinguished from a divine Providence and we must thus Distinguish that so we may separte between the Over ruling and Blameable Cause of an Evil Event, & thus I say as to the more direct and imediate ground or Reason of o^r Defeat I judge the not landing of o^r Army on a more convenient place was more to the Disadvantage of o^r Designe then any thing hath yet been said, for if we had been landed in upon the Enemye as we might have been then one belly-full of Provision had lasted until we had gotten more or wanted none at all so it may [6] be said upon all other accounts so that there was our great disadvantage and this could not be easily p^rvented and not to be blamed but as our hard happ, unlesse men must be Supposed to be Omniscient for indeed at a Distance & to the Eye of Strangers the way to the Towne w^{ch} we intended by landing below Charles River seemed the most easy passable & safe for our Army which yet proved farr otherwise for if we had gone any way but that we had probably attained our purpose If we had gone under our great Gunns into the Towne we had taken it without waiting for other Order but only fall on fellow Souldiers; if we had landed upon the South side of the Towne we had met with neither Real nor supposed Interruption till we had come up to their Stockados now it is too late to relate how we came to Sustaine this Disadvantage; yet as to the South side and beyond the Towne we had no knowledge of it but by the french Captives whom we could not trust any further then we could fling or at least carry them: And as to o^r landing under o^r Guns into the Towne, the General intended when we had battered them well by Sea and the land Army was come to the Towne by Land then to land into the Lower Towne five hundred [7] able Seamen that were ready for the Purpose as to the place where we did land which

was about a Mile and an halfe below Kebeque it was many waies disadvantage'd But especially in this that being so long & Interrupted brought us to many pauses before we came up to the Seat of o^r Enemies Strength and under every Stop that we made I am satisfied tho we might gaine ground yet we lost heart which I do reckon to be the very proper and direct ruine of o^r Designe and by this time I am come to the place where I intend to tell you plainly what I think to be the main principal Cause so far as humane Agents are concerned I say the next cause of our Defeat &c w^{ch} I Reckon to be

2 Cowardize. It is an ill word to say but an harder to be guilty of, yet in my Opinion it was nothing less than true Courage w^{ch} did prove the Ruine of such a Designe and so many hundred brave men that died in a Dishonourable retreat by the hand of God who testifies to us how Dangerous it is to Depart from Dutie tho Dangerous for want of Reslution, yet to Caution myself I doe assure you I never saw (and I have been in Warr before) for the body of o^r Army both Captaines Inferiour Officers and private Sentinels men more Zealously inclined to spend their Lives for their Countrey yea there seemed to me a more then Ordinary Impulse upon mens hearts that begat such a Courage in them that I am satisfied upon the View of the whole Affaire had the English Army been as Valiantly led up to the Towne as they would have followed and fought when [8] they came there the Towne and Countrey had been ours in a few houres after we came on Shore so that I cannot get over it but do think that it was Cowardize both ruined and Shamed us &c and to Illustrate this I must now give you as brief a narrative of the Matter in y^e History of it as I can and then shall leave it wth you or any other man of Sense to judge y^e Validity of my Assertion.

As was said upon the 6th of October in open day we saw all our fleet hapily (as we thought) at Anchor in the Road between Orleans the South and North Shore and Kebeque Towne.

The Generall as had been determined by a Councell of Warr this morning sends his Pinace to the Towne with a message by Lieu^t Tho: Savage to Frontiniack y^e French Gov^rno^r I must abreviate the Information at this time Lieu^t Savage comes back Frontiniack will give no other Answer to us (as he sayes then what we shall meet with at the mouth of his Gunns onley he tells him that o^r King and Queen are Usurpers and we Rebells for casting of o^r Allegiance to King James and therefore what we had met with in New Engl[and] was but according too^r Demeritts &c

There is a preparacon for the landing our Forces [9] the Companies that had been Transported in y^e Ships of Warr were put on board of Small Vessells in the fleet for greater conveniency of landing Amongst others Cap^t Ephraim Savage was put on board of a small french Barque we had taken on o^r Voyage the Day was spent and Concluded that early the next Morning the Souldjers should land But when the morning came it proved a very Ill day for Wind the sea run high that altho Some attempt was made for landing of o^r fforces yet in a little time we saw it would be to

y^e great Damage of y^e Army and therefore desisted and the Divine Providence now crossed our purpose yet gave us this day a very great Argument and Provocation to excite courage w^{ch} is worth Souldiers waiting for & that was by the Retreate that one of o^r Companys made from the North Shore in Spite of all the fforces in Kebeque the Account of it you may take thus

Cap^t Ephraim Savage both an honest & Valiant Gent taking it that his Orders from y^e Lieut^t Genr^{ll} were that he should weigh Anchor and get as neer the Shore as he could for landing this forenoone attended his Orders and att about half Ebbe or lesse came so neer Shore that the Vessell grounded w^{ch} the French soon espyed from y^e Shore where several of them lay to Watch our Motions the french came downe began to fire at o^r men and our men at them againe briskly [10] the Tyde that staves for no man hastens downe & in a little time leaves the Bark dry on the Flatts the french have notice at Towne she lying just below Charls River there comes scores or hundreds out of the Towne both horsmen and footmen makes many shotts at our Men but durst not board them, they repayre to Towne and as we thought by y^e Carriage by Cattle horse and Carts they brought field pieces out of the Towne of Kebeque the Enemie came along the Beach with two Small Teams the One of horse the Other of Oxen We on board began to be in a thousand feares what would become of Cap^t Savage & Company, we could not come to their Rescue if we had exposed the whole fleet & Weather was so bad we sent out some of our Boats but they could not come to the Bark nor land the Sea run so high the Enemy very Numerous on the Shore playing their field pieces and Small armes and our men stoutly at them againe. Our Generall when they were thicke about their Carriages where they seemed to have planted their peices shot some of his lower and biggest Guns, w^{ch} made the Enemy fly and Scatter altho it were at a very great Distance the General & Captaine Eldridge made many shot wth their great Guns at them w^{ch} could doe but little Execution only did much terrify them so that at last y^e Cowardly French made one great flash and Smoke with [11] Powder and away they went with their Carriages againe Our men got out of the Barke, beat y^e french from a Rock where they had advantageously posted themselves and then returned into the Barke again having fought and beat them and when the tide came up againe got of wthout the least damage save some bullet holes in their Clothes and one had his flesh grazed but not a limb lost or one drop of blood, this Single Company of men may be said to have withstood all the force in Kebeque & who would be afraid to encounter such Cowardly Frenchmen hereafter; this was a Manifest token of Gods Goodness to us and the Frenchmens Cowardize and I do think it was great Incouragement to all men in General against o^r landing the next day w^{ch} in Order of Story must be next related.

To proceed then to that part of o^r Action that relates to o^r Army when on Shore this is y^e acc^o which I have to give you Having Considered every place for landing o^r fforces and having an account that Charls River w^{ch} runns downe by Kebeque North was fordible and passable for foot about

low water and seeing all the time we lay there that the french went out of the Towne and over the River horse and foot & drave Cattle &c we concluded that to land a little below where the Barque went on Shore might be very Convenient and fitt for our purpose Therefore as I do remember about young flood in y^e forenoon [12] upon the Eighth day of October we fell downe with all our Snal Vessells and Boats belonging to the Ships of Warr for landing It was Ordered that my self should stay until the Pinnace of our Ships had assisted the Army in landing and then it should come and carry me and some others (on board of o^r Ship) on shore

When the Boats came so neer Shore as they could get o^r men were necessitated to wade, some up to midd thigh &c they had a bad landing but after some houres most of o^r Army mounted the Bank of the River and drew into Order in their Several Regiments for march they had not stood long in their ffigure but y^e French enemy (having placed an Ambuscado of about 700 men in a Swamp toward our Right Wing) made shot on o^r Army and as I said before overshot us & before we gave them battle they made a Second Shot but very little to o^r Damage But our Armie quickly put them to the Rout & followed them in a Chace up to the North Towne & drove them up and downe in several parties a Considerable Space of time in the Skirmish many Memorable passages fell out to long to relate now we lost about eight men Slaine right out and several Wounded as Major Wade Cap^t Savage Lieut Knowlton &c we killed the Collonel of y^e French as we were informed and many others between 30 and 50 reports are various and we had no time to examine [13] the Ground But this we are assured of that a french Gentleman of a very manly figure and in a gentile Garb did present himself (in the fight) unto Captain March with offers at a Distance to Surrender himself Cap^t March perceiving it beat back his Men and did what he could in such a Crisis & Nick of time but could not be obeyed things were in such an hurry he was shot dead to the Ground who was in likely hood chief Comander of the Enemy When most of the English Army was landed o^r Pinnace came back I took passage in her towards the Shore and when come on land I perceived Several of o^r men were wounded and the Army brought by this Scout of the Enemy to an Ill-convenient Stop I therefore wthout staying for any (being very much troubled in my mind) marched away thro a Swamp to a party of o^r Army then at a Stand, at my first coming up my first Salute was thus Gentlemen you are out of yo^r Witts we did not come hither to drive a parcel of Cowardly Frenchmen from Swamp to Swamp but to attaque Kebeque thither Gentlemen is o^r buisness Why Dont we march away for the Towne of Kebeque They told me they could not tell said I where is the Lieu^t General Wally They Answered They could not tell I went from one Comp^a to another and in a little time I found him and I do assure you S^r I was affected when I first saw him for to me he seemed very much downe in his Spirit to say no worse I saluted him with the Ordinary Complement and Said S^r what doe you meane by these [14] kind of methods? Saith he I cannot rule them To whom I replied S^r you must not expect when men are let loose upon an Enemie that they should attend all the Ceremonies

martial and that are in fashion in a field of Peace But S^r said I what do you intend to doe he replied I think they intend to lodge here all Night.

Good S^r said I by no means but let us march away for the Towne as fast as we can o^r men are now Warne by to Morrow they will Stiffen and Coole therefore Good S^r Give y^e Word to march & send away to those companies in the rear to march away (now there were about three Companies that had taken up houses and began to roast and bake for Supper) after much urging word was given to March, & away we went briskly as I thought with an Intent to Attaque the Towne, at least early y^e next morning the way was very dismal for Swamps & smal Rivers or great Brooks for about a Mile; The frontmost of o^r Army came to a farm house neer the River and within about half a mile or less of Kebeque when there I prayd y^e Liev^t General we might set out Centinels and call up the Rear of o^r Army and lodge o^r whole body for a few houres Sleep and get into a Posture for a March up to the Towne about [15] two houres before day and as the Tide would suit us for time would not admit of much lingring but I will assure you things went on wth Unsufferable Dulness enough to Discourage any men The General with his Ships of Warr Scing o^r Colours advanced so neer the Towne prepared about the Suns going downe to give an Assault or before the moon being just at full helped him wth its Light and us with its Influence Compleating a Sutable Tide either for Night or morning on our passing over the Charls River

The Ships of Warr were desired by the Liev^t Gen^l to make the first onsett which they did this Evening expecting we would have soon seconded them, but instead of it we spent away o^r time after a fruitless maner Cap^t Hunt and Cap^t Berry went to Charls River & came back told the Liev^t General they had tryed the River and were almost over it and were not much above their Anckles

Cap^t Gwin and another person with the french man that came in were sent over the Woody ground toward the Recolets house above Kebeque and Brought word it was Unpassable for our field pieces

Our field pieces came on shore desirous to befriend our Souldiers I took with me Ensigne Noyce who was a forward man went downe to the boats desired y^e Mariners to favour o^r Souldiers having had an Ill Afternoone and being very wet that they would be at the Pains to get the pieces on Shoar themselves, they presently attended the buisness waded almost up to the middle some of them [16] and got the Pieces up to the house where we lodged.

I do assure you S^r our Lieu^t General Seemed to me to be destitute of all proper care for the Mannagem^t of the Army for the buisness that was before us and yet by the Index of a certain reserved Gravity & a Lonesome walk from place to place that he had he seemed to be swallowed up with thoughts which I can deem from first to last to be only the Invincible Arrest of fear The field pieces being got to Shore I then made it my buisness to inquire out the Lieu^t General to offer a new notion to him and that was this, when I had found him by much Inquiry S^r said I pray let word be sent away to those Companies in the Rear to come up that we may lodge

here altogether a few houres and then be the better ready to march unto the Towne and good Sr get to sleep as early as you can, he gives me the hearing but little or nothing is done he turnes away and when an army is encamped in the Night a man of no greater bulk is soon lost.

There comes in the Interim two Messengers from Cap^t Willye one of the Captaines in the Rear to know the Lieu^t Generals mind they came to me and told me their Errand I was much joyed with so lucky an Opportunity, began to inquire againe for the Lieu^t Gen^l & at last found him told him the Message & prayed that their might be Orders to those men in their Return Vizt That Cap^t Willye march up with his Companie & give word to several other Captaines to come away forthwth these were there Orders and y^e men returned and away Slipps the Lieu^t General againe and I doe seriously professe to you that though Several things of [17] Import happned and were attended this Night Vizt as the comming up of the Rear of o^r Army, the Examination of a Frenchman and the Sharing of a Small cask of Frenchwine sent from the General to comfort o^r hearts amongst the chief Officers of the Army yet to my Inward grief then and to my Apprehension now the night was spent in little else but padling and fooling as to our Land concerns.

I doe professe had we had a man that would have ventured his Life, his way had been to have stilled all noyse got himself and army into a few hours Sleep sent on board and had ready one bisquet cake pr man and a good round Dram and have put these into their bellys the next morning & in the heat of it marcht up to Towne the Army would I am satisfied by their Valour have payd him his Kindnesse in good Roast meat for Supper by the next night and a good feather bed to have layn on instead of Boards or Straw. I am quite weary in particulars therefore Sir what I have to say further I will modell into three parts as so many Intolerable Errors committed on Shore as the great ground of our Defeat.

First Our not going to the Towne to rights upon y^e the first Opportunity and Dismal downnes [18] of o^r Lieu^t Generals Countenance & Spirit obvious (to all men that could look a man in the Face) and taken notice of I do think by hundreds besides my self was the first Error on shoar but now let this be Interrupted by what meanes Soever

2 The second Unpardonable folly was the not taking and destroying the North Towne upon w^{ch} perticular depends this Story

By the fryday morning the third day from o^r landing many of our Souldiers began to be out of frame in their bodies and I dont know but many (by this time) thro want of Sleep and bad presidents &c might grow into such fears as they did not bring on Shoar with them so that new Measures were thought best and that it would be too great an hazard to Attempt the towne of Quebec this way but to reimbarque and go into the face of the Towne under the great Gunns or to the South side and there to Land, or unto Orleance. It was concluded that the Lieu^t Gen^l and my self should go on board the General to discourse with him. When we came to him the Circumstances of the Land Army are rep^sented to him as very dismal and that the French had raised new Works upon the backside of the Towne

(tho for my part I could not see them) That at last it is consented to by the General he having made two Stout attaques upon y^e lower Towne, and we never came up and Amunition [19] was growne Scarce with him and the rest of the Ships of warr, I say he consented that we pposed new measures which in short were to this purpose To declare to the French people & Inhabitant^s that they Submit themselves to the Crowne of England and in so doing we promise life lands and liberty unto them or else we would lay all their countrey waste which we had yet spared and was now at our dispose the General orders us to goe on Shoare and the Majors & Capt^s to be consulted in the matter. When we came the first News was Vizt That part of o^r Army had had a fight with the Enemy our men did worst them abundantly but in the fight the French drew downe towards Charls River and on the other side our men discovered a considerable force drawne out of the Towne in a body some said there might be 700 some 2000 men, But this accident I dont think added much to o^r Lieu^t Generals Courage for he was much concernd and I doe assure you without Vanity I endeavo^rd to encourage my Self and him what I could I was Speaking to him one time and as I remember he saith we should certainly be assaulted by the Enemy this Night to whom I replyed let them Come we will fight with all Canada if they come there is no danger we are well Lodged & good field pieces to friend, let us be of good heart there is no Danger. After much delay a Council is called this Evening.

[20] 1: Q: The first Question propounded Whither it might be Consistent with o^r hono^r o^r honesty Prudence and present Circumstances to propound Such merciful termes as are before mentioned to the french Inhabitants and performe them when we had done or ruine their Countrey they refusing to accept.

Ans. After several Discourses it was thought consistent.

2. Q How we should execute or accomplish this Contrivance?

Ans^r. I told them what wth their leave I would tel y^m what I thought the only way to obtaine that which we aimed at and that was this Vizt Seeing we had renounced the Designe of falling upon Quebec our onely way would be to March our Army away to the North Towne and there we might in a little time either Impale or Intrench our Selves lodge our men in good houses and in taking that Towne we should take Orleans the Island that lay downe the River by it our Vessells some of them falling downe the River on each side the Island We could easily passe and repasse from the said Island to the North Shore and so in a few dayes if the French would not Subject we could ruine those two places (which were [21] very considerable) and we might take y^e forrage of both and Orleance would Afford much and especially fresh and new provision for o^r Army & when we had done all we pleased on that acc^o we could lay all their houses and Barnes in Ashes which would have been greater Damage to them then ever they had done to us. I do judge that in this method we could have destroyed so many hundred Barns full of Corn Wheat Pease hay & dwelling houses as would have been more than 50000£ Str Dammage to the Enemy and taken much plunder

beside And in probability not lost on Limb and dispatched all in a few Dayes

Now I say this I urged in that Councel wth all the Zeale and Reason I had several of y^e Cap^{ts} were for it but some were against it especially the Lieu^t General and the head Major who made this Answer to close the whole Saith he

S^r I wonder you will urge this thing so long there is no Reason in the Contrivance o^r best way is to Reimbarque &c so this Designe fell to ye Ground and there is I reckon the Second Error committed on Shore.

3. The third Error is the base and Cowardly Losse of o^r field pieces of wch I do think Christendome will ring and I account it is one of y^e greatest blotts that English men have contracted within these Ages they have been Accounted among the Nations famous in Martial Actions and to give [22] you an account of this I shall proceed with my Tale. When the Councel last named was finished I repaïrd to the house where I had taken up my Lodging and expecting a comfortable Night of Sleep and Quiet. Yet before I lay downe in my Straw I sat smoaking of a Pipe & discoursing with some of the Officers of the Army about the present Affayre who were very Zealous for to Atta[que] Quebec still &c but before we had finished we were alarumed The Lieu^t General in his own person comes to the Door and tells me S^r We are ready to dislodge which might be about Eleaven of the Clock in the Night Our men were generally well lodged Some in houses others in Beds of Dry and Sweet hay, warm and asleep y^e greatest part of the Camp unless Such as were out Sentinels &c but there is no withstanding it the Lieu^t Generall saith about Eight of the Captains had been with him and desired it & he thought we should be assaulted by y^e Enemy and they might burne and set fire to o^r beds of hay &c and S^r this had been an Affrighting accident and if it had fell out as disturbed fancy makes it we had not onley died wth the principles but the very death of Martyrs—also we had been taken and burnt Napping Whereupon we make an Universal Muster & take a very Silent March according to o^r Orders and good Reason to for we are Afraid to awaken [23] Angry Frontiniack at that time of y^e Night Our March holds out about 40 or 60 Rodds till we came to the River side and there we are encamped upon an Unmercifull cold beach within convenient Shot of Several pieces of Swamp very fitt for the Enemy &c many of our men I do Assure you just coming from bed goe to bed againe upon the Wet and cold Sand; they lye many of them 30 or 40 in a heap like hoggs in a Sty^e I Challenge them to get up and run for a Dram of the bottle a Temptacon fit for Souldiers that they might be kept in accon I went to the Lieu^t General intreated him that we might march away for the North Towne if it was only to keep our men Stirring they would else many of them be Spoyled this Desperate cold Night Ensigne Peter Noyce was sent wth a Scout of men to discover how the Passage was he quickly returnes with Word that the way was good and very passable for o^r field pieces and not long after we had a message from the General to the Lieu^t General to this purpose. S^r It is impossible for me to Assist yo^r Reimbarquing this Night the tide so falls out but pray

do what you can to encourage yo^r self & men and pray do you burn and destroy all that you possibly can of the Enemies, so far y^e Gen^{ll} [24] Notwithstanding all these provocations to be upon Action here we lye all this cold night under many Solemne Circumstances, And perceiving nothing would be attended but going on board I told y^e Lieut^t General I thought his way for the safety and honor of his Retreat (least we should loose y^e field pieces) would be to send for a fleet of Boats and so according to the march of Warr to imbarque one Regiment first all together, and with them to carry of four of his field pieces, the others according to the Lot of Warr keep their ground to answer the Enemy if they should Attaq us and so the other Regiments in Order and field pieces with them that we might not be put into confusion and forced to part with such Gunns and so when day was come and the Generals pinnace came on shoar I went on board with a purpose to bespeak some comfort for the Souldiers which was soon sent and to give y^e Gen^{ll} an Account of the Army, wth which he was very much Aggreived when he heard how things were and hardly if possible (all Circumstances considered) to be retrieved.

The Army continues here on Saturday the fourth day from our Landing and about two houres before Sunset the Enemy Alarme us Some small parties of o^r men are sent out to fight them but with Order not to burne any house in the Attempt. Our men beat them from place to place up toward y^e North [25] Towne and about Sun set of Companies come back to the Head quarters, and the Army begins to Imbarque but in the greatest Confusion imaginable and no man must meddle with the field pieces, The Lieut^t General tells them he had rather loose all y^e field pieces then one mans life and therefore bids the Boates take of the men and let the field pieces alone, Some men he layes over the head (as is said) Others he threatens very manfully that were about getting the field pieces into their Boats that he would lay them over the heads if they did not let the Guns alone and get the men off; Alas! what were a few Guns to the lives of men and so when he had set things in this (dis)order he takes a boate and goes of himself But to be short about midnight the whole Army gets off and the Field pieces are left to fill our faces with Shame & our enemies wth triumph as to our horreur and grief we beheld y^e next morning and this is the last Error comitted on Shore. and all these put together are the true grounds of our overthrow in my Opinion

Upon this does arise two Questions.

1 Qu. Whether the Shore & especially the field pieces were left basely and Cowardly or no?

Anr. To flee when no man pursues is Cowardise in Triumph and this was the Case for a few of our brave Souldjers had beaten the Enemy and there is none but their Shaddows left and the Impressions of them in a Disordered Phancy. Who then can [26] prove Advocate for this base retreat.

2 Qu. Who was in fault for the loss of five able field pieces compleatly fitted with Harness and Shot and of about 800 weight apiece, who must be blamed?

Anr. 1. The Gunners could not be in fault for they were discharged because they staying by their Guns might have been killed and better loose the pieces then their lives,

2. The General Gunner that had a Commission over the Guns he could not be blamed because his Comisson was but Subordinate to the Lieu^t Generals Comisson and had the General Gunner medled wth them contrary to the Lieu^t Generals Order he had certainly incurred Danger of being guilty of any mans life that had perished by the meanes according to ou^r Lieu^t Generals Rules in War

3 It cant be the fault of those men that came wth peticular Orders to bring them aboard on such Vessells as they belonged too, for they shewed their good Will and Attended their Orders, till y^e Lieu^t General threatned them out of all as is evident upon Sufficient Witness.

4 It was not any fault in the Rearmost of y^e Army Valiant Capt John Marsh Lieu^t fflowle and Ensigne Peter Noyce brought of the Rear of the Army and it could not be their fault for the Guns were covered with the Tide before it was their turnes to get into the Boates, they [27] either knew nothing of them or could not get at them without Diving so that they cant be blam'd

5 It was none of the Enemies fault Neither for they had been driven and chased away by our men and never came neer to Disturb o^r imbarcking, nay had rather make a Silver Bridge for us flying then to invite or provoke our Stay for they did not like our Company so that to draw a conclusion from the premises I am ready to resolve it was either the Lieu^t Gen^{ls} fault or else the fault was in the Guns themselves that they being fitted for motion and in danger of falling into the Enemies hands did not in the hurry & Crowd of the retreat go on board of the boates Themselves. But possibly the Lieu^t Gen^{ls} good affection to his mens lives wilbe his pardon & Discharge.

Reply. 1. Were field pieces and mens lives to be bought & Sold over a Dish of Coffee by an Inch of Candle¹ then indeed let any man be Reeced inhumane and Cruel that will not bid more to save a mans life then he will bid for five field pieces. Especially when the purse of a Countrey must pay y^e Purchase But S^r we are not now at any Such Game wth Frontiniack.

Rep. 2 We must know that all the banners & Ensignes of hono^r in Warr which are the Glory of a Crown, of a Nation, of an Army ought Stoutly to be defended with the Peril & loss of mens Lives rather then basely to be betrayed or Surrendred into the [28] hands of the Enemy and much more then such able field pieces as ours were that carry both honour and Safety with them what man in o^r Army could indure the thought to Attempt the Enemy againe when yve have so flusht them wth Apparent Tokens of a Cowardly Spirit in us & have furnished them with field pieces so considerable a Strength which pieces well improved will be found between two Able Armies to be the Odds & Difference of 500 if not a 1000 men; to have taken them of with us had cost our men at the most but a little more Sweat and

¹ "An old method of selling by auction, still sometimes practised, in which a small piece of candle is lighted at the beginning of a sale, and the highest bid made before the wick falls is successful" (Century Dictionary). — Ed.

o^r Lieut Gen^l but a little more fear if he would have been so valiant as to have stayed the Doing of it.

But now we cannot reckon but upon the Losse of many a life and limb to recover them. So that for my private Censure when the blame is rightly fixed as I do think it is in these lines there is no less then Death deserved; The Losse of pay and wearing the wooden Sword are but little better then Childrens pay upon Such an Unpardonable Omission.

Thus S^r you have from me what I take to be the true grounds of our Defeat in o^r late Voyage and to conclude if you will take any notice of my Observations upon the Providence of god concerning us this then hath been much with me that to the best of my Discerning whilst we were wth God in the way of Duty God was with us. But when we desert our Dutie and buisness we were sent about by God and o^r Countrey God follows Us with Crosses and Confusion

[29] S^r in at this Door comes our Ruine and by that time the Army is on board its so wide open that there is no Shutting of it. Now Now indeed the want of Time the want of Amunition and of Field pieces and Provision may be Reckoned great Obstructions to o^r future Attempts that we might think of But how comes this great Scarsitie and famine upon Us? let that be Answered.

1. The General was extreemely concerned and Says he would rather have dyed then so basely have betrayed the hono^r of that Crowne whose Quarrel we were now in the Defence of &c

2. He had determined to have had a Councel of War but the Weather grew very tempestuous and y^e Case under several Consideracons desperate & concluding to goe for England for the Reinforcing the Action falls downe the River against the Upper Towne on y^e South Shore of Orleans where he held a treat for y^e Exchange of Captives and being detayned longer then he expected on the 15th of October 1690 in the Morning gave his Usual Signal which was the firing of a Gun for the whole fleet to come to sayle hoping for a Convenient Time to settle the Voyage home and his owne for England Immediately when he was gotten below y^e Narrows But the Wind and Weather came on so Tempestuous that every man was necessitated to Shift for himselfe

[30] and this brings us to the sad Conclusion of an hopefull beginning S^r you must Pardon Some Expressions of Immodesty or Such as Carry Self Arrogance with them for they are the very Native dress of matter of fact &c Therefore I use them rather then dress a Discourse in another Skin then it was born in and so S^r in the Straitness of time I bid you farewell

23 Decemb^r 1690

J W

P.S.

S^r I cannot for want of time advantage this Discourse or gratify yo^r Desires with the 2d perticular promised in y^e beginning for w^{ch} I ask yo^r pardon hoping it wilbe done by a Better pen.

ERRATA.

- Page 16. Howlett's well should be Hardy's well; see page 404.
Page 21. John Woodman, for John Woodam.
Page 83. Dr. Bridgman for Dr. Bridgham.
Page 127. Tilbrick, for Filbrick.
Page 311. Matt. Hooker, for Nath. Hooker.
Page 390. Nathan Knowlton, for Nathaniel Knowlton.
Page 392. Nelamp for Neland.
Page 395. Ebenezer Hodge, for Ebenezer Hovey.
Page 397. Sister of Samuel, for daughter of Samuel.
Page 442. The Heman H. Story estate is owned now by Dr. Vickery.
Page 491. Matthias Carrin, for Matthias Currin.

INDEX.

Some ancient but familiar names, as Scott's Lane and Brook Street, are retained in the Index to secure uniformity with the diagrams, the language of old deeds, and the common usage of the book.

The identification of the grantors and grantees in many conveyances is very difficult, if not impossible. This is due to the absence of middle names, the constant recurrence of the same Christian name through generations, and the large number of individuals who bore the surname of some of the old Ipswich families. Dates have been inserted frequently, as the only basis of classification and identification, but a large measure of uncertainty still remains.

In the chapter on The Body Politic, several contemporaneous lists were given: of the freemen, or those entitled to full franchise, of the commoners, who had a vote only in questions concerning the common lands, and of residents. In the Index, the voters and commoners are always designated, and the words "resident in 1678" indicate that the persons to whose names this is appended are mentioned only in the third list, and had, therefore, no civic privilege.

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